

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

In this issue:

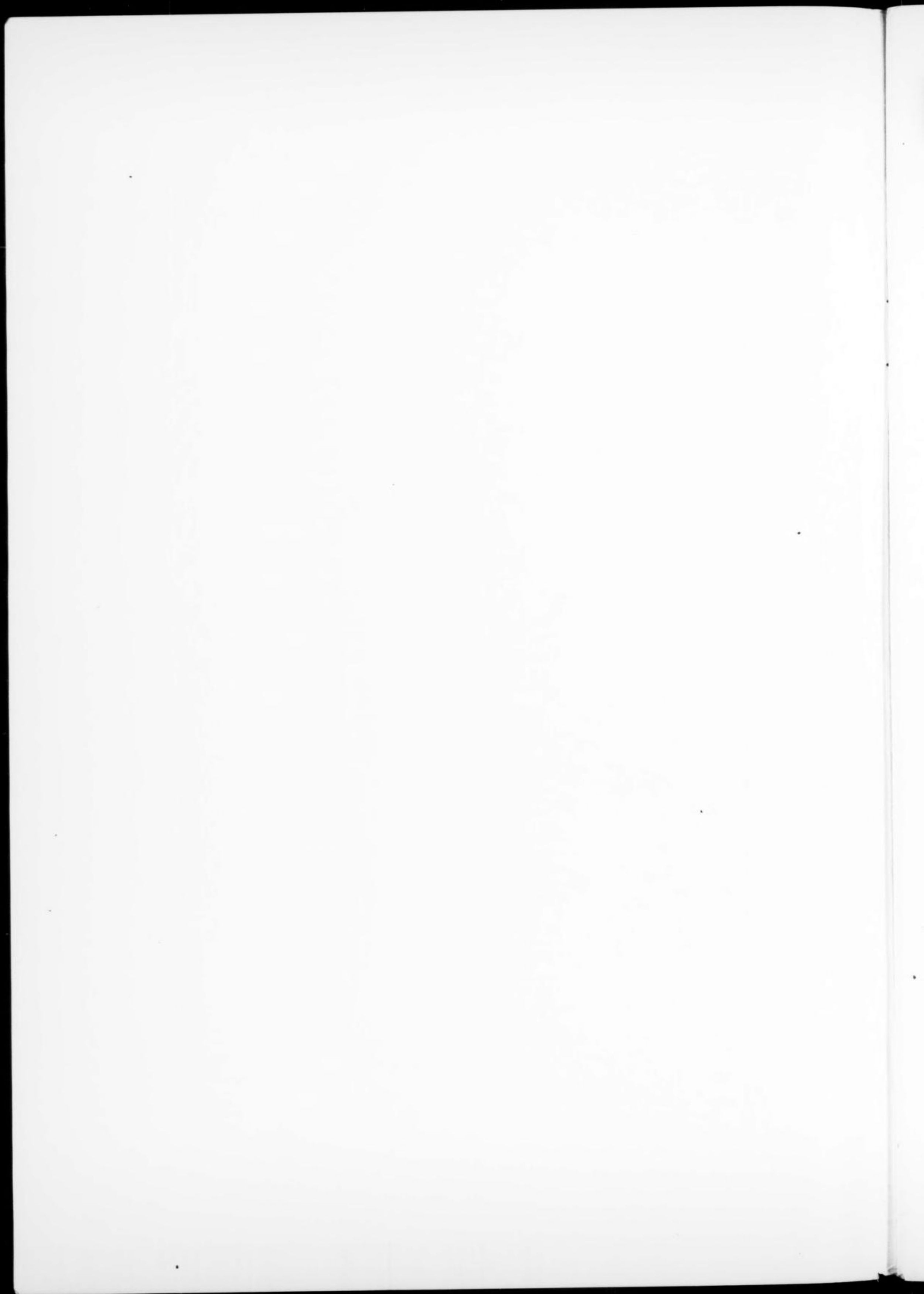
The United States of America today

G. Hall • H. Winston • C. Lightfoot • H. Lumer • V. Perlo

VOL. 8, NO. 10

October 1965

35 CENTS



3 The United States of America today**G. HALL 4 Struggle against imperialism****H. WINSTON 13 Communists and the mass movements****C. LIGHTFOOT 20 The path to Negro freedom****H. LUMER 30 Poverty in the "affluent society"****V. PERLO 40 The U.S. government and
the economic cycle****46 Theory and practice of building socialism**

FROM BOURGEOIS NATION TO SOCIALIST NATION

NEW TRENDS IN POLAND'S ECONOMIC PLANNING

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND THE PEASANTRY

NINTH CONGRESS OF RUMANIAN COMMUNIST
PARTY**K. KALLAI****S. JEDRYCHOWSKI****C. R. RODRIGUEZ****B. ZAHARESCU****77 The war in Vietnam**THE PEOPLE'S FORCES GROW STRONGER IN
STRUGGLE (Scanning the Vietnamese press)**79 Heroes of the struggle for communism**THEIR HEROISM ILLUMINES THE
PATH TO VICTORY**AZIZ AL HAJJ****81 Our diary**

POLITICAL STORMS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

J. PRAZSKYWORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW:**
*problems of peace
and socialism*Theoretical and
Information Journal
of Communist and
Workers' Parties**OCTOBER, 1965
VOLUME 8
NUMBER 10**Authorized as Second
Class Mail, Post Office
Department, Ottawa, and
for payment of postage
in cash. Printed in
Canada.WORLD MARXIST REVIEW
is the North American
edition of the monthly
journal Problems of Peace
and Socialism published
in Prague. The North
American edition is
published by Progress
Books, 44 Stafford St.,
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada.SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
\$3.50 a year. Single
copies 35 cents. Bundle
of five or more, 25 cents
per copy. Outside
Canada, add 15 cents
exchange.PROBLEMS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM is also
published in French,
Russian, Bulgarian,
Czech, Dutch, German,
Greek, Hungarian,
Italian, Japanese,
Mongolian, Polish,
Rumanian, Spanish,
Swedish and Vietnamese.
Subscriptions to these
may be obtained through
Progress Books, 44
Stafford St., Toronto, at
\$3.50 a year.

Published by

PROGRESS BOOKS
44 Stafford St., Toronto 3
Ontario, Canada

WMR

among our contributors

GYULA KALLAI *Member of the Political Bureau, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Hungarian People's Republic*

STEFAN JEDRYCHOWSKI *Member of the Political Bureau, Polish United Workers' Party,
Chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers, Polish People's Republic*

CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ *Member of the National Leadership, United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba,
Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba*

BARBU ZAHARESCU *Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Rumania*

GUS HALL

HENRY WINSTON

HYMAN LUMER

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Leading U.S. Communists

VICTOR PERLO *U.S. economist*

The United States of America today

In this issue we print a series of articles dealing with various aspects of socio-economic and political life in the United States whose imperialist circles are pursuing a reactionary policy of aggression and imperilling world peace. This places on the people of the United States a particularly great historical responsibility.

As the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties stressed, U.S. imperialism is the main bulwark of world reaction. The truth of this is borne out again and again by reality.

The Johnson Administration has dashed the hopes of most Americans who in last year's Presidential election rejected the aggressive program of Goldwater, and has taken the road of military provocations against peoples battling for their national and social liberation; it is acting the role of international policeman, bent on imposing its will on other peoples.

These actions and especially the all-out war against the people of Vietnam and the intervention in the Dominican Republic, have shocked all men and women of good will; they have, moreover, exacerbated the political situation within the United States itself, revealing more sharply than ever before the social contrasts and contradictions of U.S. society, the organic link between imperialism's home and foreign policy. The reprisals against Negroes in Los Angeles again exposed the hypocrisy of the words "freedom," "democracy" and "self-determination," used by the U.S. Administration as a cover for its policy of crushing liberation movements in various parts of the world. This, in turn, has activated mass movements in the country, where the progressive forces are campaigning for genuinely democratic policies both at home and abroad.

The following articles are by leading American Communists and present their viewpoint on these issues.

Struggle against imperialism

GUS HALL

THE ESCALATION OF the war of aggression against the peoples of Vietnam and the aggression against the Dominican Republic have put the world spotlight on U.S. imperialism. Millions for the first time are seeing the real nature of the beast.

The brutal arrogance of the Johnson doctrine of aggression is shocking to many. But its longer-range meaning is sinking into mass consciousness the world over. This mass consciousness of the nature of U.S. imperialism will increasingly become a factor in molding the nature of political alignments. It will leave its imprint on elections, trade relations and buying patterns, and on the nature of anti-imperialist movements and struggles throughout the world.

BULWARK OF WORLD IMPERIALISM

What are some of the specific features of U.S. imperialism now being exposed in the glare of this spotlight? The people's indictment is indeed extensive: that U.S. imperialism at this stage in history is the most aggressive, most warlike and most predatory of all imperialist powers. It represents the most extended salient of military and economic imperialist aggression. U.S. imperialism is the center and bulwark of colonialism, and the main practitioner of neo-colonialism. It is the main beneficiary of the world system of colonial oppression. At this moment it is the single most serious obstacle to a world at peace. It is the center of the drive toward war. It is the central military, financial and political pillar for all reactionary, fascist-military movements and governments throughout the world.

The indictment continues: that U.S. imperialism has not relinquished war as a

means of settling world problems. Its armaments program and military alliances lead in the direction of increased reliance on war and the threat of nuclear war as an instrument in its relations with the world, especially with the underdeveloped sectors. U.S. policies are not geared to a posture of national defense; they are geared to aggression.

There are other powers, like West Germany, which would like to, and keep trying to re-establish war as a means of settling problems. But for the moment, because of the present balance of world forces, they lack the military or economic capabilities to do so on their own. Therefore U.S. imperialism remains the shock troop of world imperialism, its economic and financial center, and its monetary clearing house. It is a partner in every imperialist venture. It is tied in with Belgian operations in the Congo. It has a piece of the slave-based industries of South Africa. It is the dominant imperialist force in Latin America. It is part owner of the domestic industries in every other advanced capitalist country—in West Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Belgium, Japan, Australia, Canada and others. Wherever capitalism exists, U.S. imperialism is to be found.

The domination of U.S. imperialism is particularly extensive in the Western Hemisphere—in Canada, in which the direct U.S. investments in 1963 totaled \$13.0 billion (compared to \$10.4 billion in all of Western Europe) and in Latin America, in which some \$8.7 billion were invested as of 1963. These latter investments—in oil, fruit, iron and copper mining and a host of similar industries—bring in an especially golden harvest of super-profits sweated out of the Latin American masses, whose average yearly per

capita income is less than one-tenth of that in the United States, and who live in indescribable poverty. In many of these countries, virtually every important industry, including telephone companies, public transportation facilities and other public utilities, is owned or controlled by the U.S. monopolies, and each extracts its toll from the working masses.

The dominance of U.S. imperialism within the capitalist world is dramatized in the following facts:

Of the 500 largest capitalist corporations in the world, 306 are U.S. owned. Of the 64 enterprises with more than a billion dollars in yearly sales, 49 are U.S.-owned. The 1963 sales of General Motors Corporation, in dollar volume, are larger than the 1965 West German federal budget. The U.S. Steel Corporation produces more steel than the total West German steel industry. The U.S. monopoly-imperialist combines dominate the capitalist world markets in automobile, oil, chemicals, steel, machinery, electrical equipment, electronics, rubber, food processing and many other products. One bank alone—the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company—has branches in 30 countries.

Because much of American imperialist expansion took place during a period when resistance to foreign domination was on the rise, it was found necessary to develop a special craftiness in camouflage and deception. Some of the more open and direct methods of colonial oppression had to be eliminated. Thus, U.S. monopoly capital became the chief practitioner of the policy of imperialist aggression carried on under the slogan of “anti-imperialism.”

This disguise has served to create illusions and confusion, and there are no limits to this hypocrisy. U.S. forces are in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic as aggressors, but Johnson says to the 20th anniversary meeting of the United Nations: “I now call upon this gathering of the nations of the world to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the tables those who seem determined to make war.”

The gap between unabashed pronouncements of the right of all nations to self-determination and peace, and actual policies of imperialist aggression and war, has become the hallmark of the U.S. world image.

Behind the arrogance of the Johnson doctrine is an ideology that flows from the unprecedented dominance of U.S. capitalism within the capitalist world. It is an ideology that treats the capitalist world as its private domain. U.S. monopoly capital speaks about the “American Century.” It cloaks its ag-

gression in the garb of the unwilling conqueror. The press declared emotionally: “For history has forced upon us an unsought and reluctantly borne imperialism—a new and perhaps benign imperialism, but imperialism nonetheless.” It is an ideology that condemns and berates even the smallest action taken in the national self-interest by other capitalist countries, while it acts as if it is the sole proprietor. It is an ideology that smugly looks upon the rest of the capitalist world as conquered and subjugated territory.

ROOTS OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

The warlike posture of imperialism is rooted in an inherent characteristic, one which will not change even when all colonies are freed. Imperialism will continue even then to be on the prowl, seeking for weak spots. To its last day it will go on seeking ways to re-establish its rule over the world.

This is an accepted premise within the world Marxist movement. However, this inherent characteristic of imperialism must operate within the realities of the world balance of forces. It must take into account the forces of anti-imperialism—the growing economic, military and political might of the socialist third of the world, the national liberation forces, the working class and the peoples of the capitalist world. It must deal with its imperialist rivals.

The aim of the forces of anti-imperialism is not to change this inherent characteristic of imperialism. These forces are striving to curb, quarantine and restrain the actions of imperialism, as they fight to free territories from oppression. Their aim, each sector through its own appropriate form of struggle — military, political and economic — is to force imperialism to retreat within its own national boundaries. This is a necessary prerequisite if the nations and peoples of the world are to exercise their right of self-determination.

The understanding of how the inherent aggressive character of imperialism operates within the present world balance of forces is basic in working out policy and tactics for a victorious struggle against imperialism. But in addition to this built-in characteristic, there are some specific developments that at this moment influence the activities of U.S. imperialism. After World War II, it expanded its operations almost at will, and has become economically geared to a never-ending process of expansion. In some parts of the world, however, the pathways of this expansion have become narrowed or closed. The easy pickings are disappearing, and this at a time

when unprecedented profits both at home and abroad have resulted in massive accumulations of idle capital with no place to go. And with each dollar of unused capital, the pressure for imperialist expansion grows.

For example, in 1964 American corporations, after paying out a record volume of nearly \$20 billion in dividends and huge sums in executive bonuses and expense accounts, still retained almost \$12 billion in undistributed profits. In addition, they were able to draw on some \$33.7 billion in capital consumption allowances—a figure considerably swelled by accelerated depreciation writeoffs. How long can such huge sums continue to be used for domestic expansion, especially when the sole motive for expansion is maximum profits? Thus it becomes the source of ever greater pressure for foreign investment and imperialist aggression.

It is necessary to view these pressures within the context of the increasingly ominous signs on the economic horizon of world capitalism. They all point to a decidedly slower growth rate, to a forced cut in capital expenditures. This will add to the pressures within which the aggressive character of imperialism operates. This will tend to increase the inter-imperialist rivalries. However, the pressures are not all in one direction. These same factors will also increase the pressures for capitalism to seek a way out through closer trade relations with the socialist countries and other parts of the world on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. The forces of anti-imperialism must take note of both pressures.

In this period of victorious national liberation revolutions, the actions of U.S. imperialism take on special significance of a counter-revolutionary nature. The escalation in Vietnam is an attempt to extricate a policy of aggression that is on the brink of total defeat, because the forces of national liberation are within reach of total victory. The colonial liberation movement will continue along the path of victory. And the present course of U.S. policy will continue to clash with the forces of progress everywhere because they are lined up with the forces of colonial liberation. It is this that explains why, without exception, the U.S. forces are always and in every country lined up with the reactionary forces of counter-revolution. The *New York Times* editorially laments: "When the United States opposes them (reforms) it places itself in a counter-revolutionary position." How could it be otherwise?

Vice President Humphrey, in a recent address to the National War College, articulated the attitude of U.S. imperialism. He spoke of

"a bold new form of aggression which could rank in military importance with the discovery of gunpowder. I refer to the 'war of national liberation'—this new sophisticated form of warfare is becoming the *major challenge to our security . . .*" In Humphrey's warped sense of logic, the victim of the robbery, because he resists, becomes a "major challenge to the security" of the thief.

Finally, there is another specific factor that has entered into the calculations of U.S. imperialism in its escalation of the war against Vietnam. This is the division within the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces in general and the socialist countries in particular. U.S. imperialism is geared to take advantage of any divisions or weaknesses resulting from wrong policies within the socialist camp.

The cleavage between China and India, the conflict between India and Pakistan, the divisions in Asia and Africa are all weighed in these calculations. The division within the socialist camp, and the conflict in the world Communist movement weighs especially heavily on the scales of calculated risks.

It is an undeniable fact that because of these divisions, U.S. imperialism has been able to escalate the war without meeting the total united resistance of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This remains a serious weakness. But this is also an area in which imperialism can make its biggest miscalculation. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. The pressures of reality, the hammer blows of struggle, will weld a new unity in the anti-imperialist camp. In fact, this new unity is beginning to be welded now. The factors that have worked toward disunity are beginning to recede into the background.

This experience should be cause for serious thought on the part of all anti-imperialist forces, and especially in the ranks of the world Communist movement. It should give rise to some fresh thoughts on what should be our scale of values, on what priorities should be given to such concepts as unity in struggle, working class internationalism, the class struggle and the role of classes, the relations between working-class parties and the relations between socialist states, etc. This experience should be enough to convince every party that a policy of united struggle against imperialist aggression must have top priority among political values, that ideological differences—no matter how serious—must not be permitted to become an obstacle to such a policy. To give ideological differences a higher priority, so they become an obstacle to the needed unity of action

against imperialism, is to place these differences above a victory over imperialism.

Imperialism uses all possible differences within the ranks of anti-imperialism. This is in fact its primary source of hope. Hence, for any section of the anti-imperialist forces to attempt to "use" this tactic of imperialism for its own narrow short-term interests is to contribute to very serious long-term negative effects in the anti-imperialist struggle. United struggle against imperialist aggression must be given top priority in political values by all who claim to be part of the anti-imperialist front.

NEO-COLONIALISM

Because U.S. imperialism, coming on the scene comparatively late, has had few outright colonies, and because it acquired substantial additions to its empire after World War II, and after the high development of monopoly and the rise of its state-monopoly phase, it has become especially adept in the use of neo-colonialist methods. There is a specially constructed state-monopoly web designed for this purpose. There are special federal banks and financial institutions established for this purpose. These use American taxpayers' dollars to protect the foreign property and profits of the monopolist swindlers. The foreign aid program has the same function, as do most government contracts and subsidies. Thus, the governmental structure has a system of departments of imperialism, to facilitate the imperialist structure of private corporations.

Throughout the capitalist world there is a system of U.S. government and private officials handling special loans. There is the CIA pay-off system to supplement the pay-off men of the corporations. There is the cadre of "foreign aid" government "experts" in every field—"labor experts," "cultural experts," "financial experts," "agricultural experts." But above all else, they are "experts" in securing the upper hand for U.S. capitalism.

It is now an accepted practice to staff these special departments with *direct* representatives of the corporations for whose benefit their government authority is to be used. The heads of these departments are very often in closer touch with the private imperialist combines than with the government. As a rule they are appointed, so there is no public control over them. Where there are no departments, there are special presidential advisers like McGeorge Bundy. The heads of these departments and these advisers make up the extra-legal "invisible government."

This is a body with alarming powers. Its activities are hidden from the people and Congress, and yet it has the power to instigate wars of aggression. Headed by the National Security Council, this "invisible government" tends to usurp the authority of the Cabinet. As a governmental body the Cabinet plays less and less of a role. The emergence of this behind-the-scenes center of political power, closely linked to the centers of financial-industrial combines, and all interlinked with the military forces of the Pentagon and the CIA and FBI, presents the most serious threat to the whole bourgeois-democratic structure. It is this section of the government that is most directly controlled by the imperialist corporations. It is also the section which has grown the fastest.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to assume that this sector of the government is united behind the Johnson doctrine of aggression. The inner struggle within these councils is as sharp as it is within the ranks of U.S. capitalism. This must be grasped if we are to understand the role of the Johnson Administration. For at this moment the outstanding feature is that the most warlike forces of this "invisible government" have become the dominant force in determining foreign policy. They are for the moment in control of the Executive power on foreign policy, and they are in control because President Johnson has elevated them to their present positions of power.

These forces have had a growing influence within past administrations. There have been previous occasions when they have been momentarily dominant, though most of the time they have been off-set by saner elements. But at this moment they call the foreign policy shots. They are the criminal architects of the aggression that now endangers the peace of the world.

But their position of dominance in the Administration is as precarious as is the whole policy of aggression they promote, for there are powerful forces within and around the Administration who do not agree with the present policies of aggression. The opposition on this level is expressed by such newspapers as the *New York Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the Knight chain of newspapers, and others. It is expressed by such columnists as Walter Lippmann. And it is expressed in one way or another by one-third of the U.S. Senate, including such men as Morse, Fulbright, Gruening, Mansfield and Aiken, and by a sizeable bloc of Congressmen.

This opposition, which represents a difference over tactics, is in turn a reflection of divisions in the ranks of U.S. capitalism.

Among the big capitalists who opposed Goldwater in the 1964 elections, there is a significant number who did so because they were against escalation of the war in Vietnam. They are now against Johnson for the same reason. There are also important sections of big business which, in the face of sharpening competition with West European and Japanese capital, are pressing for the opening up of trade with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, and which find the Administration policy in Vietnam obstacles to this. They are not necessarily men of peace. But they see the present policy of aggression creating unnecessary difficulty for them.

Such opposition is particularly important because it coincides with the more basic anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments among the American people. The present aggressive war policy is under growing pressure from those holding a position which offers the only realistic basis for the defense of U.S. capitalist interests, whereas the Administration policy leads to a dead end. These divisions can only add to our confidence in the possibility of turning the present tide of imperialist aggression.

These divisions in the ranks of U.S. capitalism are not over whether U.S. imperialism should exist or not. They are over *how* it is to exist. In this, too, lies the continuing distinction between the Administration and the ultra-Right. True, Johnson has adopted a reactionary foreign policy which, if it is persisted in, will lead to the full position of the ultra-Right. The fascist-oriented ultra-Right is irrevocably committed to a policy of all-out escalation and nuclear war.

For the moment the U.S. policy remains one of endless escalation, one based on the demand for unconditional surrender. The Administration is telling the people of North Vietnam: "We are going to bomb your cities until you join us in crushing the People's Liberation Movement in South Vietnam — until you 'police' the liberation forces there." And after each new step, the turning of the tide becomes that much more difficult.

SOME TACTICAL QUESTIONS

The rising demand to stop the bombing of North Vietnam is a minimum first-step demand. It is the absolute minimum prerequisite for bringing about negotiations. And it is a proper demand even if there should be no negotiations. At the same time, our central task remains the exposure of the operations of U.S. imperialism and the fight for the full right of self-determination for the people of

Vietnam. Our demand is for the total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from every inch of foreign soil starting with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

This raises some important tactical questions in the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. Tactical questions must of necessity be related to what has emerged for solution. What is possible and what has emerged for solution are in turn closely related to the existing relationship of forces.

What then is possible, and what is the question that life has thrust before us for solution? What is possible in the present situation is to force U.S. imperialism to retreat from its position, from its extended salients in Indo-China and the Dominican Republic.

From the viewpoint of the relationship of forces within our country, this is a realistic possibility. Large sections of the people of the U.S. support such a withdrawal. It is a realistic objective also from the viewpoint of the balance of world forces. Attainment of this objective will not "smash U.S. imperialism," but it will be an important victory for the forces of anti-imperialism. Such a victory will result in giving the people of these lands the right of self-determination.

Why is it necessary to clear up the question of what is "on the order of the day" in fighting against imperialism? Because that determines the nature of the tactics to be employed, and tactics determine the nature of the slogans to be advanced. The forces of anti-imperialism must not get tied down by abstractions or slogans that sound radical but do not correspond to what is on the "order of the day." It is important to be clear on what is possible, because to set impossible, unrealistic goals is to paint oneself into unnecessary and unrealistic corners in a tactical sense. If one is not convinced that the goal is realistic, then of course tactics do not matter. In life such a lack of confidence is either covered up by opportunistic slogans of either the Left or Right variety. Such incorrect slogans then help to split the forces of anti-imperialism and isolate the most advanced elements, and so the slogans themselves become factors that weigh against achieving the goals that are realistic and possible.

Let us look into another area, closely related to tactics. That a world war or a nuclear war is not inevitable is a very correct premise in the struggle for peace in today's world. But the emphasis must be on the words "struggle" and "not inevitable." Because if such a premise leads to a feeling of complacency, then one does not correctly understand its meaning. During the crisis of

the last months it has been repeatedly said: "Neither side in this conflict wants either a world war or a nuclear war." The emphasis here is placed on neither side "wants." Such statements contain an element of truth, but by themselves they can be dangerously misleading.

In discussing the relationship of the laws of military movements to conduct of diplomacy, Engels observed in 1854: "Military movements, once they are under way, are no longer subordinate to the wishes and plans of diplomacy, but subordinate to their own laws, which cannot be violated without endangering the whole enterprise." (*New York Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1854. *Werke*, Vol. X, p. 3.) And again in the *German Ideology*, Marx and Engels stated that there is "the old illusion that it depends only upon the good will of the people to change existing relations, and that the existing relations are ideas."

While it is a fact that even the forces which dominate U.S. foreign policy do not at this moment risk a nuclear war or a world war—that they do not now "want" such wars—it does not, therefore, follow that the world is not on the path that can lead to either or both. And there are new factors that are related to the influence that the laws of military movements have on the overall scene. They are the new dimensions of the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, and the hair-line difference between calculated launching and accidental triggering of large-scale atomic destruction. This adds a new quality to the effect the laws of military movements can have on the course of human events.

The laws of military movements can also be seen in the escalation of the war in Vietnam. The future steps of escalation are not necessarily contemplated. Each new step is taken to cover up the fact that the previous step was unsuccessful. Thus the escalation propelled by the laws of military necessity can reach a point where it will also force new political decisions.

The spokesmen of the ultra-Right, who are committed to a world nuclear preventive war now, are fully aware of the relationship between the laws of military movements and political realities. Goldwater and the Pentagon are demanding full authority and freedom of action for the military commanders in the field. They want the laws of military movements to have full sway. They are aware that, uninhibited, these laws will quickly lead to the total war they seek.

The progressive forces of the world must see not only the possibilities of stopping a world war by forcing the imperialist camp to retreat, but also the grave danger inherent

within the present crisis. The course of events is not determined by good or bad ideas alone. Future events cannot be predicted on the basis of what the forces involved now "want" or "don't want." Complacency, wishful thinking or any reliance on what this or that force "wants" in the struggle against imperialism can lead to serious setbacks.

The statement that "even if the U.S. should bomb or attack China, it would not result in a world war" is in the same category of fallacies. For it also promotes false complacency and creates illusions. It is a statement without any foundation in fact, because the fact is that if the escalation reaches the point where U.S. imperialism attacks or bombs the People's Republic of China, a qualitatively new set of factors determining the course of events will take over. The laws of military movements would take on a new quality in their effect on the nature of these political decisions.

The broad forces for peace the world over are fighting against the Johnson policy of escalation because they correctly fear that it can lead to a world conflict. U.S. imperialism takes each step of escalation behind the demagoguery of denying that the war is spreading or that the danger is increasing. Why should anyone in the anti-imperialist camp join them in spreading this illusion?

NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM

In probing the relationships between the different sectors of the revolutionary forces of the present period it is necessary to keep in mind that the fundamental shift in human society in this epoch is from capitalism to socialism. The main vehicle, the main force for this historic transition is the working class. The basic struggle is the class struggle between the two main classes—the working class and the capitalist class. The struggle for national liberation, for freedom from imperialism, has emerged as an important phase of the over-all revolutionary sweep of this epoch. There is a close relationship between these two developments, but the distinctions between them must not be blurred over or confused.

After each victory in the struggle for national liberation, the people face a struggle for direction. Having crossed successfully the river of freedom from imperialist rule, they must decide through struggle whether they will move toward socialism or toward capitalism. There is no other choice. Some have moved very rapidly, as did Cuba, from the national liberation victory to the fundamental revolution of socialism. Others have

wavered and hesitated. Still others have floundered. At this point the size, experience and influence of the working class are decisive in determining whether to move forward to the new quantitative level of a socialist revolution or to hesitate and take dangerous detours. Such hesitation and wavering create confusion and indecision among the forces of the revolution.

Why should these tactical questions be of such direct concern to us? Simply because some forces in the U.S. Left are also becoming very confused about these relationships. They want to simplify matters by skipping stages of struggle.

Thus, the *Monthly Review*, in an editorial published in March 1963, asks "whether more than one kind of revolution . . . is possible in Latin America today. More specifically, do Latin American countries face the choice of bourgeois revolution or socialist revolution?" And its editors reply:

"... There is only one ruling class in Latin America today, and it is basically bourgeois in its outlook and interests. It follows that the only possible revolution is one that overthrows bourgeois rule and installs the peasantry and/or the proletariat as the new ruling class(es). The other side of the coin can only be the substitution of socialist for bourgeois property relations. In other words, *the only possible revolution in Latin America today is a socialist revolution.*"

More recently (May 1965), writing about a Leftist group of Guatemalan guerrillas, they state that this group has "challenged one of the most widely accepted of all the dogmas of Left-wing and progressive political thought—that the only kind of revolution which can hope to succeed in underdeveloped countries is one based on a coalition of class forces including the petty bourgeoisie and the so-called national bourgeoisie . . . They have instead adopted a straightforward socialist program and have declared that the means to its realization must be a workers' and peasants' state.* And there is no reason to assume, the *Monthly Review* editors continue, that "the Guatemalan masses see things in a qualitatively different way than their brothers in Central and South America."

This view rejects out of hand the idea of national democratic revolutions whose immediate goal is freedom from the political domination of imperialism, and asserts that all revolutions in Latin America must at the outset take the form of socialist revolutions—in other words, that all liberation struggles are now on that level.

*This position is completely rejected by the Communist Party of Guatemala.

That there are forces within the national-liberation movement who advocate socialism (in the first place, the Communists) is, of course, true. But they are also leaders and fighters for national independence, and they do not make acceptance of their socialist convictions a condition for joining with others in the struggle for independence from imperialism. Communists who are active in the struggle for liberation take this view because they are convinced that the broad masses, the middle classes, as well as some sections of the capitalist class, are ready to fight for independence but are not yet ready at this point (and some never will be ready) to fight for socialism. For countries which have already won their independence, the struggle for direction is on the order of the day. For countries which are still fighting for independence, socialism is not on the order of the day. National independence is on the order of the day.

The dividing line between the victory of national liberation and the struggle for socialism may be very brief or it may be of longer duration, and very often the two overlap, but the distinction must not be overlooked or blurred. The advocacy of socialism and the struggle for national liberation are not in contradiction if the relationship of the two is understood. What is on the order of the day at each moment must be kept clear. And here, as in all cases, the choice of tactics depends on what the forces who are going to bring about the change are ready to do.

The *Monthly Review* position, though it sounds revolutionary, is in reality only a smokescreen. It is a cover for a basic lack of confidence in the working class. It is a position for those who have no confidence in mass struggles, and instead advocate tactics based on small groups "in the hills." Such tactics divide the forces of anti-imperialism. They isolate the advanced elements from those who are not at the given stage of the struggle ready to fight for socialism. They serve only to obstruct endlessly both the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for socialism. At each stage, tactical positions must be related to what is possible—to what is on the order of the day.

This position of the *Monthly Review*, it should be noted, is neither original nor revolutionary. Essentially, it is but a rewrite of the position held by the Trotskyite movement for some forty years. This erroneous position serves to confuse and to divide the forces of anti-imperialism. This position also serves to narrow down the anti-imperialist movements of the people within the imper-

ialist countries. Large sections of the people of the USA are ready to join in the struggle to give the people of the oppressed nations the right to determine their own course of development. They are ready to support the struggle for national independence of all nations.

MASS MOVEMENTS

The worldwide reaction against the aggression in Vietnam has become a big factor for peace. With the possible exception of the British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt, never since the days of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo has world opinion been so opposed to a policy as it is to the Johnson Doctrine. The United States has never been as isolated as it is today. The place in the spotlight has turned into a hot seat.

For us, by far the most significant development is the escalation of mass protest movements by the American people. The resistance of our people to the policies of aggression stems from many sources. There is a very deep moral abhorrence against the naked aggression which is taking place. There is a broad base for the pacifist resistance to wars in general. Some have joined the struggle because of their fear that the escalation will lead to a world conflict or to a nuclear war. Then there is the growing number imbued with varying degrees of anti-imperialist consciousness, and as the struggle develops this understanding continues to grow. There is also a very broad spectrum of the American people who may not understand the imperialist nature of the war, but who do support the general democratic concept that all nations must have the right of self-determination.

All of these levels of understanding have tended to come together in a movement that demands an end to the acts of aggression. The levels of action are as varied as the levels of understanding. There is a new measure of unity among the forces for peace because there is a new sense of respect for levels of activity other than one's own. Thanks to this, it is possible to have united actions on a minimum basis participated in by all levels of resistance to the policy of aggression.

This struggle against U.S. imperialist policies by the people of the USA is a new, higher kind of patriotic movement, motivated by the true self-interests of our nation and people. It is a fight to return our nation to the path of peace, democracy and social progress. Its patriotic nature is emphasized by the sharp contrast with the anti-national character of the policies followed by the

forces of U.S. imperialism. There is a growing concern about the harm to our country's interests inherent in the policy of recklessly gambling with American lives and prestige by U.S. imperialism and the Administration.

This movement has broader and deeper roots than any previous peace movement in our country. For this is a protest which of necessity is directed against the policies of our government alone. Even the test ban struggle was directed toward many governments. A struggle against the policies of one's own government requires a much higher political and ideological understanding. It is a long way from the "plague on both your houses" level of the peace movement of a few years ago.

The broad popular wellsprings of understanding from which these mass actions originate represent the most important political force in our country. By and large the mass currents that developed against the ultra-Right in the elections of 1964, and again during the events in Alabama, are now in motion against the war policies of U.S. imperialism. These masses voted against Goldwater because he represented an open war policy. They are now fighting against the Johnson doctrine of aggression for the same reasons.

The hundreds of "teach-ins" of recent months, with hundreds of thousands of participants—an estimated 300,000 participants, including radio and television audiences, in one national "teach-in" alone—are a new method of struggle which has brought in thousands of new fighters. These "teach-ins" reflect a significant growth of anti-imperialist understanding. The all-night discussions have revealed a surprising understanding of the basic issues involved, and a new level of acceptance among students and faculty members that there are other systems besides capitalism. It is a level that says: "If the people of any country want to try socialism, they must have the right." In many colleges these "teach-ins" were the first protest of any kind ever to have taken place.

The protests by unions are also of great importance. The resolution of the United Auto Workers Executive Board; the convention resolution and other actions by the West Coast longshore union (ILWU); the statements of District 65, Local 1199 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, and the teamsters' union; the numerous editorials in union papers; the actions of union women's auxiliaries—all these are signs of a new level of activity by the trade unions for world peace. Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Auto Workers, expressed the thoughts of millions of workers in a speech at a rally in

Detroit on May 15th, when he said that he was "alarmed and sickened at the sending of 25,000 American troops to overthrow an elected government in the Dominican Republic, the first that nation has had in thirty-five years." He went on to say: "I believe our government cannot unilaterally act as a world police force. Our government seems to favor military dictatorships, and we ought to raise our voices in protest against this policy."

There are also, it is true, such expressions of all-out support for the aggressive Administration policies as those of David Dubinsky and George Meany. These are grim reminders that the trade union movement has far to go before it assumes its proper place in the struggle for peace. These are actions of faithful servants of imperialism. But it is the heightened wave of protests that is significant, that is indicative of the direction in which organized labor is moving.

Then there is the unprecedented number of signers of newspaper ads. This now includes tens of thousands of names of the clergy, writers, labor leaders, professionals and artists, and public figures of all kinds. The list of signers of the writers' ads is unprecedented. It includes almost every writer of any public note. Such newspaper ads have developed into a major method of struggle because the mass media have been closed to voices of protest. In addition, the letters-to-the-editor columns have never been so crowded with expressions of protest as they now are in relation to Vietnam.

The numerous mass protest gatherings—including one of 30,000 in Washington, D.C. and another of 20,000 in Berkeley, California—have all been very successful. There has been a growth of people's committees in all kinds of new and smaller communities. In all these struggles our Party, and individual Communists, have played a very commendable role.

These actions are a dramatic demonstration that the movement for peace has now emerged fully, along with the civil rights movement, as one of the mass popular currents of struggle. This is a very significant political development.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The policy of peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems has never been a policy based on acceptance of the *status quo* in world relations. It has been and it remains an effective weapon of struggle—a struggle in which both hands are used. With one hand, the aggressive forces of world imperialism and world war are held back; with the other, full support is given to the forces fighting for national independence, and to the peoples moving towards a socialist goal.

The test of whether a policy is based on actuality is whether it can be translated into tactics and made the basis of struggle. And the test of tactics is whether they can change the actuality. The correctness of tactics cannot be checked in terms of whether they might or might not have been correct in the past, or whether they may or may not still be correct in the future. They must correctly reflect the actuality of *this* day. Therefore, in the determination of tactics, timing and flexibility are the most crucial ingredients.

The sharpening of struggle by itself does not call for a *change* in policy; it tests it. The estimates on which policy is based do not change because there is struggle. These are not estimates of neutral forces placidly growing or declining, but of forces in struggle. And a political estimate takes into account the effect of struggles on the forces involved.

There is nothing in the sharpened struggles that has in any way placed the concepts arising from the policies of peaceful coexistence into question. True, the balance of forces is at this time again going through one of its severe tests. At issue is whether the forces of anti-imperialism and peace the world over can turn back the tide of imperialism and war. That such tests occur is itself proof of the existence of a new relationship of forces. In past periods when imperialism was dominant, the question did not come up. In this test, as well as in previous ones, I am confident that imperialism will be forced to retreat. This confidence is based on the power of the forces of anti-imperialism in struggle.

Communists and the mass movements

HENRY WINSTON

THE COLD WAR OFFENSIVE

THE CONTINUING persecution of the Communist Party in the United States has been a major weapon in the arsenal of U.S. imperialism since the close of World War II. In the frantic effort to silence all opposition to the reactionary course in foreign policy upon which it embarked, the Truman Administration launched an all-out offensive against the Communist Party. To justify its aggressive intervention in all areas of the globe conducted under the guise of protecting the "free world" against the worldwide "Communist conspiracy," it set out to destroy the national image of the Communist Party, to undermine its ties and influence generally, but particularly in the working class and Negro people's movements.

On July 20, 1948, on the eve of the Fourteenth National Convention of the Party, the national leadership was arrested under the infamous thought-control Smith Act, charged with "unlawfully, wilfully, and knowingly" conspiring to organize the Communist Party and "knowingly and wilfully to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence." The long and harrowing trial which ensued resulted in a conviction, and the Communist leaders were sentenced to long years of imprisonment and huge fines.

This decision, coming in 1949, opened the floodgate of McCarthyism, which dominated the domestic scene for nearly a decade. In a short time, 15 additional conspiracy indict-

ments were handed down and over 100 working-class leaders from Massachusetts to Hawaii were arrested. New repressive anti-labor and anti-people's legislation was enacted, from the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act to the McCarran Act and the Communist Control Act.

In a frenzied anti-Communist drive, section 9H of the Taft-Hartley Act (compelling trade union officers to sign affidavits that they neither belong to the Communist Party nor support any organization that "believes in or teaches the overthrow of the government by force and violence") was widely applied in the attempt to destroy progressive trade unionism, eliminate the Left from the leadership of unions, and sap the labor movement of all its militancy.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, in its investigations of "hidden Communists," organized a veritable witchhunt against hundreds upon hundreds of individuals in government staffs, in the labor unions, in factories, in professional and academic circles who at one time or another had identified themselves with democratic causes. Conformity was demanded as the price for holding on to a job and stool-pigeonry became a "badge of honor"; the so-called "loyalty oath" became the test of patriotism, and anti-Communist clauses were forced on the peace, civil rights and labor organizations. Benjamin J. Davis was denied the right to complete his tenure of office as New York City Councilman and the democratic system of proportional representation in New York City was altered to prevent Com-

munists from winning electoral posts. State after state enacted legislation to exclude Communists from the ballot. The anti-Communist hysteria reached into every corner of national life, so that even the Democratic administrations of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman were labeled "twenty years of treason."

The membership of the Party was under continual harassment by FBI agents, with many suffering the loss of their jobs and experiencing difficulty in finding employment. A special target were the families of the Smith Act victims, who were kept under constant surveillance.

But despite all this, the Party succeeded in organizing a broad movement of support against the Smith Act. Overflow meetings were held throughout the country and hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised for bail and to cover legal defense. As the drag-net of McCarthyism widened to encompass outstanding progressive figures in the country, the relationship between the rights of the Communists and the defense of democracy became clearer to millions. The fight for the legality of the Communist Party thus merged with the growing movement of resistance to McCarthyism and fascist reaction.

Firmly adhering to principles, and flexibly developing its activities, the Party helped to defeat McCarthyism and render inoperative the application of the Smith Act. In 1957, when the anti-McCarthy movement had reached its height, the Supreme Court reviewed the case of the California Smith Act defendants and this time it held that the evidence (which was essentially the same as in other trials) was insufficient to support a conviction under the conspiracy provisions of the Smith Act. The Supreme Court stated that the government had been unable to prove that the California defendants, and the Communist Party as such, had ever incited violence against the U.S. Government. As a result, the Court of Appeals acquitted the defendants in four other cases and the government dismissed the indictments in another eight. The last case—that of the Denver defendants—was decided favorably only a few months ago.

The fight for the legality of the Communist Party, for the right to function as a legitimate political party of the working class, involved not only the struggle against the enemies from without. It also required a stubborn struggle within the Party: on the one hand, against the Gates revisionists who rent the Party asunder in their attempt to liquidate the organization and to water down the science of Marxism-Leninism; on the other hand,

against a small ultra-Left grouping that attempted to transform the Party into a dogmatic sect. But the Party succeeded in thwarting these reckless attempts of both Right and "Left" opportunist elements. This internal struggle, too, could not destroy the Party. The Party withstood these assaults from within and without.

The Seventeenth National Convention held at the end of 1959 marked a turning point, advancing a program of mass activities in the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence, for the freedom of oppressed peoples, for the equal rights of the Negro people, and for the economic needs of the working class, with the objective of bringing into being a broad anti-monopoly people's coalition to defeat reaction and curb the power of U.S. monopoly capitalism.

THE McCARRAN ACT

Reaction, however, is unrelenting in its hatred of Communism. Infuriated by its failure to destroy the Communist Party, and to isolate it from the struggles of the people, it has in recent years activated the McCarran Act, a law passed during the Korean War in 1950, and further implemented in the Communist Control Act of 1954. The McCarran Act virtually outlaws the Communist Party. It asserts the existence of a worldwide Communist conspiracy "whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration . . . espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world, through the medium of a worldwide Communist organization." Under its provisions the Communist Party is considered part of this alleged "international conspiracy" controlled and directed by a foreign power.

This law sets up three categories for repressing workingclass and people's organizations: 1) "Communist-action" organizations—referring to the Communist Party as a direct instrument of the alleged world conspiracy; 2) "Communist-front" organizations which cover up "their true character and purposes and their membership"—referring to militant organizations in which Communists and non-Communists have united around specific issues or a special field of activity; and 3) "Communist-infiltrated" organizations, which are "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within three years have been actively engaged in giving aid or support to a "Communist-action organization." This last category, established in the Communist Con-

trol Act of 1954, was directly aimed against Left- and progressive-led trade unions.

The law requires that a "Communist-action organization" register with the Department of Justice; provide the names and addresses of all officers and members of the organization; give an accounting of the source of its funds, including the names of all its contributors; and listing the location and numbers of all printing presses and mimeograph machines at its disposal. Officers and members of the organization are subject to severe penalties for failure to register, facing imprisonment of 5 years and a \$10,000 fine for each day.

Since the Supreme Court in June 1961 upheld the registration provisions of the McCarran Act, the Communist Party has once again been faced with a whole series of new indictments and legal battles. The Communist Party as an organization was indicted for failure to register under the law. After a two-year battle in the courts the United States Court of Appeals ruled at the end of 1963 that the government could not make the Party register unless it proved that some individual, acting for the Party, was willing to run the risk of self-incrimination by registering. Instead of dropping the case, the Government indicted the Party for a second time, and the trial is scheduled to be held in October of this year.

The indictment of the Party was followed by the arrest of Gus Hall and Benjamin J. Davis for failure to register as officers of the Party. To date some 49 Communists residing in different areas of the country have been summoned before the Subversive Activities Control Board and ordered to register or face indictment for violation of the law. One person has been arrested and indicted for violating the provision of the McCarran Act which forbids the employment of Communists in defense plants.

The McCarran Act has been applied to a large number of alleged "Communist-front" organizations, involving these organizations in long court litigations, sapping their meager finances and intimidating their memberships. Among these have been such long-established organizations as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union has been subjected to charges of being a "Communist-infiltrated" organization. Communists and suspected Communists were denied passports for travel abroad.

The Communist Party determined resolutely to challenge the unconstitutionality of

the McCarran Act. Even though its numbers were considerably reduced from its high point during World War II, the Party nevertheless conducted a massive campaign of agitation exposing the fascist-like character of the McCarran Act and succeeded in rallying a movement against the Act which has enlisted important sections of the organized labor movement, the civil rights movement, democratic forces generally and especially the youth on college campuses, where a ferment for the right to hear, to think and to act has developed into what is called the "campus rebellion."

As a result, a number of signal victories have been scored in the past year. The United States Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional the denial of passports in the *Aptheker-Flynn* passport challenge. It has held that the government has not proven its case against the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and reversed the findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board. It has also declared that the evidence against the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is "stale," leaving it to the government to decide whether it will subject these two organizations to further hearings on the basis of new evidence. And most significant, on June 7, 1965, the Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision, declared unconstitutional the anti-Communist provision of the Landrum-Griffin Act which bars Communists from holding union elective posts, imposing criminal sanctions against unions which permit Communists to hold office. This case involved Archie Brown, veteran Communist public figure in San Francisco who remained a member of the executive board of the San Francisco local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union after the Landrum-Griffin Act was passed.

Of course, these victories do not nullify the McCarran Act. They indicate, however, that the battle against it can be successful. The government can be compelled to halt its implementation of this Act. But this depends above all on the outcome of the cases involving the Party itself, the case of Gus Hall and the membership cases. Clearly, it would be foolhardy to leave the outcome of these cases in the hands of the courts and confine ourselves to the legal battle. The McCarran Act can be defeated only by the intervention of additional millions of lovers of peace and democracy. Our Party is confident, notwithstanding the ominous threat of new repressions with the further escalation of the war in Vietnam, that the battle can be won.

On September 1, the Communist Party of the United States celebrates its 46th anniversary.

sary. The Communist Party is no conspiratorial group of plotters who fear the light of day. From its very beginning it openly proclaimed its views and sought to influence the thought and actions of the millions. While forced into illegality during the Palmer raid hysteria after World War I, it quickly succeeded in securing a legal status and courageously championed the cause of the working class, of democracy and equality, of the socialist transformation of society. From the beginning, too, our Party fervently defended the principle of working class internationalism. That is why such outstanding figures of the working-class as Charles E. Ruthenberg, Bill Haywood, William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James Ford, Eugene Dennis, Jack Johnstone and Benjamin J. Davis, among others, joined its ranks.

As a small Communist Party, with less than 7,500 members, it played a decisive role in the crisis years of the early thirties in organizing the unemployed, in the establishment of the CIO and in forging Negro-white unity for full economic, political and social equality of the Negro people. The massive struggles of those years helped achieve numerous social gains which have benefitted millions of working people of our land. The Communist Party grew into a major political force, contributing in large measure to the mobilization of the strength of the entire nation against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis in World War II.

It is fear that the present program and activities of the Communist Party, in the turbulent conditions of our day, could once again transform our small Party into a major political factor in the country that explains the frenzied efforts of the ruling circles to dismember and destroy it. But as the last eighteen years of repression have already proven, the Communist Party cannot be crushed. It is alive and functioning. It has learned much from the experiences of the past. And it is fully conscious of the grave responsibilities history has placed before it, functioning as it does in the heartland of world imperialism. While the Party realizes that the path ahead is not an easy one, it is also aware that we are on the eve of great democratic and anti-imperialist developments within the country.

THE PARTY IN THE 1964 ELECTIONS

The presidential election of last November is a vivid illustration of the complexity of the situation in the United States, and the need for the greatest flexibility in the development of the policies and tactics of our Party. With the only choice before the people being one between Lyndon B. Johnson, who

stepped into the White House after President Kennedy was assassinated, and Barry Goldwater, the darling of the ultra-Right, our Party called for the defeat of Goldwater. We recognized, as did the people of our country and in fact throughout the world, that Goldwater represented the rabidly racist, pro-fascist and pro-war camp in American political life. Our Party, of course, did not endorse Johnson, and we pointed out that Johnson as the candidate of monopoly capitalism could not be relied upon to fulfill the needs of our people, but must constantly be subjected to the pressure of the mass struggles of the people. At the same time, it was clear that if Goldwater was overwhelmingly defeated in the elections, any attempt on the part of Johnson to impose the program of Goldwaterism at home and abroad would put him in direct collision with the people who elected him, thereby broadening and deepening the struggle for the vital issues of peace, democracy, and Negro equality, for attention to long-neglected social needs such as housing and schools, for the shorter work-week to counter the consequences of automation. How to help guarantee such a perspective was a major task for the Communists.

The Party had three guidelines in the campaign. The first was to develop a vigorous program dealing with the issues that would stir the people into action. The second was accurately to gauge the level of consciousness of the people and to recognize that the broad sections of the population still saw the solution of their problems through the two-party system. And third, to develop independent forms of political action which would enable labor and its allies to influence the elections.

The Communist Party did not have its own presidential ticket. Yet it is an undisputed fact that it played a significant role in determining the outcome of these elections. The program of the Party was brought to millions. Leaflets and pamphlets dealing with the urgent issues of the day were widely distributed throughout the country. Of special significance was the pamphlet by Comrade Gus Hall, entitled *The Eleventh Hour—Defeat the New Fascist Threat*, which was distributed in 100,000 copies. Hundreds of individuals wrote in for copies of this pamphlet, and numerous non-Communists distributed it in the hundreds among their friends and fellow-workers.

Party leaders participated in mass meetings and symposiums throughout the country, appearing on many university campuses, and were often invited to present their views over radio and television. For example, this writer made a month's tour of dozens of cities in

the Midwest and Far West, speaking on campuses and at general mass meetings in the communities. In a number of cities he was interviewed by the press and invited to appear on television. The accord of such a reception to a Communist spokesman is indicative of the changing climate in our country and the readiness of people to listen to the message of the Communist Party.

The day-to-day activities of the Communists in clarifying the issues among the people, in pointing out the reasons for the need to defeat Goldwater, and its constant stress on the active intervention in the elections by the independent political formations of labor and the Negro people, won a new respect for the Communist Party and helped to establish new ties with the important sections of the people throughout the country.

UPSURGE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

As is known, the election campaign ended with the smashing defeat of Goldwater. The people gave Johnson a mandate for peace. The shameful escalation of the war in Vietnam and the brazen armed intervention in the Dominican Republic have aroused a flood of indignant opposition to this cynical betrayal of the election promises. This would not have been the case had Goldwater won the election, for that would have been interpreted as support of the American voters for his nuclear-rattling war threats.

The anti-Goldwater coalition which emerged during the election campaign immediately sprang into life in a powerful mass upsurge to reverse the war course of the Johnson Administration. The peace actions taking place from coast to coast are the biggest our country has ever witnessed. New forms of struggle have arisen. Taking off from the sit-ins of the Negro people's struggle for equality, the "teach-in" has emerged and spread from one campus to another, embracing tens of thousands of students and members of the faculty. In most of the cities throughout the country, the press has carried an untold number of advertisements, signed by prominent writers, outstanding figures in the arts and professions, the clergy from all religious denominations, peace advocates, and ordinary men and women—everyone contributing a few dollars to pay for the cost of such advertisements. A day does not pass without the news of picket lines, demonstrations, meetings of one sort or another—demanding a return to peace in Vietnam.

Despite the demagoguery of the Johnson Administration, the movement for a ceasefire in Vietnam, for the withdrawal of American

troops, for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference continues to spread, enlisting new adherents among all sections of the population. In fact, even in certain circles of the ruling class there is some sober thinking, as is evidenced by the opposition to the present course of the Johnson Administration within the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, and of a substantial section of the American press. In the words of Gus Hall: "Never has there been a major government policy with less popular support, so out of step with popular consensus."

There are some distinguishing new features of the present peace movement that reflect its greater consistency in organized actions, its militancy and determination. For the first time since the end of World War II, there is evident a rising anti-imperialist consciousness among an important and growing segment of the peace movement. This is especially true among the youth. As a result the understanding is growing that U.S. imperialism is the chief obstacle in the world of today to peace and peaceful coexistence, to national independence and self-determination. There is no doubt that this understanding will deepen and influence other peace activists propelling the peace movement forward with even greater determination to reverse the Johnson Doctrine of military intervention. To this growth in anti-imperialist consciousness the Communist Party has significantly contributed, through its writings and spoken presentations of its policy, and through involvement of Communists in the mass struggles.

Secondly, in recent months particularly, substantial sections of the civil rights movement have identified themselves with the sentiments and activities of the peace movement. This became evident in the rising protest against the provocative intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Congo. In the glorious march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, banners with the slogan "Take the troops out of Vietnam and send them to Alabama" were carried prominently by many marchers. This was also true of the demonstration on April 17th in Washington, in which large contingents of Negro youth activists and a delegation from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party participated. Prominent civil rights leaders have spoken out against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Only a few days before this article was completed, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., the most prominent Negro leader, stated: "I'm not going to sit by and see war escalated without saying anything about it." Dr. King said that he and his aides would study the use of "peace rallies" and

"teach-ins" to bring pressure to bear on foreign policy.

A. Philip Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and chairman of the American Negro Labor Council, submitted to the recent convention of the latter organization a resolution against the war in Vietnam that won the overwhelming support of the delegates. At the recent convention of the Congress for Racial Equality a resolution calling for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic also carried. This resolution was later tabled, following the intervention of James Farmer, its National Director, who argued that while he personally favored the resolution, its passage by the convention might alienate some of its friends.

There are some leaders in the civil rights movement, like Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, who have opposed the injection of the issue of peace in the civil rights movement, maintaining that this would only create confusion and adversely affect the struggle for equality. Of course, the contrary is actually true. For equal rights can be attained only by enlisting the support of the peace organizations, the trade union movement and other democratic forces. And, conversely, only in conditions of peace can gains secured by the Negro people be protected and advanced.

As yet, the full weight of the labor movement has not been felt in the peace fight. The George Meanys and David Dubinskys, rabidly anti-Communist, brazenly support U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, parroting the arguments of the Johnson Administration. But the picture is not entirely one-sided. Not all union leaders have kept silent on this question. Patrick E. Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Emil Mazey of the United Automobile Workers, Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, David Livingston of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, and a score of others have made their opposition known. The Executive Council of the powerful United Automobile Workers, dozens of state and city labor bodies, and many local unions have expressed deep concern over the escalation of the war in Vietnam. Editorial opposition to the war and support for peaceful negotiation have been expressed in such labor journals, among others, as *Railroad Labor*, the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, the *Kentucky Labor News*, the *Washington Teamster*, the *Missouri Teamster*, *Labor Today*, and others. And needless

to say, hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers, prevented by the labor bureaucracy from speaking their minds, have found other means through which to register their voices for peace.

Of course, these are only the first swallows of the movement that must be aroused within the ranks of labor to drown out the voices of the pro-war advocates in their midst. The growing number of politically conscious trade unionists, including the Communists, have a great responsibility to find the forms of struggle through which the millions in labor can speak out. For only then will the peace movement as a whole gain the force and vigor that the gravity of the present moment demands, exerting the power necessary to force the powers-that-be in Washington to retreat from their headlong plunge toward all-out war.

THE WAR ON POVERTY

The problems flowing from the effects of automation are complex and many. One such problem is the fight against poverty. This has become a burning issue in the country, affecting tens of millions in the Appalachias, the large industrial cities, the countryside, and especially the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American ghettos. So far, as one leader in the campaign has put it, this is the only war being fought with a pop-gun. To face up properly to this issue, however, requires a government program involving the expenditure of many billions of dollars a year—far more than the sums now allocated in the Administration program.

Nevertheless, the war against poverty has now been launched, and throughout the country it has won the interest and participation of large numbers of people. The doors have been opened to set masses into motion to put an end to poverty, and there are experiences from the past which show the way. Thus, in the depths of the depression of the thirties, the National Recovery Act—the first major action of the Roosevelt Administration—contained one small portion designated as Section 7a. It stated simply that workers have the right to organize in unions of their own choosing. The NRA, which sought to institute economic "planning" through industrial councils, was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. But Section 7a became the battle-cry for organizing the unorganized, and the basis of the campaign which led to the passage of the Wagner Act and the organization of the basic industries.

Today, the Economic Opportunity Act contains a section (Title II) which calls for "maxi-

mum feasible participation" of the poor themselves in the fight against poverty. It has already become the basis for organizing struggles in the slums and ghetto communities, and it offers the point of departure for helping to rally the rank-and-file millions into a powerful mass movement which can in turn serve to extend and strengthen the role of the trade union movement in the country.

The merger of the three major currents of struggle—for peace, civil rights and economic

welfare—can develop into a mighty anti-monopoly coalition. The Communist Party, despite all difficulties, has been a part of these struggles. It has contributed much to their advance, and can help even more to advance this process of development in the future. In the course of this, it will become a party of men and women emerging from these mass movements—a party which will grow in size and solidity and will defeat all efforts of reaction to outlaw and destroy it.

The path to Negro freedom

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

Since this article was written, the Negro fight for civil rights in the USA was dramatized by the spontaneous outbreak of struggle in the Watts district in Los Angeles and its brutal suppression by the authorities.

"This is the violence historically visited on the Negro people, the violence with which their efforts to secure the treatment due them as human beings has been all too often met," so read a statement issued on August 19 on behalf of American Communists Gus Hall, Henry Winston and Claude Lightfoot. "Those to be condemned for these outbursts," it continued, "are those responsible for the inhuman conditions which led to these outbursts impelled by human anguish. And no condemnation is strong enough for those who meet them by shooting people down in cold blood like animals."

Hall, Winston and Lightfoot called for an immediate end to the repressions and the implementation of a massive emergency program of jobs and assistance to the residents of the Negro ghettos. An appropriate beginning, the statement says, "would be to punish the murderers of civil rights workers in the South—murderers who now kill with impunity and on whom not one day of punishment has been imposed. An appropriate beginning would be to end police brutality and the reign of trigger-happy cops in Negro communities.

An appropriate beginning would be to end the war of aggression in Vietnam and to use the money now squandered on armaments for a truly all-out war on poverty."

The following article examines various aspects of the Negro struggle in the USA.

The Negro people in the United States in the last ten years have waged a relentless and unceasing struggle to batter down the walls of Jim Crow and segregation. Their efforts have been variously described as the "Civil Rights Revolution," the "Negro Revolt," etc. It is no overstatement to say that this struggle in its entirety constitutes a growing and vibrant revolution.

Today, many important forces in the United States regard the solution of the Negro question as the central domestic issue of our

time. This does not mean that problems such as peace, economic welfare or civil liberties are regarded as secondary issues. On the contrary, these issues affect all Americans without regard to race, color or creed. What is seen in the Negro question is that none of the other questions can basically or even partially be solved without its solution. The centrality of the Negro question is also international in scope. There has, perhaps, never been a minority group struggling for its rights that has engaged the attention of

the world to the extent that the Negro question in the U.S. has done. There are two very good reasons for this.

1. It has mirrored the intention of American imperialism—its foreign policy—as has no other question. It has enabled peoples struggling to end colonialism and imperialism to penetrate beyond its noble pretensions, and to see American imperialism as it really is.

2. On the basis of how America handles this problem, one can ascertain the relationship of forces within the United States and get a clearer idea of the perspective for America's participation in the world of today and tomorrow. It is therefore imperative that those who are interested in progress within and without the United States keep constantly abreast of currents and trends in the struggle to end Jim Crow. This article is intended to help throw some light on these. *Its purpose is to help define the present stage of the movement against racial segregation, to outline some of the difficulties, to point out some of the limitations at this stage of the struggle and to indicate what will have to be done eventually to solve the problem.*

A NEW STAGE

The struggle to end Jim Crow in America has entered into a new stage. On the basis of the developments of the past few years, objective conditions have matured to such a point that it is now possible to visualize a fundamental change in the situation in the next several years. This does not mean that the process will be an automatic one. There will still be zigs and zags—advances and retreats. Nor can we overlook the fact that new elements can enter the picture and create a reverse trend. Nonetheless, the objective framework in which the struggle to end Jim Crow is being waged is favorable for achieving gains. In order to discern what is new in the present situation, it will be useful to review some of the major developments of the last ten years.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled that segregation of Negro students was illegal and unconstitutional. The basis upon which the decision rested had an ominous meaning for the whole system of Jim Crow and segregation, for if segregation is illegal in the schools, then legally and morally segregation in any form is indefensible. The Court's decision was widely hailed as historic, and there were many who felt that this decision was all that was needed. Those who held such views underestimated or did not comprehend what would be required to

realize the full potential of the Court's decision. And while many sat back and were prepared to wait for its spontaneous execution, this was not true of a substantial section of the Negro movement, especially in the South. It was in the context of the struggle to implement the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that the Negro people began to wage some of the most militant struggles that have been witnessed in our country for some time. These began with the murder in 1955 of Emmett Till in Mississippi, and evoked a worldwide response.

The struggle around the murder of Emmett Till was followed by the Montgomery bus boycott, which will also go down in history as a turning point in the long struggle to abolish Jim Crow. From these two events down through the past eight or nine years, the Negro people took the path of struggle under conditions that were very unfavorable. And yet the advance towards freedom during these years went forward at an unprecedented pace.

The Negro movement abandoned concepts which previously had played an important part in its guidance. Among these was the idea of gradualism. This was the point of view mainly of white liberals or others who were prepared to go so far and no further. This was the point of view which would compromise in every situation involving the Negro question. The Negro masses rejected it and, as a consequence, they often had to combat not only racist elements, but also the views of many white liberals and labor leaders.

Historically, the Negro movement had never been too militant in periods when it stood in isolation. The Negro people, constituting as they do a minority, has ever been conscious of the necessity of allies; but in this situation they were prepared to and did wage struggles, often with the knowledge that they would not get help from forces they had heretofore regarded as their staunchest friends. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Negro waged these struggles without allies. For something had changed basically in world affairs which made it possible to do things that could not have been dreamed of twenty years ago.

What was new was the rise of the socialist world, foremost within it the great Soviet people, and the more than one and a half billion people who had wrested freedom from the colonial and imperialist powers. Both combined their weight against racialism in the United States. And so, while it was not possible initially to bring along allies on a local level, it was possible to do so in the world arena. And the response of these forces

to the Negro's struggle reacted on the internal situation in the United States, compelling numerous internal forces to support the Negro struggle.

Typical of reactions from world forces was the statement made on September 19, 1957 in the United Nations by Mr. Ako Edjei, Minister of Justice of Ghana, who said:

"... Ghana has a special responsibility and obligation towards all African peoples or peoples of African descent throughout the world who are struggling to free themselves from foreign rule, or even who, by the mere reason of their color, are denied the enjoyment of the very elementary civil and political rights which the Constitution of their own states guarantees to all their citizens. I should like to request all Members of the United Nations to take note that the new State of Ghana is concerned with the freedom of all African peoples and also with the treatment that is meted out to all peoples of African descent, wherever they may be in any part of the world. We appeal to the conscience of the nations, great and small, to join in the crusade for the observance of fundamental human rights and freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations."

TWO PIONEERS

The world democratic movement was helped to awareness of its responsibilities by the efforts of the Negro people themselves. Foremost among those who pioneered this development, and who aroused the insensate hatred of the American racists and many of their liberal apologists, were Paul Robeson and William L. Patterson. The latter has spent a lifetime in mobilizing support for the embattled Negro in the United States. His efforts began with the fight to free the Scottsboro Boys and Angelo Herndon, intended victims of southern racism, in the early 1930's. His most outstanding effort in later years was the petition he drafted and presented to the United Nations in 1951, entitled *We Charge Genocide*. In it, he called for the intervention of the United Nations under the Charter of Human Rights.

Paul Robeson also dramatized the Negro question in a speech delivered in Paris twelve or thirteen years ago. The impact of Robeson's exposé of the real situation of the American Negro to the peoples of Western Europe, to the socialist camp and to the ex-colonial world was so great that the State Department sent many of its "Uncle Toms" to all parts of the world to paint exaggerated pictures of the progress being made by the U.S. Negroes.

Robeson's contribution to the ideological basis upon which the Negro movement presently operates was both prophetic and outstanding. He was among the first to call for a break with gradualism and to emphasize the power of Negro action. He accomplished this in his book *Here I Stand* (Othello Associates, New York, 1958). This book was written long before the slogan "Freedom Now" was coined. In the chapter "The Time is Now," Paul Robeson wrote: "Others, who claim to be our friends, insist that the immediate enforcement of our lawful rights is not possible. We must wait, we are told, until the hearts of those who persecute us have softened—until Jim Crow dies of old age. This idea is called 'Gradualism'. It is said to be a practical and constructive way to achieve the blessings of democracy for colored Americans. But the idea itself is but another form of race discrimination: in no other area of our society are lawbreakers granted an indefinite time to comply with the law." (P. 83.)

In regard to the power of Negro action, he wrote:

"How long? The answer is: *As long as we permit it*. I say that Negro action can be decisive. I say that we ourselves have the power to end the terror and to win for ourselves peace and security throughout the land. The recognition of this fact will bring new vigor, boldness and determination in planning our program of action and new militancy in winning its goals." (P. 98.)

The Negro masses, armed with these concepts, stormed the very gates of Jim Crow and segregation in America. And while many gains were won, in an overall sense the movement was unable to secure a major breakthrough. A few years ago, it became obvious that some new elements had to enter into the picture in order to effect more far-reaching changes. Summing up the situation in a pamphlet entitled *Turning Point in Freedom Road*. (New Century Publishers, New York, 1962), we said:

"The quota system, commonly called 'tokenism', is the stage our country is in today. There is a general broad acceptance of the necessity to give a face-lift to racial and minority problems, but there is little disposition to make fundamental changes. Outside the Negro movement and some Left-wing forces, gradualism or 'tokenism' is still the order of the day."

We also declared:

"The power of Negro action has been a chief factor in wresting whatever civil rights concessions the Negro people have won in this period. But it is now demonstratively clear that no basic and fundamental change

in the Negro's condition can be effected without unity of the Negro and labor movements and all other democratic forces, or in an atmosphere of rabid, hysterical, irrational, unchecked anti-Communism."

From the foregoing, it should be clear that the insufficient response from allies was the obstacle to progress. But in addition to this obstacle, the three branches of government did not work in harmony in promoting an end to Jim Crow practices.

THE PEOPLE'S COALITION EMERGES

At the outset of this article, we observed that the movement to end Jim Crow and segregation has entered upon a new and higher stage. If this is true, then it would follow that a new situation has arisen in respect to the problem of allies and in the response of the various branches of government.

Let us see what is new in this regard. First and foremost, there has been a greater shift and a broadened base of support to the movement for civil rights. Secondly, there has been a marked improvement in the role of the legislative and executive branches of government. The material base by which both of these questions are influenced has changed considerably.

Several years ago, the opinions of our government as well as of many liberal and labor forces on the Negro question were shaped by the international situation. And many of them operated from the premise of making minor changes in order to impress the rest of the world that America was more democratic than she actually was. Even the Supreme Court, in providing the rationale for its historic decision in 1954, did so on the basis of the international situation. These people did not take a position against Jim Crow and segregation because these were wrong or because they understood the interrelationship between this question and other problems which were paramount in the minds of most Americans. Consequently, efforts flowing from this line of reasoning could only produce half-hearted gestures. But new domestic problems have arisen in America, which have served to show the need of effecting a change in the status of the Negro in the national interest.

First, let us take the moral aspect. American society is undergoing a moral crisis infinitely more grave than anything we have witnessed since the Axis powers were defeated.

We are living in a period in which our whole national life has been touched by corruption. It is a period in which American youth find it difficult to reconcile the world

they live in with the preaching and practices of many of their elders. Small wonder that the first breakthrough in terms of a mass response of white Americans came from youth who, in their endeavor to live a useful, creative and purposeful life, found its expression in supporting the objectives of the civil rights movement. Students throughout America responded to the call of Negro students in the South who staged the historic sit-in movements of 1960. The response of white youth to that struggle marked the beginning of a new situation in the support which the Negro got from white Americans.

The breakdown in moral authority and the revolt of youth were largely conditioned by the hypocritical pretenses of our foreign policy and the condition of the Negro in the United States. A situation that long ago was recognized by the world community now spilled over and affected many forces inside the United States. The growing revolt of youth has had a profound effect on our educators and church leaders. Therefore, what started out in 1960 as a student movement in support of civil rights objectives has now been enlarged to include prominent educators and most of the clergy. The latter have come into the struggle because the very foundation of the church is being undermined. At a gathering called "A Conference on Race and Conscience" held a couple of years ago, the church gave recognition to this fact.

Significant changes are taking place also in the labor movement. Several years ago, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, rose on the floor of the National Executive Council and insulted one of the most revered leaders of labor and the Negro people, A. Philip Randolph. Today, George Meany can no longer take such a position, and is compelled by circumstances at least to give lip service to the objectives over which Randolph was insulted. Some of the more advanced unions of the AFL-CIO, which yesterday quietly sat back and did not challenge racist elements within the ranks of organized labor, now find it expedient to do so. Changes within the labor movement arose also out of the recognition that some of the concessions made by big business during the cold war years are nearing an end; and America is now beginning to face a host of economic problems which will challenge every ounce of strength that the trade union movement can muster. Automation, proceeding rapidly from one industry to another, has not only increased unemployment but is also resulting in job insecurity. Labor has begun to understand that the period ahead will require unity of the

working class—of which black workers are a larger segment than ever before.

Changes that are taking place in these various strata of the white population reflect a growing understanding of their own self-interest in combating the disease of Jim Crow and segregation. And this, too, is a prerequisite to bringing about basic and lasting change in the status of Negroes.

Another threat which has fed the understanding of self-interest of white Americans has been the growth of an ultra-Right which threatens to wipe out all that is decent and progressive. This challenge from the ultra-Right, in addition to other factors already discussed, brought to the polls in the 1964 elections the greatest pressure ever exerted on the political power structure of our country. And in this broad people's coalition, the Negro movement was one of the most potent forces.

It is this coalition which is new. It is this coalition which inspires confidence that in the period ahead basic changes can be made in the position of Negroes in our society.

THE RIGHT-TO-VOTE STRUGGLE

The power of the people's democratic coalition has been exerted with telling effect since the elections. For example, there were the post-election struggles at Selma, Alabama, which will undoubtedly be recorded as a historic turning point in the three-hundred year struggle for Negro freedom. The Negro movement, headed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Southern Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, did not wait upon President Johnson to deliver on the mandate which he had received in the 1964 elections. They proceeded to organize actions to compel a change in the situation. At Selma, they organized a number of demonstrations, which were met by local officials with an unprecedented terror. The terror so aroused the nation that the President and Congress were forced to respond as our government has not done since the almost forgotten days of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Thousands of clergymen, students and labor leaders joined with the Negro movement and conducted the historic march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. Thousands of nuns participated in parades and demonstrations throughout the country. Over 5,000 ministers went to Washington to prevail upon the President to speak out against the Selma outrages.

The foregoing indicates that the coalition that had gone to the polls and given a mandate in the struggle for civil rights was alive,

and was not ready to wait upon Johnson or any other politician, but was prepared to take matters into its own hands. It is this growing independence of this advanced and progressive force that also inspires confidence in the future. The net effect of this movement was to force a vacillating Johnson to take a more clear-cut position on the right-to-vote movement in the South. The Civil Rights Bill enacted in 1964 evaded the matter of federal registrars who could go into the South and register voters when local authorities had refused to do so. But now, under the impact of the growing movement, President Johnson was forced to place before Congress a new bill designed to protect voter rights in the South. This time the registrar feature was included in the proposal. As of this date, the bill has not been passed, although there is every reason to believe that it will be.* And when it does, it will create the possibility of taking a long step forward toward some very basic changes in regard to the civil rights of Negro citizens. It will help lay the foundation for completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution in America. And as such, it will usher in another phase in the Negro liberation movement.

What will be the content of this phase? The key to it is the enfranchisement of the Negro voter in the South. This, coupled with a more effective usage of the Negro vote in the North, will create the conditions for widely expanding Negro representation into every area of American political life.

In the South, this will result in the election of Negroes as mayors, sheriffs, councilmen, state legislators, congressmen, state-wide officials, etc. This process will likewise take place in the North where, in many of the large industrial cities, the Negro vote already tilts the scales. And no doubt in the next decade or so, the Negro vote will be decisive in such major centers as New York City, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles and San Francisco. To secure the Negro vote in the South and the more effective use of the vote in the North will result not only in a broadened base of Negro representation, but will also lead to an acceleration of the process of fundamental political realignment in the country.

In the first place, it would result in the elimination of Dixiecrats of the South from the main arteries of American political life. These elements have for years been one of the mainstays of reaction. To eliminate them from the political structure would deliver a telling blow against reaction generally and strengthen the progressive forces immeasurably. An-

*The law went into force as of August 6, 1965.—Ed.

other result of this new situation would be the emergence of new political forces from the South—forces more in tune with progressive policies generally. In the North, a widely expanded Negro power lined up with labor and other progressive forces would result in important changes in the composition of those who hold public office.

Thus, the main content of this stage of the struggle is the building of a more representative form of government. This is a development which could contribute to the formation of an anti-monopoly government and eventually to a socialist society.

ROADBLOCKS TO PROGRESS

While we are presently engaged in the struggle to realize a more democratic and representative government, to eliminate the main vestiges of Jim Crow and segregation, the completion of this stage of development is by no means guaranteed. There are many roadblocks in the way, and several very important things stand out that, unless checked, will retard the full realization of the potentials we have been discussing.

In this connection the question of war and peace is decisive. There is a growing understanding in the country of the interrelationship of the issues of peace and civil rights. Heretofore, the peace forces concerned themselves almost exclusively with matters of foreign policy, and rarely took a stand on the struggle for civil rights. Conversely, the civil rights movement did not understand the relationship of these two great issues and rarely took a stand on matters of foreign policy. In fact, there are many Negro leaders who have sought to exploit the cold war for purposes of self-advancement. In the name of integration, many Negroes have been given positions of prominence in order to help the American imperialists carry out their predatory aims to enslave other peoples. However, since the elections, and since the events at Selma, there has been a general coming together of peace and civil rights forces.

Peace forces spoke out emphatically in connection with the events at Selma; and there has been a growing challenge to the conduct of foreign policy by civil rights leaders. This was expressed by the statement of the "Big Six" top Negro leaders in opposition to our government's policy in the Congo. It has been expressed by outstanding civil rights leaders, like A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, John Lewis of SNCC, and countless others around our present policy in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic. Typical of what is happening is Martin Luther King's question:

"What would it benefit Negroes to win the right to be served a glass of milk at a desegregated lunch counter only to learn that it has strontium 90 in it?" Or that asked by Mrs. King in addressing an audience of some 18,000 people in New York City: "What good will it do us to have equal rights for all if there is no world left to enjoy them in?"

Statements such as these reveal the growing maturity of the civil rights movement in respect to the necessity for peace. There can be no doubt that the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the occupation of the Dominican Republic have already slowed down the pace of advance of the civil rights struggle. Prior to the escalation of the war in Vietnam, several months ago, President Johnson called for the speedy enactment of a right-to-vote law. Meanwhile government preoccupation with these unpopular and unjust wars and the necessity for relying on southern Dixiecrat support for them has slowed down the passage of even this law, which was generally conceded to be already in the bag. Thus, one of the main pre-requisites to the speedy realization of the present stage on the road to Negro freedom is to overcome the aggressive imperialist policy pursued by our government.

The second obstacle is the existence of an ultra-Right which, if allowed to come to power or to influence other forces to a large extent, will not only prevent further gains, but can set back the government for generations to come. Let no one make any mistake about that. Further, let no one make the mistake of underestimating the possibility of these elements coming into power. They were given a decisive defeat at the polls in the Presidential elections; but it would be wrong to conclude that the danger is over. In the post-election period the beast, though badly wounded, is striking back with greater ferocity than ever.

Some of the ultra-Right policies in foreign affairs have been embraced in part by the Johnson administration. It is evident that they have people in high places in industry, government and the military. The film "Seven Days in May" which depicted the military establishment plotting to kill the president and to establish a military dictatorship in the United States was no idle dream. No doubt, there are forces in the United States who have this objective in mind; and as their position becomes more and more desperate, this danger will increase. Our government, operating through the CIA, has helped to overthrow many popularly based governments by military force. It could happen here.

Anti-communism, too, is a weapon of the

reactionaries against civil rights. Notwithstanding substantial progress in the recognition by democratic forces of how anti-communism is used to destroy and weaken all progressive movements and advances, this is still a potent counter-revolutionary force. At the moment, there is a renewed onslaught against the civil rights organizations, which takes the form of red-baiting and charges of Communist infiltration. This weapon is being used not only by the worst reactionaries, but also by so-called liberal elements. The latter, in many instances pushed by more militant Negro forces into greater activity, seek to stop the pressure by yelling "Communist infiltration."

An example of this is the reaction of many northern liberal church groups which have recently entered the civil rights struggles, but which are also fearful of the struggle going faster and with fewer compromises than they would like to see. So they, together with Right-wing forces, join in branding this or that organization "Communist-led" or "Communist-infiltrated."

Unfortunately some civil rights leaders, especially the more conservative and week-kneed, succumb to this propaganda. Some even collaborate with the FBI in determining who among their cadre is a Communist and who is not. As long as this state of affairs exists, the civil rights movement will not be able to make substantial headway. For the witch hunt inside civil rights organizations can have only one effect, namely, to weaken them.

It leads to removal of some of the best civil rights fighters from participation in the struggle. It creates greater passivity in others who see what happens to those who are more outspoken and less compromising. It fosters disunity of civil rights organizations individually and collectively. Such a situation can only aid those who want Jim Crow to continue.

Another obstacle is the terror in the South, conducted by the Ku Klux Klan and other racist groups. A good right-to-vote law can be passed by Congress, and still the full potential of the Negro vote may not be brought to the polls because in many instances in order to do so, the voter would almost have to take his life in his hands. So until a situation has been created where the federal government gives maximum protection to the Negro who cherishes his rights, we cannot expect the fullest utilization of the right to vote. Combating terror in the South is one of the weakest points in the federal government's position. There has been little or no disposition by it to afford such protection. Troops have been called out in extreme emer-

gency situations; but meanwhile vacuums have been left where terror against individual citizens has proceeded without federal intervention in any form whatsoever. Known murderers of civil rights workers in the South have been repeatedly released by Ku Klux Klan-packed juries, while the federal government stood by and did nothing to guarantee that these murderers pay the full penalty of the law for their crimes.

There are those who argue that the federal government is limited and lacks power to bring these criminals to the bar of justice. For those who display such ignorance or who for other reasons seek to evade responsibility, let us quote from a law which was enacted by the federal government in 1871, and which has never been repealed. It reads:

"Whenever insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations or conspiracies in any state so obstruct or hinder the execution of the laws thereof, or of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such state of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities or protection named in the Constitution and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges and immunities and the Constitutional authorities of such state are unable to protect, or for any cause fail in or refuse protection of people in such rights, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such state of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; or whenever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States or the due course of justice under the same, it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty to take such measures by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by any other means as he may deem necessary for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence or combination."

From the foregoing, it should be clear to all people of good will that the legal basis exists for federal intervention against the terror in the South. But if there is no intervention or only very limited intervention, this is due to a lack of will to do what is required to end Jim Crow and segregation in America; and in this regard, only an aroused people fighting on a sustained basis can compel the Johnson Administration or any other administration to do what the situation requires.

To sum up, overcoming the main hurdles in the path of overcoming tokenism and advancing the struggle for civil rights to a higher level requires the following:

1. End the imperialist policies of our government and promote world peace.

2. Defeat the policies and forces of the ultra-Right and prevent America from taking the path to fascism.

3. Overcome the virus of anti-Communism and promote the unity of all civil rights forces.

4. Force the federal government to safeguard the lives of freedom fighters in the South and the Constitutional rights of all citizens.

GOALS FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW

While the fulfillment of the struggle to secure bourgeois-democratic rights has not been guaranteed, it is imperative that advanced forces should begin to make assessments of the present state of affairs and to define what objectives will require a socialist reorganization of society. It is not enough for Communists and other Left forces merely to state what can be achieved under capitalism. However, we should warn against too much preoccupation with only what is possible under socialism, especially if it leads to neglecting to do what is necessary under capitalism. We should combine at all times the struggles for what is realizable today with the outlining of a clear perspective for what will be required tomorrow. This is an urgent necessity. For the Negro movement has proceeded too long along pragmatic lines. Outside of the Communist and other Left forces or extreme nationalist elements no one has advanced a fundamental, comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems. The civil rights organizations have been content to throw out general slogans such as "Freedom Now" or "Free by '66" without any presentation or even discussion of what will be required to implement these general slogans. Most of these organizations operate on the premise that Negro equality can be achieved within the framework of capitalism, and that is one of the reasons why none has come up with a comprehensive, scientific plan. This discourse is therefore intended to help open up a discussion along these lines.

This brings us to the question of what is most likely to be achieved at this stage of the struggle. Is it possible to win full freedom and equality in the general framework of the capitalist system? We Communists answer categorically, "No." The Negro people cannot achieve this any more than the working class can fully solve its problems within the capitalist framework. However, we do not underestimate the nature of the gains that are possible before socialism. Such gains

can be substantial and can set the stage for eventually solving the whole problem of racial inequality.

During the period in which the Dixiecrats are eliminated as a potent political force, in which a general political realignment of forces takes place, and in which the power of the more advanced, liberal and progressive forces will be consolidated, it is conceivable that the entire legal structure of Jim Crow and segregation can be smashed. It is conceivable that equal opportunities can be established on a very broad basis, affecting every area of American life.

It will be possible to broaden the base of Negro representation. And in this respect, the Negro people can share considerable power with labor and other forces in the political arena. As a consequence, they will help pass laws to abolish Jim Crow and will participate in the enforcement sector of the government to such an extent that compliance with the law can and will be widely enhanced. It will be possible to end tokenism in almost all fields of human endeavor. Substantial gains can be registered politically, socially and economically. Bourgeois-democratic rights which have existed for almost all other components of the American people can be won for Negroes and for the other minorities.

But even with these far-reaching changes, still the Negro will not be equal or necessarily free. To achieve this goal a socialist reorganization of society will be required.

There are many compelling reasons why socialism best advances the pursuit of Negro freedom. However, in this discussion we will confine ourselves to a few basic propositions.

First, let us define the concept of equality and freedom. There are those who reduce this merely to establishing equal rights or equal opportunity. To achieve these goals will require some far-reaching changes in our society; and of course, to achieve them will be of no small importance. However, to establish equal rights or equal opportunities after three hundred years of exploitation and super-exploitation will not mean freedom or equality. From this it follows that a whole number of special approaches are required. For our purposes, we can say: Freedom means the power to defend decisions freely arrived at. Freedom is not something that can be given. You either have it or you don't. If there is some power giving concessions, such a power can always cancel out what has been given. As the old folks among my people used to say: "The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh." To paraphrase this, one can say that the power that established Negro inequality, unless eliminated from the power structure, can

always be in a position to cancel out whatever gains have been obtained. A good example of this was the Reconstruction period in the South. During this period, northern industrial capitalist interests, in order to consolidate their power over the defeated slaveholders, entered into an alliance with the ex-slaves. This alliance resulted in Negroes achieving a large measure of participation in the political arena. In fact, the present struggle is to restore a condition which existed almost one hundred years ago. Some call the coming period a second Reconstruction. But as we prepare for this second Reconstruction, we should bear in mind that at a certain point of that period, the Negro was betrayed. The power gained by Negroes in the Reconstruction era was due to the sufferance of northern capitalism. And when it suited the purposes of the financial oligarchs to restore peace in the South, to take over the dominant positions of the economy in the South, the Negro was consigned to the tender mercies of the Ku Klux Klan.

SOCIALISM AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The main lessons of the Reconstruction show that a shift in class power will be required for lasting and permanent gains for the Negro Revolution. It shows that securing political power is not enough, and that without economic power, political power is always in danger of being rendered meaningless.

The African nations are finding that it is not enough to have sovereign independent governments. They are also learning that unless they have control of their economies, and the power of decision thereof, they are not really free and independent. In some cases, such governments have been reduced to mere puppets doing the bidding of outside forces in other countries. An example of this is the situation in the Congo. The Belgian imperialists gave the Congo its independence. They retained control of most of the economic enterprises. And from these bases, they were able to continue to rule through their puppet Tshombe in Kantanga Province. Later, together with other imperialist powers, including the United States, they were able to bring the whole of the Congo back into a subservient position.

Another lesson of the Reconstruction was the failure at that time to establish an economic base from which to promote Negro freedom and equality. The central economic demand of "forty acres and a mule" for every ex-slave was not carried out. Instead, the Negro freedman was left without economic means to advance his status.

Today, as we approach a second Recon-

struction, we should ponder these lessons well and not repeat what was done before. It is within the grasp of the Negro movement to break the power of the forces that have held the Negroes in bondage. We have already shown that to secure a more representative government will require the ousting of the Dixiecrats from the power structure; but it will not be enough to oust the Dixiecrats, for behind them stands a much greater power, namely, the big monopolists who own and direct most of the economy of the country and today's South. When we break the power of monopoly capitalism, and eventually of the entire capitalist class, conditions will have been created for a permanent solution to the problem of the Negro.

Socialism, therefore, is a basic requirement to make permanent the gains already won under capitalism. Socialism will make it possible for the Negro to share in the entire power structure, including ownership of the means of production. And complete equality can be achieved only when the Negro's share in the nation's resources is commensurate with his numbers and contributions. For it is in this area that three hundred years of inequality have taken their heaviest toll.

This is understandable when we realize that the very object of Negro slavery and oppression has been to create superprofits for the capitalist class. During these three centuries, the Negro, first in conditions of slavery and later in conditions of semi-slavery, created untold billions which went to build up the top layers of American capitalism.

The American working class, too, was robbed of a large share of the fruit of its labor. But in the case of the Negro, a whole people was super-exploited. As a consequence of slavery and racial discrimination, the Negroes are the only large and significant minority without a single voice in the economic councils of the nation. Negroes do not own or control a single industry in the country. Whatever small capitalist class exists is mainly in some areas of distribution, and some insignificant areas of production. These capitalists can and do exist only by the sufferance of the white ruling class.

Almost all the groups that built America have a share of ownership in one or another major industry in our economy. True, the workers of these groups are exploited. But theirs is not the super-exploitation of the Negro.

It is this lily-white economic wall in America that has led many Negroes to conclude that the only way to achieve equality is for the Negro to separate and build his own country and government. Obviously, this is

no answer. The problem is difficult, but it can be solved, in this country and in alliance with other forces. It can be overcome in the framework of a socialist society. It is too late in the day for Negro capitalists to become an integral part of the capitalist economy. For we are living in the twilight of capitalism and facing the rising sun of socialism. The age of free competition under capitalism has long since passed. Capitalism today is monopoly capital, with control and ownership concentrated in the hands of the few. This group of economic royalists is not about to take any measures to pay back the countless billions which they and their predecessors have plundered from Negroes for over three centuries.

Sometimes under mass pressure, some of these tycoons may make some concessions in their hiring practices, in promotions, etc. They may even appoint one or two Negroes to the board of directors to this or that firm, but they will never give equal voice and author-

ity or a significant share of ownership, or a leading role in the management of the economic machinery. This is the built-in verdict of capitalism.

This situation can be changed only when this class of private owners has been removed from control. Only when a new class, the working class, takes over can this situation be changed. For when the working class comes to power, it will nationalize all the basic industries and make them the property of the people.

It is in this context that the Negro can gain a measure of ownership in the economy of the country. It is in this context that he will become a powerful force within the entire power structure, and will no longer have to rely on concessions or on the good will of anyone else. It is in the context of a socialist America that the Negro will finally be free. It is in this context that the slogan "Freedom Now" can become a reality.

Poverty in the 'affluent society'

HYMAN LUMER

POVERTY REDISCOVERED

IN 1936 PRESIDENT Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke of "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." That was in the depths of the worst depression in the country's history. In 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson was impelled to devote the heart of his State of the Union Message to the subject of poverty in the United States, depicting it as an economic and social problem of major proportions and proclaiming: "And this Administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America, and I urge Congress and all Americans to join with me in this effort." However, this declaration of war came not in a period of crisis, but in the midst of the longest peacetime economic expansion in the country's history.

It came, moreover, on the heels of the extended period of comparative prosperity of the war and postwar years—a period marked by lessened unemployment, rising real wages and more than two decades without a major depression. These were the years in which the idea gained wide currency that ours was becoming the "affluent society." "Poverty," wrote John K. Galbraith in his widely read book, "can no longer be presented as a universal or massive affliction. It is more nearly an afterthought." (*The Affluent Society*, Houghton-Mifflin, Boston; Mentor Books, p. 250.)

Why, then, President Johnson's rediscovery of poverty? The answer is not difficult to find.

First, there is the renewed rise of unemployment in the years following the Korean

War and its persistence today despite the unprecedented length of the upturn. Most marked has been the tendency of unemployment to rise in successive boom periods. Thus, in the three successive cyclical peak months of July 1953, July 1957 and May 1960, the officially estimated rates of joblessness were 2.7, 4.2 and 5.1 per cent respectively. In the present upswing the average rate in 1963, two years after its onset, was 5.7 per cent, and in 1964 it fell only to 5.2 per cent. Not until this year did it drop below the 5 per cent mark, averaging 4.8 per cent for the first six months.

Furthermore, these official figures grossly underestimate the actual extent of joblessness. For one thing, they exclude those able to find only part-time work, even when they work but a few hours a week. In addition, they omit those without jobs who are not at the moment actively looking for work, most often because the search has proven hopeless. If these and other omitted groups are included, the true unemployment rate is at least in the neighborhood of 7.5 per cent—and this after more than four years of "prosperity"!

But this is only part of the picture. Among Negro workers, according to the official estimates, the rate of unemployment is twice as high as among white workers. Actually, in many large cities it is three times as high or more. Another critical focus of unemployment is the youth. Among white teenagers the official rate is currently 13 per cent, and among Negro teenagers 27 per cent. For the latter, this means an actual rate of close to 50 per cent. These are levels of unemployment

rivalling those of the worst years of the thirties. What is more, they are expected to rise in coming years, thanks first to the toll of jobs exacted by automation and other new techniques in our capitalist economy, and second to the fact that the number of young people entering the labor force each year is now more than one and one-half times what it was during the fifties.

The rediscovery of poverty has been stimulated also by the growth and persistence of chronically depressed areas. Inhabited by masses of displaced industrial workers and impoverished farmers, these are marked by massive unemployment and appalling poverty which continues unrelieved year after year. The largest of these is the region known as Appalachia, which sweeps across ten eastern states and is inhabited by more than 15 million people. Here unemployment, as officially measured, frequently ranges between 10 and 20 per cent, and in a number of localities up to 25 per cent and more. Many have been without work literally for years, and innumerable families have been reduced to a life of semi-starvation on woefully inadequate handouts of government surplus foods. Side by side with these are scores of thousands of farm families living on farms with too little acreage, implements or capital to provide more than the most meager subsistence. These are among the poorest of the poor. And there are many more Appalachias scattered throughout the country, smaller but no less poverty-stricken.

It is such grim reminders as these and their stubborn persistence in the face of "prosperity" that have led to the revived concern about poverty. But what has served more than anything else to focus public attention on this problem has been the great upsurge of the civil rights struggle, at the bottom of which lie the massive unemployment and grinding poverty of the Negro people and the worsening of these conditions in recent years. It is the heroic struggles of the Negro people and their white supporters that have most dramatically brought the question of poverty to the fore today.

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF POVERTY

How many Americans are poor? According to the Johnson Administration, all family units with incomes of less than \$3,000 a year and all unrelated individuals with annual incomes below \$1,500. By this yardstick, in 1963 some 34.5 million Americans, close to one-fifth of the population, lived in poverty. There are other estimates based on varying criteria, some running as high as 25 per cent. The

economist Leon H. Keyserling distinguishes in addition to the poor a second category—the deprived, whose incomes are above the poverty level but substantially below the level of adequacy. If we place in this category families with incomes below \$5,000 a year and unattached individuals earning less than \$2,500 a year, in 1963 these totalled some 32 million people. "Adding those living in poverty," Keyserling concludes, "more than 66 million people, or about 35½ per cent of our population, lived either in poverty or deprivation in 1963." (*Progress or Poverty*, Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, 1964, p. 23.)

It is not our purpose here to debate the relative merits of different statistical measurements of poverty. What is important is that even according to the most conservative of them, poverty in the United States is mass poverty. It is far from being an "afterthought."

There are some who maintain that this is not real poverty, that most of these people are not poor in an absolute sense but are merely poorer than others. Thus, the Census Bureau statistician Herman P. Miller writes ("Statistics and Reality," *New Leader*, March 30, 1964):

"Without a doubt, the United States has the richest poor in the world. Tunica County, Mississippi, is the poorest county in our poorest state; about 8 out of every 10 of its families are poor by national standards. Yet, 52 per cent own television sets, 46 per cent own automobiles, and 37 per cent own washing machines. These families may be deprived of hope and poor in spirit; but their material possessions, though low by American standards, would be the envy of the great majority of mankind today."

But to argue in this manner is in effect to deny the existence of genuine poverty, except perhaps in the case of those few at the very bottom of the heap, and with this to deny the need for doing anything about it other than to extend charity to that handful.

But poverty cannot thus facily be abolished. To be sure, the economic status of an individual can be defined only with reference to the standard of the society of which he is a member, and in that sense poverty is relative. But to the extent that he is deprived of basic conditions of life which that society affords, he is poor also in an absolute sense. The person who does not get enough to eat, who lives in dilapidated, substandard housing, who is afflicted with preventable diseases, and whose life expectancy is reduced by 10-15 years—that person is poor, not just poorer.

Some years ago the U.S. Department of

Labor compiled a "modest but adequate" budget for a family of four: father, mother and two school-age children. Recently it was brought up to date by the AFL-CIO, which found that as of autumn, 1964, the average for 20 major cities came to \$6,418. "This amount," the AFL-CIO stated, "is required to meet the necessities of life, pay taxes and enjoy a few of the amenities of life—but with no allowance for luxuries or savings." (*American Federationist*, May 1965.) Clearly, an income of \$3,000 a year for a city worker's family falls far below this minimum standard of adequacy. For example, according to the Department of Agriculture, it allows less than 23 cents a meal per person which, at present-day American prices, does not suffice for an adequate diet. Nor can such an income provide proper medical care. "The Health and Welfare Council, Inc., of Philadelphia," writes Ben H. Bagdikian, "estimates that a family with less than \$4,600 a year cannot afford ordinary medical and dental care." (*In the Midst of Plenty: The Poor in America*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964, p. 175.) Certainly a family with less than \$3,000 cannot.

The possession of television sets, appliances or automobiles cannot in itself be taken as a measure of affluence. As often as not, these are old models with no great monetary value. Or they may be bought, at the expense of other things, under the combined pressure of need or desire and the lure of "easy payments" dangled by unscrupulous merchants or dealers. And all too often they are repossessed because the buyers cannot meet the payments.

The average American worker does not earn enough to meet the Labor Department's "modest but adequate" budget. Whereas the budget calls for \$123 a week, average weekly earnings in manufacturing in January 1965 were only \$103.20. And in the retail trades, the average worker earned no more than \$70.13 a week. For the average working-class family to enjoy what is considered an adequate American standard of living, therefore, it is necessary for the head of the family to hold more than one job or for other members of the family to work—not a simple matter when jobs are scarce.

We have already noted the stark reality of poverty in the depressed areas. Even more glaring is that of the Negro people. In 1963, when 16 percent of white families earned less than \$3,000 a year, 43 per cent of non-white (mainly Negro) families fell in that category. More than 9 per cent of non-white families earned less than \$1,000 a year, compared to about 3 per cent of white families. This inferior economic status of Negroes is

reflected in every aspect of their lives, and especially in inferior housing, education and health. With regard to the last, the 1964 *Economic Report of the President* points out that among non-whites infant mortality is double that among whites and maternal mortality nearly quadruple. The life expectancy of a non-white male at the age of 20 is five years less than that of his white counterpart, and is below the average expectancy reported in some forty other countries. Moreover, the gap between white and non-white is growing greater in most respects, not smaller. The situation among Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans is equally as bad as among Negroes, and the condition of the American Indians is even worse. Such are the fruits of national and racial oppression in the United States.

THE ROOTS OF POVERTY

To recognize the existence of poverty is, of course, a far cry from recognizing why it exists. And bourgeois observers are quite naturally inclined to seek its source anywhere but in capitalism itself.

One very widespread idea is that poverty is the fault of the poor—that if anyone is poor in our affluent society, it is because he is in some way personally lacking. In its crudest version, it takes the form of the slanderous allegation that the poor and the jobless are the lazy, the shiftless and the incompetent. This version is today part of the arsenal of the ultra-Right and its standard bearer Barry Goldwater, whose views are typified by such statements as these:

"I'm tired of professional chiselers walking up and down the streets who don't work and have no intention of working." (*New York Times*, July 19, 1961.)

"The fact is that most people who have no skills have no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition." (*New York Times*, January 16, 1964.)

Similar views are propagated by reactionary business circles generally. Typical is a *Wall Street Journal* editorial (March 11, 1964) which regards poverty as an individual problem and its relief as the responsibility of the poor themselves. It asserts that "almost all of us are up from poverty and almost none of our forebears considered it anybody's responsibility but his own to get a job." The Johnson anti-poverty policy is condemned on the grounds that it will only reward shiftlessness and so perpetuate poverty.

There are others who reject such openly slanderous characterizations of the poor but

who nevertheless attribute poverty to individual peculiarity or shortcomings. Galbraith, for example, considers that the poverty once characteristic of the working class generally has now been abolished, and that there remains only what he calls "case poverty" and "insular poverty." The former he defines as poverty related to "some quality peculiar to the individual or family involved—mental deficiency, bad health, inability to adapt to the discipline of modern economic life, excessive procreation, alcohol, insufficient education, or perhaps a combination of these handicaps." The latter he defines as a geographical "island" of poverty whose inhabitants do not wish to leave it, thus rejecting the solution to their poverty offered by emigration. (*The Affluent Society*, pp. 252-253.)

Such concepts lead to a social-work approach to the relief of poverty—to the idea that it is primarily a matter of individual assistance to the poor by appropriate social welfare agencies. But this is clearly wrong; the basic causes of poverty, in the United States no less than in any other capitalist country, are not individual but social. They lie in economic and social factors beyond the individual's control, ultimately in the character of the processes of production and distribution.

The bulk of those in the lowest-paying jobs are not there because of lack of intelligence or other personal deficiencies, but for quite other reasons. Many of them are Negroes, Puerto Ricans or Mexican-Americans who are victims of discrimination. Others are workers—especially older workers—displaced from jobs by automation or the closing down of plants and unable to find anything better. And if poverty is widespread among the elderly, it is primarily because of a system of old age pensions which provides far too little to live on.

Mass poverty exists because, in the first place, there are millions of workers whose hourly rates of pay are so low that even a full year's work pays them only a poverty-level income. A worker paid less than \$1.50 an hour would earn less than \$3,000 a year even if he worked as many as 50 weeks. And there are 12 million workers whose hourly pay falls below \$1.50. The present legal minimum wage is only \$1.25 an hour, and there are some 15 million wage workers in private industry who are not covered by the law. Among these, many earn less than \$1.25 an hour. As of June 1963, more than 1.5 million non-supervisory restaurant workers averaged \$1.14 an hour. Average hourly earnings of nearly half a million hotel workers were \$1.17. Some 2 million farm workers

averaged 89 cents an hour. And these are only a few of the low-wage categories. ("The Wage-Hour Law—A Lift Out of Poverty", *American Federationist*, August 1964.)

There are also large numbers whose hourly rates may be higher but who are not able to obtain a full year's work, suffering spells of part-time employment or joblessness during the year. Then there are others who suffer chronic unemployment, many of whom have ceased looking for work because no jobs are to be found.

All these categories are clearly reflected in the poverty statistics. Thus, fully half of all family units classified as poor are headed by an employed person earning less than \$3,000 a year. And Keyserling estimates that "40 per cent of all the people in the United States living in poverty are in consumer units whose heads suffer substantial unemployment at some time during the year, or are not in the civilian labor force because of scant job opportunities." (*Progress or Poverty*, p. 52.)

In short, a large proportion of the poor are in that category simply because the family breadwinners are grossly underpaid. Their poverty is a product of capitalist exploitation; indeed, their condition is the measure of what would be the lot of most workers were it not for union organization and protective legislation.

There is, of course, also the poverty of those unable to work. In this, the wealthiest of all countries, there is no valid reason why these should be poor. In fact, few things speak so eloquently of the exploitative character of the American society as its failure to maintain its aged and incapacitated in ordinary decency.

The widely acclaimed "welfare state" is but a myth. The patchwork of social welfare measures which now exists has been won only in hard battle against the opposition of the big capitalists, and the victories wrested from them have been meagre indeed. Unemployment benefits average about \$35 a week, scarcely enough to begin to live on. And only half of those unemployed at any given time draw benefits; the rest are either not covered by the law or have been out of work so long they have exhausted their claims. The average social security pension is only \$17.70 a week for a single person and \$29.72 for a couple, far below the poverty level. And only a small fraction of the elderly have other resources. The average payment under the federal aid to the dependent children program is about \$21 a week for a fatherless family of three. Public assistance payments are notoriously low and insecure, and the

humiliations and indignities to which welfare clients are subjected are equally notorious.

Furthermore, even these limited and inadequate social welfare outlays are a target of unremitting attack. A Goldwater crusades for an end to compulsory social security as an invasion of personal freedom and attacks the poor as lazy and shiftless parasites on society, deserving of nothing. Others conduct an unending fight to cut relief appropriations and trim the relief rolls of "chiselers." In state legislatures, unemployment compensation levels, far from being raised, are under constant assault. This resistance emanates from the representatives of big business, which does not take kindly to any moves in behalf of the poor that threaten to eat into its profits. The drive of the big corporations for maximum profits means not only holding wages down and ruthlessly exploiting all sections of the people; it means also holding government welfare expenditures to a minimum. The poverty of those unable to work is no less a product of capitalist exploitation than that of the masses of grossly underpaid workers.

As for the Negro, if he is doubly and triply poor, it is because he is doubly and triply exploited. The brutal exploitation and outright robbery of the Negro sharecropper, the gulf in earnings between Negro and white workers, the wage differential between North and South for both Negro and white workers—all these represent added millions in profits which find their way into the coffers of the big monopolies, thanks to the institution of Jim Crow.

It has become customary in many circles to speak of poverty in the United States as "poverty in affluence." That is, where once the great majority of working people were poor and poverty was the "normal" condition, now most workers are at least reasonably well off and the poor constitute a minority, distinct from the working people as a whole, which has for one reason or another been bypassed by affluence. They represent, according to this thinking, a "new class" or an "underclass."

Gunnar Myrdal, in his book *Challenge to Affluence* (Random House, New York, 1962), speaks of "a vicious circle tending to create in America an underprivileged class of unemployed, unemployables, and underemployed who are more and more hopelessly set apart from the nation at large and do not share in its life, its ambitions, and its achievements" (p. 10). Elsewhere he refers to a tendency to "trap an 'underclass' of unemployed and, gradually, unemployable and underemployed persons and families at the bottom of a society . . ." (p. 34). In short, while the work-

ing class as a whole is marching toward affluence, the poor are trapped as a group apart from the rest of society.

The notion that the poor constitute a distinct class has become fashionable also in certain Left-wing groups, which seek to mount a fight against poverty solely as a struggle of the poor, divorced from the struggles of the working class as a whole.

This notion is plainly erroneous, however, for as we have already seen, the poor are part of the working masses — their most exploited section. Furthermore, the ranks of the poor are today being swelled as the result of an accelerating technological revolution among whose effects is the displacement of workers from their jobs in ever greater numbers. "Automation," writes Harry A. Raskin, "is creating a new class of poor, a class . . . made up of workers dispossessed by the machine: their skills, security and status all washed into nothingness by the course of technology." ("The New Poor," *New Leader*, March 30, 1964.)

Added to those fired as a consequence of automation are the growing numbers of young people never hired. Then there are those workers whose jobs are wiped out by the closing down of plants and the shifting of production to other areas — a process which occurs with growing frequency as automation spreads. A document issued by the Senate Subcommittee on Poverty points out that in a number of such instances many of the workers were still unemployed six months to a year after the closings. It goes on to say: "Some of these workers, who have non-transferable skills or are 'too old' at 40 or 50 to be reabsorbed, are unable to get regular jobs or, in many cases, any work at all . . . Still others, somewhat luckier, are able to find steady work, but in low-pay occupations and industries, at wage rates which are insufficient to keep the family out of the grip of poverty." (*The War on Poverty: The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964*, Washington, 1964, p. 37.)

Such a fate is not confined to some special group; it menaces all workers. From the threat of displacement by automation and related developments no worker in our capitalist economy is fully immune, whatever his seniority, skill or competence. The great bulk of the working people face a growing degree of insecurity which renders their installment-plan affluence increasingly uncertain. The displaced workers are a harbinger of what the continuing advance of automation holds in store for growing numbers of others. They constitute a bridge between the working class as a whole and the poor — a bridge built of insecurity, displacement, unemploy-

ment and low-wage jobs. The poor, therefore, are not a separate class or "underclass" but are part of the working class and the working people as a whole. They are the end product of a process in which every worker is in danger of being engulfed.

With advancing technology, Marx wrote, capitalism tends to render a growing body of workers superfluous and to relegate them to an industrial reserve army — to a seeming surplus population for whom there is no place in industry. Side by side with it there appears an agrarian surplus population, created by the ruin of masses of small farmers who are unable to employ themselves fully in either agriculture or industry. For a time during and after World War II, this tendency was offset by the special conditions prevailing in those years. But now it is reasserting itself, and the industrial reserve army is re-emerging in growing numbers, as is the agricultural surplus population.

If the present differs from Marx's day it does so, first, in that this army is no longer fully absorbed during boom periods but persists throughout them; in fact, it has tended to become larger in each successive upturn. Second, the present degree of displacement of workers by automation and other new techniques vastly outstrips that of Marx's time. Today, for the first time in our history, we witness an extended period of rising industrial production accompanied by an absolute decline in the number of production workers. Factory employment in the United States reached a peak in 1943 during World War II. It then declined, but rose again to a lesser peak in 1953 during the Korean War. In the years following it again fell off. It has risen again during the current upswing, but only this year, after more than four years of economic expansion, did it rise above the 1953 level — and this with a volume of production nearly 50 per cent greater than in 1953.

The striking improvement in living standards since the prewar years is not a permanent feature of our economy but a consequence of a particularly favorable phase in the history of American capitalism. It appears especially pronounced because this phase followed upon the heels of the disastrous depression of the thirties. But now that the basic historical tendency of capitalism has begun to reassert itself under the unprecedented conditions of the new technological revolution, it becomes increasingly clear that poverty is not a vanishing surface blemish on a basically healthy society but a symptom of a deep-seated malady which is today flaring up anew. Poverty and unemployment are per-

sistent evils of capitalist society, generated by the process of capitalist production itself. To this, present-day poverty in the United States is no exception.

JOHNSON'S "WAR ON POVERTY"

Since President Johnson's declaration of "unconditional war" on poverty, the Administration's anti-poverty program has been enacted into law and steps have been taken to put it into effect. The slogan "war on poverty" has become a battle-cry throughout the country. Presumably, the war is on.

But the Johnson program, to say the least, leaves much to be desired. Both quantitatively and qualitatively it falls woefully short of what is required. For the first year the Administration asked for about \$1,000 million. The amount finally appropriated by Congress was about \$784 million. The second year's appropriation was raised to \$1,900 million — a substantial increase but still hardly enough for an initial skirmish, let alone a full-scale war. To make a serious attack on poverty would require outlays many times as large. To wipe out hard-core poverty, according to government economists, an expenditure of some \$10,000 million a year is needed. Professor Seymour Melman of Columbia University writes: "A proper war against poverty in the United States would have to start at a level of outlays of about \$5,000 million, year one... Next year double that to \$10,000 million, and the year after double that to \$20,000 million and then we will start going places." ("Disarmament and the War on Poverty," *Peace*, Fall 1964.) Other estimates run still higher. Space forbids a detailed examination, but it would be no exaggeration to think in terms of outlays of \$25,000 million a year and more. The Administration program does not remotely envisage expenditures of such an order of magnitude.

Correspondingly the Johnson program, as embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, fails to tackle such basic problems as the creation of jobs through massive public works programs or the drastic improvement of social welfare measures, and it completely ignores the focal problem of Negro poverty as such. Instead, it confines itself to peripheral measures, principally the stimulation of community action programs and education and training projects for youth. More than three-quarters of the funds allocated for the first year's campaign was for these purposes. The sums provided for education and training, moreover, were sufficient to cover only very limited numbers of young people, and with no assurance of permanent employment afterward for even these.

The largest single component is the community action plan, under which local bodies are set up to develop and administer educational, health, job-counseling and other programs. In practice, this has proved to be a bonanza for municipal political machines, which have hastened to use the funds made available by the federal government to create as many patronage jobs as possible for political hangers-on. It is not unusual for such community action bodies to be saddled with top-heavy administrative staffs at lucrative salaries, eating up a major part of the meager funds. For example, reports *U.S. News and World Report* (June 14, 1965):

"The general manager of the poverty program in St. Louis gets \$25,000 a year, the same as the Governor of Missouri, and \$10,000 more than the State attorney general. He has a deputy drawing \$20,000, two other assistants at \$16,000 each, a business manager at \$15,000, an executive assistant at \$12,000 and a chief accountant at \$9,600."

And in addition, the agency is staffed by a large body of clerical and other workers.

Working for such agencies in many cities are so-called "umbrella" committees consisting principally of leading political, professional and other civic figures, together with representatives of local private welfare agencies. These bodies, working through and with the established welfare agencies, take a social-work approach to poverty and content themselves with some small degree of help for the poor on an individual basis.

The Johnson program has proved profitable not only to political machines and their appointees but also to big business. Thus Erwin Knoll, writing in *The Progressive* ("Progress on Poverty," July 1965), speaks of "... criticism of multi-million dollar contracts awarded to blue-chip corporations for the operation of Job Corps camps. Litton Industries, International Business Machines, International Telephone and Telegraph, Ford Motor Company, and General Electric are among the anti-poverty contractors, and financial page writers have noted the profit potential of 'the ever-expanding social legislation market.'"

The Nation (April 26, 1965) observes: "It all sums up to the fact that there is a lot of money in poverty, and everyone senses that more is coming." Everyone, apparently, but the poor.

Of course, the anti-poverty program does not end with the Economic Opportunity Act. It includes also the medicare act recently passed by Congress, which for the first time provides a measure of medical care to the aged. There is also the recently adopted housing act, among whose provisions are rent sub-

sidies for families in certain income groups. To these may be added the federal aid to education law, the first of its kind, which provides especially for federal assistance to schools in impoverished communities.

Then there is older legislation like the Manpower Development and Retraining Act of 1962, which undertook to train some 400,000 unemployed workers over a three-year period, and to provide more limited on-the-job training for another 250,000. To aid the depressed areas, the Area Redevelopment Act was adopted in 1961. This provided for the expenditure of \$394 million over a four-year period, principally for loans, grants and technical assistance to communities to help them attract new industries. This year an expanded program was adopted, a total of some \$4,300 million for regional development.

There are other measures, some already adopted, some awaiting action. Taken together, all these actions constitute an impressive array. And in fact, they do include some significant advances. However, when they are considered in relation to need, they are on the whole seriously lacking, and in many cases totally inadequate. They are often designed to secure maximum political mileage for the Administration at minimum cost, and they serve, as one writer puts it, as part of a "general design for dispensing largesse to the rich" rather than as a means of giving adequate aid to the poor. Speaking of Johnson's "great Society" program generally, he says:

"... A large part of this year's tax benefits, like last year's, will go to prosperous corporations and wealthy individuals... No doubt some of the excise tax reduction will be passed on to consumers, but some substantial portion will further enlarge profits which are judged satisfactory at present levels even by corporate executives.

"Even the design of the expenditure program leads to some questions about exactly who will benefit — high, middle, or low. The proposed rent subsidies are a fair example. They are to be extended not to the poor, but to a very large group of families earning between \$4,000-6,500, a category well above the poverty line. The other likely gainers are builders and landlords, rarely to be found on the welfare rolls. Or consider the Appalachian program. The most expensive of the plans in the new legislation is a major road-building effort... Now in the long-run, new roads in the right places may open the region to the tourist trade, promote the internal mobility of labor, and encourage industrialists to establish new plants. However, in the short run it is the contractors who reap the principal

gains . . . So, too, with aid to education. The new Act, while taking account of schools in deprived areas, also promised relief to parents who send their children to private and parochial schools. And even the medicare measure contains its accommodations to the American Medical Association and the insurance companies." (The Great Society," *Commentary*, June 1965.)

Clearly, the anti-poverty program taken in its entirety is severely limited—so much so that some have condemned it as an outright fraud and called for its rejection. Such an evaluation, however, is seriously in error. First of all, such legislative measures as medicare and federal aid to education, despite all their shortcomings, represent important concessions won after many years of struggle. And secondly, even the very limited provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act — indeed, the mere launching of a "war on poverty"—open the door to the waging of mass struggles for a truly all-out attack on poverty. And such struggles are developing. Organized struggles of the poor themselves have existed for some time. The aged have been active over the years in political movements ranging from the Townsend Plan in the thirties to the fight for medicare today. There are numerous cases of organized action by welfare clients, among them the establishment in a number of cities of organizations of mothers receiving aid to dependent children. These fight against cuts in their allowances and against the endless indignities inflicted on them by public assistance agencies. There are also tenant and other organizations in the impoverished slum and ghetto communities, conducting rent strikes and similar actions. On New York's Lower East Side, the Community Organization Division of Mobilization for Youth, a publicly-financed body, has carried on similar types of struggles. Among its projects, for example, has been Mobilization of Mothers, a group formed to fight for better conditions in the schools.

By far the most striking example is the heroic struggle of the Negro people for their freedom. Today it is the Negro people who are most impressively demonstrating the capacity of the poor to develop organized struggles in their own behalf. Marked initially by middle-class initiative and leadership, the civil rights movement has increasingly brought into action masses of Negro working people—of the poor—who have both moved the struggle more and more "into the streets" and shifted its emphasis more and more to the basic bread-and-butter issues. Indeed, the civil rights struggle has become the focal point of the anti-poverty fight today.

The launching of the Administration's "war on poverty" has given a powerful stimulus to such struggles. And they have received special impetus from a clause in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act which calls for "maximum feasible participation" by the poor themselves in the development, conduct and administration of community action programs. This clause, at first little-noticed, has become the basis of widespread struggles for its implementation. On the one hand, campaigns have been waged in a number of cities for substantial representation of the residents and organizations of the impoverished communities on the community action bodies, and the Office of Economic Opportunity which administers the Act has been impelled to seek out ways of providing such representation. In New York, for example, the city administration has twice been forced to reorganize its community action committee toward that end. And in Philadelphia elections were conducted in the communities themselves to select representatives. On the other hand, independent organizations have sprung up, often in opposition to the City Hall-dominated official bodies. An example is the formation of a Community Anti-Poverty Committee in Los Angeles, seeking to mobilize the people in the Negro, Mexican-American and other impoverished communities to fight for representation and to carry on independent actions. In some cases such independent organizations have begun to seek direct grants of federal funds under the Economic Opportunity Act.

To be sure, it may be questioned whether the representation of the poor so far achieved on citywide bodies is in most cases more than nominal. And in some instances independent community organizations are being set up more to control than to unleash independent struggles of the poor. But the important thing is that the gates have been opened. The concessions already won have inspired the fight for further concessions. And new forms of struggle and organization are developing, which promise to give a new scope and content to the anti-poverty fight.

A PROGRAM FOR ACTION

It is obvious that an effective war on poverty requires a program going far beyond that of the Johnson Administration. Such a program must encompass the following measures:

1. *Creation of jobs.* This requires, first, massive public works programs. These have the merit of providing unskilled and semi-skilled jobs capable of utilizing those workers being displaced in private industry. They also

offer a direct means of putting large numbers of unemployed and underemployed to work in depressed areas and slum communities, and not least, they are sorely needed to fill the huge and growing lag which now exists in vital public services. A second basic is a reduction of the standard work week from 40 hours to 35 or, better, to 30 hours, with no reduction in pay.

2. *Raising purchasing power.* To put an end to the abysmally low wage scales at which millions are compelled to work, it is necessary to raise the legal minimum wage far above its present level and to make it applicable to the many workers not now covered. Even more, it is necessary to organize the millions of yet unorganized workers, especially in the South. Also vitally needed is tax reform to reverse the present situation in which working people pay a highly disproportionate and steadily rising share of the country's taxes.

3. *A new approach to social welfare.* For those unable to work or without work, a system of social welfare is required which provides not just the barest subsistence but a standard of living above the poverty level. This means that among other things social security pensions should be at least doubled, that medicare should be greatly expanded and made completely government-financed, that a federal system of public assistance with greatly liberalized payments should be established, as well as a system of disability payments during periods of illness. Of particular importance is the modernization of the present obsolete system of unemployment compensation, to cover every worker without exception and to pay benefits at least approximating a living wage and continuing throughout the entire period of unemployment.

4. *Abolition of job discrimination.* To fight poverty is in the first place to fight poverty among the Negro people—in particular to strive for the complete eradication of the system of discrimination and segregation in which it is rooted. Basic to this is the elimination of discrimination in employment through suitable legislation. The recently-adopted federal Civil Rights Act takes an important step in this direction, but is severely limited in value by its cumbersome procedures and restrictions. In addition, it is necessary to adopt various forms of compensatory treatment to close the gap created by discrimination in employment and education; without this, even measures designed to end discrimination may, by their very equality of treatment, perpetuate inequality.

5. *Education and training.* In the face of

the need for ever higher levels of education, our affluent society boasts a rapidly deteriorating school system. Consequently there is a growing lag between the educational attainments of American youth and what is required by advancing technology. Worst of all are the educational facilities available to the poor. The fundamental task, therefore, is the upgrading and modernization of the entire school system, and especially in impoverished areas. Vitally important is the elimination of segregated schools, a prime cause of the deterioration of *all* schools. Funds must be provided to make possible attendance at school, ranging from subsidies for food and clothing in the younger age groups to scholarships and stipends at the college level. Finally, a greatly improved system of training and retraining for adult workers is needed, with adequate living and relocation allowances.

6. *Rehabilitation of depressed areas.* The efforts so far have been directed almost wholly to attracting new industries to these areas, and the effect of this has been chiefly to attract runaway shops seeking the lowest possible wage scales. There has been little or no concern for the welfare of unemployed workers or poor farmers. What such regions need is a program of direct federal investment in industrial and power projects, operated by regional authorities patterned on the Tennessee Valley Authority and developing the economy of the region as an integrated whole. This must be combined with immediate steps to relieve the acute poverty of the workers and farmers in these areas.

This is an elaborate program and admittedly an expensive one. But it is not financially unrealistic. The \$25,000 million a year at which its cost has been estimated is less than half of the amount spent annually for military purposes. Indeed, it is these mountainous military expenditures which are the chief obstacles to waging a full-scale war on poverty. It is simply not true that the United States is wealthy enough to afford both guns and butter. The resources wasted in arms production are resources which could otherwise be employed for the welfare of the American people. We pay for these arms with a deficiency of schools, hospitals and other public facilities. We pay for them in the meagreness of social welfare benefits, in unemployment and poverty.

If the arms budget were cut in half, the funds for an attack on poverty would be readily available. And the elimination of the deficit of public services which now exists would require enough manpower to absorb for some time to come all those now unemployed plus all engaged in military produc-

tion. (See Carl Marzani and Victor Perlo, *Dollars and Sense of Disarmament*, Marzani and Munsell, New York, 1960, Chapter 12.)

The war on poverty is thus intimately linked both with the civil rights struggle and the fight for peace. To end the war in Vietnam is to make possible stepping up the war on poverty. The major obstacle is monopoly capital and its cold-war policies. The same monopolies which extract super-profits from the Negro people by way of the Jim Crow system of oppression utilize military expenditures as a means of securing vast profits paid eventually by the masses of working people through increased taxation and inflated prices. The war on poverty is thus part of a common struggle against the monopolies, linking the working class, the Negro people, the small farmers and small businessmen. To wage this war successfully it must be merged into one stream with the civil rights and peace struggles.

Of central importance in this is the role of the trade union movement. Organized labor in the United States has a comprehensive anti-poverty program including many of the measures outlined above, and it has waged serious struggles for a number of them. Currently the AFL-CIO is focussing its attention on modernization of the federal wage-hour law to provide a \$2-an-hour minimum wage, a 35-hour work week, and double time for overtime to discourage the all too common practice of employing some workers overtime while others go jobless. It has also concentrated on the repeal of Section 14b of the notorious Taft-Hartley Act—the section which permits the so-called “right-to-work” laws that have blocked union organization in a number of states. (As this is written its repeal by Congress appears certain — an important victory.) Labor has also fought for medicare, for improved unemployment compensation and numerous other measures.

However, the program of organized labor suffers from a number of basic weaknesses. One is the support of the cold war by key sections of the labor leadership and reliance on military production as a major source of jobs. Another is the tendency of most unions to concern themselves only with those workers still employed in their industries and to write off the unemployed as being no further concern of theirs. A third is the continued

practice of discrimination in many cases by unions themselves. A fourth is the tendency of the top leadership to discourage militant, mass actions by the rank and file. And not least, there is the deep penetration of the virus of anti-communism into the trade union movement during the cold war period.

These shortcomings have led to an aloofness of major sections of labor from the civil rights and peace struggles, as well as from the developing community struggles in the war on poverty noted above. They have led also to failure to make a serious fight for such a vital demand as the shorter work week. The key task, therefore, is that of bringing labor into the central position which it must occupy in the struggles against the monopolies. Under the pressure of the mounting economic problems of the workers, however, combined with the pressures created by the civil rights struggle and now by the escalation of U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam, there is an increasing shift toward greater involvement in these struggles.* Though there is still far to go, it is this trend which is the most significant feature of the American trade union movement today.

It scarcely needs to be said that the type of program outlined above will not abolish poverty; at best it can do no more than alleviate it. The fight to achieve its aims must increasingly lead to recognition of the need to go beyond it, and to seek ways of making inroads on the powers of the giant monopolies whose domination of the country's economic life is the root of poverty today. The fight for this program thus leads toward increasing utilization of the resources of the state for the benefit of the working masses rather than of big business, and toward securing an ever greater extension of democratic controls over the operations of the monopolies. But even this cannot remove the roots of poverty; only the abolition of capitalist exploitation can do so. The fight against poverty and unemployment, as it progresses, must therefore create the conditions for an ever widening acceptance of the need for a socialist transformation of society. In fact, it is already doing so.

*For a picture of the role of labor in the protests against the escalation of the war in Vietnam, see the articles by Gus Hall and Henry Winston in this issue.

offer a direct means of putting large numbers of unemployed and underemployed to work in depressed areas and slum communities, and not least, they are sorely needed to fill the huge and growing lag which now exists in vital public services. A second basic is a reduction of the standard work week from 40 hours to 35 or, better, to 30 hours, with no reduction in pay.

2. *Raising purchasing power.* To put an end to the abysmally low wage scales at which millions are compelled to work, it is necessary to raise the legal minimum wage far above its present level and to make it applicable to the many workers not now covered. Even more, it is necessary to organize the millions of yet unorganized workers, especially in the South. Also vitally needed is tax reform to reverse the present situation in which working people pay a highly disproportionate and steadily rising share of the country's taxes.

3. *A new approach to social welfare.* For those unable to work or without work, a system of social welfare is required which provides not just the barest subsistence but a standard of living above the poverty level. This means that among other things social security pensions should be at least doubled, that medicare should be greatly expanded and made completely government-financed, that a federal system of public assistance with greatly liberalized payments should be established, as well as a system of disability payments during periods of illness. Of particular importance is the modernization of the present obsolete system of unemployment compensation, to cover every worker without exception and to pay benefits at least approximating a living wage and continuing throughout the entire period of unemployment.

4. *Abolition of job discrimination.* To fight poverty is in the first place to fight poverty among the Negro people—in particular to strive for the complete eradication of the system of discrimination and segregation in which it is rooted. Basic to this is the elimination of discrimination in employment through suitable legislation. The recently-adopted federal Civil Rights Act takes an important step in this direction, but is severely limited in value by its cumbersome procedures and restrictions. In addition, it is necessary to adopt various forms of compensatory treatment to close the gap created by discrimination in employment and education; without this, even measures designed to end discrimination may, by their very equality of treatment, perpetuate inequality.

5. *Education and training.* In the face of

the need for ever higher levels of education, our affluent society boasts a rapidly deteriorating school system. Consequently there is a growing lag between the educational attainments of American youth and what is required by advancing technology. Worst of all are the educational facilities available to the poor. The fundamental task, therefore, is the upgrading and modernization of the entire school system, and especially in impoverished areas. Vitally important is the elimination of segregated schools, a prime cause of the deterioration of all schools. Funds must be provided to make possible attendance at school, ranging from subsidies for food and clothing in the younger age groups to scholarships and stipends at the college level. Finally, a greatly improved system of training and retraining for adult workers is needed, with adequate living and relocation allowances.

6. *Rehabilitation of depressed areas.* The efforts so far have been directed almost wholly to attracting new industries to these areas, and the effect of this has been chiefly to attract runaway shops seeking the lowest possible wage scales. There has been little or no concern for the welfare of unemployed workers or poor farmers. What such regions need is a program of direct federal investment in industrial and power projects, operated by regional authorities patterned on the Tennessee Valley Authority and developing the economy of the region as an integrated whole. This must be combined with immediate steps to relieve the acute poverty of the workers and farmers in these areas.

This is an elaborate program and admittedly an expensive one. But it is not financially unrealistic. The \$25,000 million a year at which its cost has been estimated is less than half of the amount spent annually for military purposes. Indeed, it is these mountainous military expenditures which are the chief obstacles to waging a full-scale war on poverty. It is simply not true that the United States is wealthy enough to afford both guns and butter. The resources wasted in arms production are resources which could otherwise be employed for the welfare of the American people. We pay for these arms with a deficiency of schools, hospitals and other public facilities. We pay for them in the meagreness of social welfare benefits, in unemployment and poverty.

If the arms budget were cut in half, the funds for an attack on poverty would be readily available. And the elimination of the deficit of public services which now exists would require enough manpower to absorb for some time to come all those now unemployed plus all engaged in military produc-

tion. (See Carl Marzani and Victor Perlo, *Dollars and Sense of Disarmament*, Marzani and Munsell, New York, 1960, Chapter 12.)

The war on poverty is thus intimately linked both with the civil rights struggle and the fight for peace. To end the war in Vietnam is to make possible stepping up the war on poverty. The major obstacle is monopoly capital and its cold-war policies. The same monopolies which extract super-profits from the Negro people by way of the Jim Crow system of oppression utilize military expenditures as a means of securing vast profits paid eventually by the masses of working people through increased taxation and inflated prices. The war on poverty is thus part of a common struggle against the monopolies, linking the working class, the Negro people, the small farmers and small businessmen. To wage this war successfully it must be merged into one stream with the civil rights and peace struggles.

Of central importance in this is the role of the trade union movement. Organized labor in the United States has a comprehensive anti-poverty program including many of the measures outlined above, and it has waged serious struggles for a number of them. Currently the AFL-CIO is focussing its attention on modernization of the federal wage-hour law to provide a \$2-an-hour minimum wage, a 35-hour work week, and double time for overtime to discourage the all too common practice of employing some workers overtime while others go jobless. It has also concentrated on the repeal of Section 14b of the notorious Taft-Hartley Act—the section which permits the so-called “right-to-work” laws that have blocked union organization in a number of states. (As this is written its repeal by Congress appears certain — an important victory.) Labor has also fought for medicare, for improved unemployment compensation and numerous other measures.

However, the program of organized labor suffers from a number of basic weaknesses. One is the support of the cold war by key sections of the labor leadership and reliance on military production as a major source of jobs. Another is the tendency of most unions to concern themselves only with those workers still employed in their industries and to write off the unemployed as being no further concern of theirs. A third is the continued

practice of discrimination in many cases by unions themselves. A fourth is the tendency of the top leadership to discourage militant, mass actions by the rank and file. And not least, there is the deep penetration of the virus of anti-communism into the trade union movement during the cold war period.

These shortcomings have led to an aloofness of major sections of labor from the civil rights and peace struggles, as well as from the developing community struggles in the war on poverty noted above. They have led also to failure to make a serious fight for such a vital demand as the shorter work week. The key task, therefore, is that of bringing labor into the central position which it must occupy in the struggles against the monopolies. Under the pressure of the mounting economic problems of the workers, however, combined with the pressures created by the civil rights struggle and now by the escalation of U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam, there is an increasing shift toward greater involvement in these struggles.* Though there is still far to go, it is this trend which is the most significant feature of the American trade union movement today.

It scarcely needs to be said that the type of program outlined above will not abolish poverty; at best it can do no more than alleviate it. The fight to achieve its aims must increasingly lead to recognition of the need to go beyond it, and to seek ways of making inroads on the powers of the giant monopolies whose domination of the country's economic life is the root of poverty today. The fight for this program thus leads toward increasing utilization of the resources of the state for the benefit of the working masses rather than of big business, and toward securing an ever greater extension of democratic controls over the operations of the monopolies. But even this cannot remove the roots of poverty; only the abolition of capitalist exploitation can do so. The fight against poverty and unemployment, as it progresses, must therefore create the conditions for an ever widening acceptance of the need for a socialist transformation of society. In fact, it is already doing so.

*For a picture of the role of labor in the protests against the escalation of the war in Vietnam, see the articles by Gus Hall and Henry Winston in this issue.

The U.S. government and the economic cycle

VICTOR PERLO

MECHANICS OF ANTI-CYCLICAL REGULATION AND GROWTH STIMULATION

IN CARRYING OUT ITS fiscal and monetary policies, the Government gives priority to private investment, the most volatile sector of the economy, whose fluctuations must be contained if serious crises are to be avoided. According to Keynesian economic theory, changes in investment are multiplied in the consumption sector, and therefore provide the most effective lever for influencing the general level of activity.

The share of investment in the total product is correlated with the long-term growth rate. The proportion of investment in the U.S. economy has been lower than during the early prewar years, and is lower than in some of the other highly industrialized countries. Advocates of a faster long-term growth rate seek to increase the share of investment in production, besides smoothing out its cyclical fluctuations. Finally, since private investment is financed largely out of profits, its encouragement provides a fresh excuse for profit-raising measures.

Actually, more and sounder economic effects could be obtained by holding profits down and using the surplus for public investment, which would also provide much-needed social benefits. But the government economists do not even consider this alternative.

U.S. government activity in the field of investment falls far short of the "indicative planning" by which the French government

and monopolies construct rather definite long-term programs. The U.S. attempts merely to encourage a generally rising volume of investment, and to forestall any serious decline. The authorities attempt to keep fully informed about the future course of private investments for about a year ahead, to be ready for counteraction should a serious decline seem imminent.

The big corporations submit to private and government agencies reports of their fixed capital investment programs for the coming year. These are brought up to date and compiled fairly often, so that any change in outlook can be spotted in time. Also, use is made of privately-assembled statistics on corporation appropriations for investment, which forecast the trend of orders for new equipment and contracts for construction a half-year or so ahead of time, and actual investment outlays still further ahead. Data collected on new equipment orders and construction contracts provide a further check as to whether the reported plans for investment are likely to be carried out.

With the information now collected, the authorities can usually be forewarned of an impending decline in fixed capital investment. They attempt to counteract it as follows:

1. Through tax concessions to corporations tailored to give special advantages to fixed investment. This device was followed in 1962 by the Kennedy Administration, when fixed investment remained sluggish. More of the same was contained in the 1964 tax reduction.

2. Through easy money policies designed

*Continued from previous issue.

to encourage corporations to borrow for investment purposes.

3. By subsidizing specific types of investment, such as merchant shipbuilding, the communications satellites, and the proposed supersonic air transport plane. While mainly for other purposes, such subsidies can be varied in line with contra-cyclical considerations. Huge research contracts to private companies, specifically aiming at new military and space products, provide the means for new products and processes for general use. A high rate of new development tends to correspond to a high rate of fixed capital investment, in the view of many economists.

4. By substituting government investment-type outlays. In the past this method has been used, mainly after a recession had begun. It consisted principally of more armament orders, and to a lesser extent of more contracts for constructing highways, post offices, and government administrative buildings. Now there is more inclination among the bourgeoisie to add schools and hospitals to the list, although they retain their hostility to any kind of government investments that might conceivably supplant an opportunity to make a private profit.

In earlier cycles, the Government never sought directly to reduce private fixed investment, but at cyclical peaks, tight money policies had that effect, and there were reductions in government investment. Presumably similar techniques will be used in the future, but government economists avoid discussion of this, presuming that their attempts at more or less steady growth will be successful.

Government attempts to influence consumption directly are concentrated on residential housing and consumers' durable goods which, by virtue of their technical composition and long life-times, have cyclical characteristics and impacts analogous to those of investment.

The Government attempts to stimulate, or restrain, residential housing construction by increasing or decreasing the funds made available for rediscount of mortgages, easing or tightening the terms on which it will guarantee private mortgages, and manipulating subsidies paid out for urban renewal projects and the like. U.S. Government guarantees, by removing most risks from private bankers and real estate operators, provide a powerful lever to influence housing volume. Government regulation of consumer credit terms has a similar influence on the durable goods market, since the substantial majority of automobiles, for example, are bought on installments extending over a three year period.

Maximum emphasis is given now to the use of federal expenditures and taxation as a

regulator of private purchasing power. When government spending exceeds tax revenues, the net effect is to increase active purchasing power—including that directed towards consumption. When government revenues exceed spending, private purchasing power is diminished. A deficit is expansionary, a surplus contractive.

The federal Budget has been kept in deficit throughout the four years of the present cycle, unlike previous cycles when a surplus developed during the recovery and boom period. As already noted, this continuous deficit is one of the most distinct differences between the former and the present government contra-cyclical policy.

How much of a deficit is desirable at a given time? A technique has been devised for calculating this. The tax laws are so constructed that revenues grow faster than gross national product, but there is no automatic increase in expenditures with gross national product. Hence economic growth leads to the rapid elimination of a budget deficit and its conversion into a surplus.

Ideally, in the view of the government economists, the deficit should be in balance at the rate of economic activity "preferred" by corporations, which corresponds to an official unemployment rate of four per cent. Projecting ahead from the existing situation, the economists calculate what the budget would show at given future intervals, with four per cent unemployment. Throughout the present cycle, their calculations have projected a surplus should this level of activity be reached. Since such a surplus would, in their belief, provoke a recession, their calculations have consistently led to suggestions for measures to increase the deficit, either by cutting taxes, or raising spending, or both. As of early 1965, the projection was for a four per cent unemployment surplus of \$5,500 million* in the first half of 1966. This is associated with fears of a new recession beginning then unless additional deficit-increasing measures are taken by that time.

The Government seeks more flexibility in adjusting tax rates and spending by advance authorization from Congress to make changes, in line with shifting economic indicators. But so far the desire of the legislature to retain some vestige of its constitutional role has balked such efforts. However, the executive already has some flexibility by speeding up or slowing down the spending of previously appropriated funds, and by amending the regulations determining tax collections.

The tools now used by the Government

*In keeping with the official mythology, this is referred to by the wholly dishonest term "full employment surplus."

seem inadequate to insure continuous growth or to prevent significant economic downturns. The methods used to stimulate capital investments are too crude to achieve the balance necessary for stable growth. Despite earlier vows to avoid the excesses of investment which helped precipitate earlier recessions, the same pattern has been repeated in this cycle. According to Keyserling's calculations, between the first quarter of 1961 and the fourth quarter of 1964 business expenditures for plant and equipment increased at an annual rate of 7.8 per cent, while private and government consumption increased at an annual rate of only four per cent. For 1965 corporations project an accelerated rise in fixed investment, 15 per cent, while the projected rise in consumption outlays is perhaps five per cent.

Thus the excess capacity contradiction seems likely to reappear. Existing techniques have not proved capable of suitably moderating the rise in fixed private investments without causing them to turn downward and precipitate a depression. Nor is the government prepared politically to make the kind of concession to the masses which would substitute mass private and social consumption on an adequate scale.

The Government has probably already reached the limit of its potential for raising consumers' durable goods sales by existing techniques. The value of housing mortgages issued during 1964 considerably exceeded the value of new construction, and the net increase (less repayments), approximated the value of new homes built. Higher foreclosures, and the failure of some mortgage lending institutions, suggest that a peak of practical credit ease has been reached in this area. Similarly, in 1963 the amount of installment debt taken on for the purchase of cars actually exceeded the value of new cars sold. (This seeming paradox reflects the resale of used cars on credit, and the loading of loans with discounted interest and various charges.)

Payments of principal and interest on outstanding personal debts during 1964 reached the fantastic level of more than \$90,000 million, absorbing an unprecedented 21 per cent of consumer disposable income—and a much larger percentage of working class incomes.

In their calculations, the government economists tacitly assume that changes in the budget are neutral in their class composition, that the distribution of expenditures and taxes among various social classes and income groups remains unchanged. But this assumption is completely erroneous. Changes in tax laws in recent years have had the effect of rapidly reducing levies on the rich and increas-

ing them on the poor. Thus, a deficit which might have brought a certain net increase to mass consuming power several years ago actually could reduce mass consuming power today, owing to the heavier tax burden on wages and salaries.

Moreover, the combined impact of all government policies, taken together with the effect of monopoly price rigging and the outcome of class struggles, has been to rather sharply raise the rate of exploitation of labor. Calculations used by labor leader Walter Reuther showed that between the second quarter of 1960 and the third quarter of 1964 compensation of corporate workers and employees increased 20.3 per cent, while property income increased 40.7 per cent, or twice as rapidly. Leaving aside the statistical inflation of workers' real increase, the relative difference in movement since the previous cyclical peak is startling.

In this situation, even if government spending was in some ways more favorable to labor, increased deficits would merely compensate for labor's diminishing share in the private economy.

APPRAISAL OF RESULTS TO DATE

The present economic cycle has seen the emergence of the new policy of anti-cyclical and growth stimulation. This has been accompanied by some improvement in economic growth and stability, and the developing new policy has contributed to that result. Should 1965 prove a cyclical peak, the duration of the present cycle, five years, will equal that of the previous longest cycle since World War II. Accepting government forecasts of production for all of 1965, annual growth rates of constant price gross national product have been as follows over cyclical intervals:

Cycle	Annual Growth Rate
1948-53	4.7 per cent
1953-57	2.5 per cent
1957-60	2.5 per cent
1960-65	4.1 per cent

During the stagnation period, 1953-60, the growth rate was only 2.5 per cent, or a mere one per cent per capita. The growth rate during the 1960's of about four per cent, or 2½ per cent per capita, is slower than that of the 1948-53 cycle, but a large part of the earlier growth consisted of Korean War production. Civilian production growth was less than four per cent per year. The 1960-65 growth rate approximated that of the major cycle 1920-29. That was climaxed with the

worst economic crisis in history. Is the new period of faster growth also heading for a severe crisis, despite the efforts of the capitalists and government to prevent it? Or will the four per cent growth rate be maintained, if not increased somewhat, with only minor interruptions?

Actually, even a stable four per cent growth rate would not prevent the aggravation of domestic social contradictions. As Keyserling demonstrated, because of the more rapid growth in the size of the labor force and of labor productivity, a four per cent growth rate will be accompanied by a steady rise in unemployment. A growth rate of 5.2 per cent, he calculates, would be necessary to prevent its increase, and a growth rate of 7.5-9 per cent would be needed to reduce unemployment to a reasonable minimum by 1970.

The new economic policy includes nothing significant to alleviate the existing mass poverty and the economic misery resulting from the vile oppression of the Negro people. The triviality of the Administration's approach to social problems is shown, in a backhanded way, by the observations of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. That organization would scream in protest at a real social reform program. But here are its comments on the Economic Report of the President's presentation of his program for "The Great Society":

"... the last chapter of the Council's report, dealing with the Great Society, is in many ways the most disappointing . . . The chapter hardly addresses the issue, much less makes the case, for Federal drives toward solving these problems which have been with us in one form or another for so long."

The anti-cyclical tools presently used by the Government fall far short of requirements for a balanced, steady growth of the economy. Even should they be sufficient for reducing the cycle to one of growth rates, they include no measures to forestall crises in particular industries or regions. Despite the boom, distress continues in the large areas of Appalachia, while substantial unemployment and economic slack have enveloped recently booming California, due to the impact of McNamara's "economy" program on segments of the armament industry.

The tools developed are applicable only within a comparatively narrow range of conditions. They include no insulation from international economic shocks, such as a currency crisis. Nor are they immune to financial shocks, notably severe stock market breaks.

While the new economic policy does represent a consensus among the top circles of finance capital, support for it is far from unanimous. For example, the powerful Nation-

al Association of Manufacturers continues to express basic opposition. With political expression to this opposition by a significant section of the Republican Party, it is always possible that shifts in the balance of forces among the monopolies, or the outcome of particular battles for power, will cause a change in policy. This would include, essentially, a reversion to the former policy of letting crises or recessions take place, and utilizing them to squeeze out weak firms and press labor, instead of striving to prevent them. Such a reversion would be temporary, since the long-term trend is undoubtedly towards increasingly intense state economic regulation. But even in a short period such a change could have far-reaching effects.

Class conflicts also affect the attempts of the Government to regulate the economy. The mere threat of a steel strike in 1965 led to much overstocking of steel, and a rapid substitution of imports for domestic production. This significantly complicates the economic outlook for the remainder of the year.

CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS UNDER THE NEW POLICY

The measures of economic regulation undertaken by the U.S. Government, because of their class character, do not eliminate the contradictions which give birth to crises and which undermine economic growth rates in the epoch of monopoly capitalism. The new economic policy seeks to contain these contradictions, to counteract some of their harmful effects without going through the painful process of an economic crisis for their temporary resolution.

Here these contradictions are mentioned in summary from:

1. The tendency of production to expand without limit other than the producing power of society, while realization is limited by the consuming power of the masses, which fluctuates within comparatively narrow limits.

This contradiction, discovered by Marx, remains most fundamental to cyclical development. Its operation is *modified*, in comparison with Marx's time, by the increased organization of the working class, which results in a more elastic consuming power. But it is not ended. And the Government policies of economic regulation do not necessarily ease it sufficiently, and may even aggravate it on balance at crucial times.

2. The tendency of profit rates to be squeezed at the peak of the boom, ultimately cutting down investment. Much of the government effort is devoted to forestalling a squeeze on profits, but its success is only at the expense of aggravating other contradictions.

3. The straining of the credit system by the constant rise of debt-to-production and debt-to-consumption ratios; creating conditions for a financial crisis or a period of rapid price increases. Far from easing this contradiction, government methods of economic stimulation aggravate it.

4. The contradictions between the overseas expansionist drive of U.S. imperialism and its internal economic problems. The main area for increased investment of U.S. imperialists is overseas, and this is rising in relative importance yearly.

Export of capital has some positive impacts on the domestic economy—it creates a built-in market for machinery for the U.S. installations overseas, and certain captive markets in countries dominated by U.S. corporations. But negative impacts are tending more and more to overbalance these. U.S.-owned imports are substituting for domestic production in a growing number of lines. Production in U.S.-owned or licensed factories for foreign markets has practically eliminated domestic output for export in a number of industries.

The rising cost of policing overseas semi-colonies and paying for overseas bases and wars of suppression results in a chronic international payments deficit. This is already causing some tightening of credit internally, and threatens to seriously curb the expansionist domestic policies of the government.

The accumulation of contradictions, by May 1965, led to fears that the boom might be coming to an end despite increasing governmental contra-cyclical efforts. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on interviews with more than three dozen leading corporate economists:

"A full two-thirds of the analysts say the business expansion is about over, at least as far as this year is concerned. Most anticipate a lengthy pause followed by renewed growth sometime in 1966. A few see a mild recession ahead . . . the current consensus . . . marks . . . an abrupt turn from the generally rosy forecasts being made only a few months ago."

Despite the mounting contradictions, and the relative, if temporary, exhaustion of existing stimulating techniques, the capitalists are not without reserves to draw on in order to prevent a recession and keep the economy growing at a fair pace.

One group of reserves would consist of big concessions to the masses in higher consuming power and enlarged public sector activities. Clearly, the oligarchy does not feel enough pressure from the masses to seriously consider this route. Another reserve would be devaluation of the dollar, diminishing the real debt burden, and giving scope for a cer-

tain period of inflationary growth. Finance capital is opposed to this method, because of the consequent loss of international financial power.

There remains the old favorite of the American tycoons, stepping up the arms race. The most aggressive circles are pressing for a new stage of militarization of the economy, in connection with an expanded program of wars of colonial conquest and suppression, as in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Formerly, expanded military orders were used to help get out of a recession. Now, in keeping with the changed general economic policy, the idea seems to be to use them to prevent the recession from starting.

During the first part of the present cycle, starting with the 1961 recession, a rather rapidly expanding military budget was the main component of government economic stimulation. But since mid-1963 it has been a neutral factor. Indeed, these two years, the longest period of declining or stable military budgets since the end of World War II, have been the most successful economically, and this is more than a coincidence. It suggests that military shots in the arm have lost some of their magic for the U.S. economy, and that there are more possibilities in peaceful methods, despite the contradictions attending these. But the dominant capitalists apparently are not willing to accept this lesson yet.

Stabilization of the military budget seems to be coming to an end. Armament orders increased sharply in April. In May Johnson obtained an extra appropriation of \$700 million for the Vietnamese war. Opposition in the country and in Congress to this provocative act exceeded that expressed against any other armament appropriation in this entire historical period. But the big capitalists, always happy to get more armament orders, approved.

Johnson is clearly tempted to revive Truman's formula of using armaments as an economic catalyst, regardless of the risk. He is just as capable of multiplying the initial \$700 million by a factor of 10, or 20, or 50, as he did the original "protective" contingents of Marines landed in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. He publicly offered a "blank check" for munitions to the U.S. armed forces carrying on genocidal warfare in Vietnam. The threat is to reinvoke the arms race with an expansion not seen since the dark days of the Korean War. Obviously, this would postpone the possibility of a crisis of overproduction, but at a terrible political cost, and with a frightful risk to humanity, not least to the American people.

PROGRESSIVE APPROACH TO ANTI-CYCLICAL REGULATION

Alternatively, the trade unions, civil rights organizations, and left Keynesians seek a turn in emphasis of government economic regulation to a rapid enlargement of the public sector, to provide a variety of sorely needed services to the masses and to catch up with the welfare provisions of the more advanced European capitalist states. They also advocate increased taxation of the rich and the big corporations to finance these measures. They advocate government legislation to radically raise minimum wages, reduce the work week, and improve the conditions of the Negro workers.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on labor's 1965 legislative goals comprises an excellent compendium of desirable reforms in all of these areas. However, this is not the first time good programs have been put on paper. A militant mass struggle is needed to bring them to life. Also, certain fresh approaches are necessary if a real breakthrough is to be made.

First, the working people must clearly disown the capitalist aim of economic growth as an end in itself—which means in practice priority to profits, the strengthening of monopolies domestically and in ruthless battle against all of the world's progressive forces. The needs and rights of the people must be the objective, with economic growth, at this stage, not the key factor in satisfying these needs.

Second, there must be no compromise with the concept of full employment. The AFL-CIO correctly gives this priority in its program, and in a recent statement emphasized that all other issues "come down to the single issue of jobs at good wages for all. The rest of our program is necessary of course: but without that one underlying requisite the United States could find itself with the best educated, best trained body of unemployed workers in the history of the world."

Yet some pro-labor spokesmen tend to retreat from this approach. Keyserling, instead of opposing any unemployment, suggests a lower level than the officially recommended four per cent. Nor has the AFL-CIO taken the principled position that the government must have the direct economic responsibility of providing jobs at decent wages to all not employed by private industry. Thus, the size, location, and character of government programs must be determined not only by budgetary considerations and estimates of relative urgency. There must be sufficient flexibility to adjust government programs so as to elimi-

nate the unemployment left outstanding by or created by private capitalists. This flexibility should include government operation of factories abandoned by the capitalists.

Such an approach to the unemployment problem leads directly to the third principle:

Third, the working people must begin to penetrate the capitalist monopoly of power, which gives the employers a built-in advantage in all struggles, and leads to the dissipation in practice of many legislative concessions. While the AFL-CIO leadership continues its slavish adherence to capitalism, pressures within the organization brought about the adoption of this significant resolution at its last convention:

"Experience has shown that we cannot rely upon the blind force of the market-place for full employment, full production, and effective use of our resources to meet our most urgent national needs. Other advanced free and democratic industrial nations have found that they can achieve their economic and social objectives only through a rational national economic planning process involving the democratic participation of all segments of their population together with government. We urge the creation in the United States of a National Planning Agency, which through similar democratic mechanisms will evaluate our resources and our needs and establish priorities in the application of resources to the meeting of needs."

Of course, a mere planning agency on the model of some European capitalist countries, with labor representatives on it, is far from adequate. Mechanisms for the realization of workers' influence are required in all government agencies, and in the industrial enterprises and corporate and financial headquarters. In short, the United States must move in the direction of more far-reaching structural reforms. Hyman Lumer, editor of *Political Affairs*, writes:

"The essence of these reforms is the establishment of a growing measure of government regulation—and where necessary, of government ownership—of the large industrial and financial enterprises, not in the interests of big business but in the interests of the masses of American people. They constitute an incursion into the hitherto sacred preserves of big business and the institution of a growing degree of democratic control over its operations, to be exercised by the working people through the effective participation of their organizations in all controlling bodies."

Fourth, the wars of American imperialism must be stopped, its aggressive, colonialist foreign policy ended, and a serious start made

to abandonment of its bases and to international disarmament. Without that domestic economic reforms will surely be limited, and

there will be a continual danger of the loss of all the earlier gains of the American working people.

From bourgeois nation to socialist nation

G. KALLAI

I

BEFORE LIBERATION the Hungarian nation was a bourgeois nation—of the type defined by Lenin when he said that “there are two nations in every modern nation,”* i.e., a nation of capitalist and big landlords, of oppressors, exploiting classes, on the one hand, and a nation of workers and peasants, of the oppressed and exploited, on the other. Although the ruling classes, like the ruling classes of all bourgeois nations, depicted their private interests as the national interests and preached “national unity” to uphold these interests, actually the country was rent by an acute class struggle. There could be no national unity embracing the whole of society.

The counter-revolutionary Horthy era began in 1919 with the drowning of the Soviet Republic in blood; the capitalists and landowners, aided by foreign troops, regained political power.

The Horthy regime was one of the varieties of fascism. In effect it deprived the workers and peasants even of bourgeois-democratic freedoms. The landlords and capitalists, filled with hatred for the working class and the peasantry, declared the workers traitors to the nation. Yet it was precisely on this class, proscribed by the Horthy regime as being un-national, and on its organized vanguard, the Communist Party, slandered by Horthy as a party of treason, that the historical task devolved of uniting all the progressive forces of society against the anti-national policy of the ruling classes, the task of preventing the extinction of Hungarian nationhood and creating the prerequisites for its regeneration.

Long before the Second World War the counter-revolutionary regime linked the country's destiny with the fascist powers, above all with Hitler Germany. This unholy alliance was

accompanied by a ruthless drive to crush all opposition at home, by the introduction of the more naked forms of fascist dictatorship, by a vicious chauvinism and anti-communism, and by an aggressive foreign policy which eventually plunged Hungary into a disastrous war.

This policy trampled on the most elementary interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie—of all sections of the working population. The genuinely national interests were upheld most consistently by the recognized leader of all the oppressed—the working class and its party, the Communist Party.

In the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, held in 1935, and on the basis of a profound examination of the experience of other countries in combating fascism as well as of the situation at home, our Party charted a political line which subsequent events proved correct. This line did not make the dictatorship of the proletariat the immediate aim as had been the case previously; instead it added up to a program of anti-fascist and anti-war struggle to regain and uphold national independence and democratic rights, to put an end to the policy of military gambles and anti-Sovietism, to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and to abolish the big landed estates. The Party also put forward other democratic demands with the aim of building a broader class alliance.

In the historical setting of the times the only line for the working class and its Party was national unity on an anti-fascist foundation; this line, which combined the class and the national policy of the Party, helped to unite the progressive classes and social strata against Hungarian, German and every other kind of fascism in order to save the nation. But in addition to tasks of democratic reconstruction, this line also looked forward to the socialist reorganization of society.

*V. I. Lenin. *Critical Notes on the National Question*.

From the very beginning of the anti-fascist movement the Party stressed that the democratic and socialist revolutions, far from being mutually exclusive, constituted two consecutive stages of a single revolutionary process. The democratic united front policy during the Second World War was a prerequisite and at the same time an organic component of the struggle for socialism, since successful solution of the tasks posed by this policy created conditions for the transition to socialism. In working out this policy the Party had in mind that the victory of the people's democratic revolution would be an important stage on the way to the socialist goal of the working class. Consequently, the people's front policy can in no way be regarded as a retreat from class struggle, or a concession (even a temporary one) to nationalism.

The democratic united front policy and the Party's anti-war struggle found a response among the masses. In 1941-42, when the fascists had overrun most of Western Europe and had penetrated deeply into Soviet territory, a strong anti-fascist and anti-war movement of a revolutionary nature for withdrawal from the war and the establishment of an independent, democratic Hungary swept the country.

The German occupation of Hungary in the spring of 1944 aggravated the contradictions of the time. It deepened the people's hatred for the German fascists and their accomplices in Hungary, accelerated political development generally and broadened the base for the growth of a national anti-fascist resistance. More and more people began to realize that the fascists were losing the war. The struggle was no longer to get Hungary out of the war, for the overthrow of all military governments and to defeat fascism; it became concretely interwoven with the effort to end the counter-revolutionary regime and to ensure a postwar development along the lines of people's democracy.

In the summer and autumn of 1944 the mass anti-fascist movement made headway, directed and organized by the Communist Party, the leader of the democratic forces united in the Hungarian Front.

The Party's work through the years to build working-class unity played the decisive role in the upsurge of this anti-fascist movement and in establishing the democratic united front. The results of these labors were consolidated with the signing in October 1944 of a document on unity of action between the two workers' parties and their eventual amalgamation. Working-class unity was vital inasmuch as it ensured the leading role of the working class—a precondition for success not only in the anti-fascist and anti-war struggle but also in the social and class struggles to come—in the worker-peasant alliance which formed the bedrock of the democratic united front then taking shape.

The slow-down in industry, actions to obstruct the evacuation of enterprises, sabotage

of farm produce deliveries, strikes and mass demonstrations, wholesale desertions from the army to the Soviet forces, and partisan operations in various parts of the country are all evidence that in Hungary too (though perhaps not to the same extent as in the other occupied countries of Europe) a mass revolutionary movement was developing already before liberation. The fact that the ruling classes, primarily because of the grave defeats at the front but also due to the growing anti-fascist movement at home, could no longer rule in the old way and scurried wholesale from their administrative, managerial and other top jobs as the rumors of the approach of the Soviet Army spread, coupled with the fact that, "below," the working people generally now manifested their hostility to fascism in passive and active forms signified that a revolutionary situation had matured in the country at the moment of liberation.

The movement for independence, the crystallization of anti-fascist, democratic national unity for which the Communists had fought ever since 1936, and the Hungarian Front built up under the leadership of the Communist Party were the signs that in the course of the struggle against fascism many of the conditions for the people's democratic revolution had ripened, that a strengthening had taken place of the social forces which were destined to carry on the movement in the postwar and which, taking advantage of the favorable circumstances, would steer the country towards socialism.

Underlying the revolution which began after liberation was the aggravation of the internal class contradictions. An important role in creating a climate in which the revolutionary situation could grow into a people's democratic revolution was played by the Soviet Army, which defeated the German and Hungarian fascist armies and dismantled the machinery of coercion at the disposal of the Horthy government—the army, gendarmerie and police. This, and this alone, made it possible for the revolutionary situation engendered by the deep-going economic and political crisis of the Horthy-Szalasi regime to grow into a revolution.

The success of the Party, its people's front policy, and its program upholding the interests of the people were cardinal factors of revolutionary reconstruction which provided the point of departure in resolving the post-liberation tasks.

II

In the new situation the Party continued to pursue the policy of bringing together all the democratic forces.

Preserving the democratic united front created in the period of anti-fascist struggle was neither a mistake nor an unprincipled, conciliatory compromise. The Party of the working class could not have steered any other course

in the situation at the time. True, the coalition included also bourgeois parties, but at the same time it offered an organizational framework for achieving lasting unity among all working people under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party.

The tasks facing the people were enormous. The country lay in ruins. Moreover, industry, agriculture and the sphere of education and culture generally had to be rid of the consequences of the inequality practised by the ruling classes and the lag caused by them overcome. It was not only a matter of rehabilitation, but of building anew. This could be done only by mustering the efforts of all the people. Clearly, then, the preservation and development of the broad people's front was essential for the success of the people's democratic revolution and the socialist reconstruction.

With this aim in view, the Party published in November 1944 a draft program entitled "A Program for Democratic Rehabilitation and Development."

This program, framed in the spirit of the anti-fascist people's front policy which had crystallized during the war, met the interests of the overwhelming majority of Hungarians and hence offered a basis for broad national unity.

On December 2, 1944, the National Independence Front was founded in liberated Szeged on the initiative and under the leadership of the Communist Party. A coalition of parties in form, it was essentially a broad class alliance of the workers, peasants, small urban bourgeoisie, the democratic intelligentsia and that section of the bourgeoisie which had turned against the German fascists. At its inaugural session the Front endorsed as its own the draft program of the Communist Party. This was followed by the convocation of the Provisional Government in Debrecen and the establishment of a Provisional Government relying on the revolutionary local authorities set up by the people—the so-called National Committees.

A new, democratic state power was thus created, marking a turning point in the struggle for national and democratic regeneration. In class content this revolutionary power was a variant of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry.

Endorsing and implementing the program of the national united front and the new democratic government, the people rapidly set up their own revolutionary bodies; National Committees, peasant committees for distributing the confiscated estates, and factory committees in the enterprises. Through these, powerful blows were struck at the economic and political positions of the former ruling classes. The land reform, which radically changed economic and class relationships in the country, was one of the greatest gains of the people's democratic revolution. Thanks to it, the class of big landowners was abolished and the formerly landless, dispossessed peasants were provided with

plots of their own. This strengthened democratic law and order, enhanced the prestige and leading role of the working class, and placed the alliance of the working class and the peasantry on a solid foundation.

With the land reform accomplished and the new, democratic organs of power established, the question "Whither now?" once again came to the fore. A sharp struggle developed around the issue of the direction in which social development was to be channeled. Clearly, it was imperative consistently to continue the revolution.

The reactionary capitalists and landlords, who had been deprived of their own parties after liberation, looked for and found a political representative in the Smallholders' Party, which had a considerable peasant following. Counter-revolutionaries of every hue—former land magnates, bankers, Horthy officials, army officers and clergy — made it their rallying point. In this way the spokesmen of reaction penetrated into the Independence Front and the government coalition. This gave them a chance to exert a negative influence on the class content of the alliance of democratic parties and a potential opening for tipping the balance in their own favor at the first opportune moment. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Smallholders' Party carried 57 per cent of the vote in the 1948 general election. This was fraught with the danger of the Communist Party being excluded from the coalition, even though the general external and internal balance of forces at the time was far from propitious for intrigues of this kind.

The Party had to face the danger squarely and counter the reactionary machinations with a solution according with the interests of the country and the people. An examination of the objective situation showed that a large part of the population (including the majority of the politically active population of the most important towns and industrial areas) recognized our Party as the rightful leader of the post-liberation revolution, i.e., were aware that its program and policy were in the true interests of the entire people.

Ever since the liberation the Party had put forward constructive solutions for the national issues, posing tasks which were welcomed and approved by the politically active masses. It had led the struggle for the land reform, and later the struggle to foil the sallies of the reactionaries and to defend the peasants' newly-acquired land; it had spearheaded the effort to rehabilitate the economy, to end inflation, and to curb and then abolish monopoly capital.

Consequently, the Party could count on the support of the masses in its struggle to defeat the reactionaries and exclude them from the national united front and the government coalition in order to safeguard the gains won and to ensure further progress.

With this in view, the Party, true to its policy of national unity, initiated the formation of the *Left bloc* in March 1946. With the Com-

munist Party playing the leading role, this bloc included the Social Democratic Party, the National Peasant Party and the trade unions. As regards its class makeup, it represented the proletariat, considerable sections of the small peasants who had recently acquired land, and part of the middle peasants, the urban small bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. This consolidated organizationally the unity of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance. While considerably restricting the anti-communist maneuvers of the Right in the Social Democratic and National Peasant parties, it helped the Left in the Smallholders' Party to take a stronger stand against the reactionary leaders.

The Independence Front continued after the liberation as a bloc of the working class, peasantry, intellectuals, urban small bourgeoisie and the democratic-minded bourgeoisie. This helped to curb the counter-revolutionary aspirations of the bourgeoisie, preventing it from drawing on its still considerable influence to turn the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry against the working class. In other words, the people's front policy and the preservation of the coalition helped at this stage to expose and isolate the bourgeoisie and facilitated cooperation among the working people in carrying the social revolution forward and creating the conditions for going over to building socialism.

The changes in the world arena greatly sharpened the political struggle. The imperialists everywhere stepped up their drive against democracy and socialism. The anti-fascist coalition of the Great Powers fell apart. In Italy and France the Communists were ousted from government. In this new situation the bourgeois Right in Hungary, who from the outset had entered into cooperation with the Communists only because they had no other alternative, steered a clearly anti-communist course, determined to change the domestic balance of forces by means of a putsch. The reactionaries launched a vicious offensive against the working class and the Communist Party and hoped, by means of an anti-government conspiracy, to remove the people's representatives from power, reverse the course of the people's democratic revolution and preserve the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

The discovery of the conspiracy in late 1946 initiated a broad struggle against the reactionaries. As a result, the principal spokesmen of the bourgeoisie found themselves outside the coalition and the government. At the same time the reorganization of the Smallholders' Party into a democratic peasant party was begun. Uniting under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Left defeated the reactionaries in the 1947 elections. In June 1948 the two workers' parties united in a single revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class. The turn had been completed — the socialist political revolution had triumphed. The working class was now in power.

Some people, tracing later mistakes and

violations of legality of the time of the personality cult to the period of the struggle to win power, held that the turn of 1947-48 was effected with undue haste, prematurely, without the revolutionary participation of the masses or even of the working class or the Party militants, and that because of this the class basis of the newly established socialist governmental power remained narrower than it need have.

This, in my opinion, is a mistaken view. It is curious that its proponents agree with the assessment given by Rakosi in his report, "The Path of People's Democracy," delivered in 1952, in other words, that the decisive factor was the correct tactical line of the Party leadership. But the fact is that the question of the conquest of power by the working class was posed not by the subjective desires of individuals but by the objective logic of the class struggle within and without the country. By 1947 things in Hungary had come to a head. There were only two alternatives to choose from:

either to yield to the reaction, now waging a counter-offensive on an international scale, which would have meant allowing its representatives in our country to halt the revolution, i.e., to restore and preserve for a long time to come the capitalist system,

or forge ahead along the road of socialist revolution.

Needless to say, a subjective decision would have resolved nothing. The fact is, as the situation at the time showed beyond the shadow of a doubt, that objectively the basic conditions existed for deepening the revolution already under way and taking resolute action.

As is known, those were years of political mass struggle when the workers, peasants and intellectuals entered the political arena en masse. The success of the Communist Party too was due above all to the revolutionary fervor and support of the masses. Particularly noteworthy was the unanimity with which the industrial workers and other sections of the working people rallied behind the Party in the towns, in the mining and other industrial areas which played an important role in the conquest for power. In working to win power the Party carried out Lenin's injunction concerning the need to build up the decisive majority in the decisive sectors. To ensure the victory of the socialist revolution the Party, besides conducting mass political work, made use of the fact that the working class and the peasantry had already come to play a decisive part in the government of the country. A coordinated struggle was waged both at the "top," through the governmental bodies, and "below," by mobilizing the masses. Looking back we do not claim that the Communists committed no mistakes in implementing their policy. There could have been more consistent reliance on the revolutionary activity of the masses, and more importance could have been attached to the diverse bodies set up by the people. But

for all that, we are entitled to say that it was the masses led by the Party that won power.

It is important to remember that although the socialist revolution proceeded in acute political struggle it was effected by peaceful means, without armed insurrection and civil war. The people generally displayed exemplary revolutionary activity. Although they did not have to take up arms, they resolved a vast number of revolutionary tasks (in the course of campaigns conducted by Party and mass organizations, for instance) by themselves, relying on the positions they held in government bodies, the democratic police, in the army and in the management of the nationalized enterprises.

How did this conquest of power by the workers effect national unity and the allies of the working class? Did it remove the non-proletarian laboring classes and sections from government, or eliminate potential allies? The answer is no. With the winning of power by the workers the people's democratic state (as regards its class aim and orientation) unquestionably became socialist in nature. Although the helm of state was now in the hands of one class—the working class—this class did not bar the working sections of the population allied with it from participation in exercising state power. Workers' rule did not weaken the alliance between the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people; on the contrary, it provided a new and stronger base for this alliance. True, in the most tense period of class struggle for power the working class clashed not only with the extreme bourgeois and clerical reaction but also with some petty-bourgeois political forces which either wavered or came out in opposition to the socialist way of development.

But these forces did not represent the real basic interests of the segment of society they belonged to; at best they gave expression to its hesitancy and fear of the revolution, and sought to sway accordingly whatever following they had. The working class naturally could not make concessions to these quarters. The revolutionary turn dictated by the situation could not be postponed, for this not only would have had grave consequences for the working class and the peasantry, it would have gravely damaged the real interests of the petty-bourgeois stratum in question.

The establishment of the socialist state and the nationalization in 1948-49 of the means of production belonging to the capitalist classes marked a decisive step forward in our development into a socialist nation. Later, however, this movement was halted for a time by the personality cult, which gained ascendancy in the Party leadership after 1948, and by a dogmatic approach that distorted the policy of the Party, including its policy towards the allies of the working class. The grave consequences of this are common knowledge: progress was slowed down, the worker-peasant alliance was weakened, and obstacles appeared on the way to socialist national unity.

In 1953 the Central Committee exposed these mistakes and outlined ways and means for rectifying them. But the growth of revisionism and the tenacity of sectarianism and dogmatism retarded the people's front movement and the moulding of socialist national unity. By virtue of the logic of class struggle, these distortions objectively tended to preserve the forces of the bourgeois nation and even made for their temporary resurgence — a fact highlighted by the counter-revolutionary events of October 1956. There is no need to go into the reasons for the counter-revolution or its preparation and tactics. All this has been examined more than once. I should merely like to mention that the counter-revolutionary forces, like Horthy and his people before them, covered up their real aims by lip service to national interests. To mislead the working people they mouthed platitudes about "national unity" and proclaimed the slogan "All Hungarians are brothers" at a time when the supporters of capitalist restoration and the champions of the socialist revolution were locked in bitter combat.

The interests of the working classes and of the people generally made it imperative to suppress the counter-revolutionary uprising and to create conditions ensuring the continued building of socialism. Apart from armed force, ideological and political work was indispensable. It was imperative to open the eyes of those who had been misled or who had lost their bearings. It was necessary to expose the forces at home and abroad who had organized and led the counter-revolution. Light had to be thrown on the nature of the class fronts so as to win away from the reactionary leaders their misled following, the individuals and strata they had managed to dupe for a time. The power of the working class and other sections of the working people had to be consolidated and made secure. This was accomplished with the reorganization of the Party, the formation of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government and the implementation of its consistent and correct policy.

In the unique situation following the counter-revolution the Party did not renounce its policy of broad national unity, but counterposed to the growing dissension in the ranks of the counter-revolutionary forces the growing nationwide cohesion of the masses dedicated to the socialist revolution. Once again the Party defined with utmost clarity the content of this national unity as consisting in the continued building of socialism under the leadership of the working class. The people's front movement which came to play a bigger political role than ever after 1957, was also reorganized on this basis.

The temporary aggravation of the class struggle during the counter-revolution could not change the basic tendency—the development of the nation into a socialist nation with the abolition of the exploiting classes and antagonistic class contradictions, the growing cohesion of

the working classes on the basis of socialism, and the gradual extension of this cohesion to the whole of society.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution and the consolidation of social power, the most significant landmark in this process was the socialist reorganization of agriculture in 1959-61.

"With this reorganization the socialist revolution won the decisive victory: the laying of the foundations of socialism was completed. Socialist relations of production now, in effect, predominated in all branches of the economy. Small commodity production on a mass scale followed capitalist commodity production into the limbo of the past. The possibility of capitalist restoration by virtue of internal factors was thus ruled out.

The building of a large-scale socialist agriculture was a decisive step towards changing the class structure of our society. It marked the culmination of a process ushered in by the liberation of the country and the conquest of power by the working class and carried forward by nationalization. This created the objective conditions for the final crystallization of the socialist nation.

III

The Eighth Congress of our Party set as the immediate task the achievement of socialist national unity and its steady consolidation. This was a natural continuation of the united front policy we had pursued in the fight for the triumph of socialism. But by this time the far-reaching changes in our social structure and the laying of the foundations of socialism had created a new situation in which the sights could be set much higher. With a new class content imparted to popular unity, the task now was to build it on a broader basis.

Looking back over the past twenty years, even without drawing on more than a minimum of statistical data, one cannot but be impressed by the profundity of the changes in our country and their impact on all the classes and sections of society. Their respective places on the national scene have changed, as have their nature and their attitude towards one another. More, some classes have disappeared completely.

The exploiting classes are no more. Following the liberation the people deprived them of political power and then struck blow after blow at their economic potential until exploitation as such was completely ruled out.

The formerly exploited working class became the leading class. Its economic position and cultural level greatly improved, and it grew substantially in numbers. Today we no longer have a proletariat in the strict sense of the word but a socialist working class. It has proved — and will prove again and again in the course of the building of socialism — that the charges levelled against it by the Horthy regime were sheer calumny. The achievements

of our new life afford ample proof that working class rule is the most consistent, selfless and militant champion of the national interests and hence of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people.

Peasant cooperators are a new class in our society. When the building of socialism was first started, peasants working on their own made up the bulk of the agricultural labor force. Now they account for no more than two per cent of the total labor force and five per cent of those engaged in agriculture; 22.2 per cent of all working people — 1,200,000 in absolute figures—are members of producers' cooperatives.

There no longer are any great differences in property status or divergence of interests between the various sections of the peasantry. The trend is towards a united, socialist class. The tillers of the soil have thrown in their lot with socialism and entered into an indissoluble alliance with the working class, an alliance which is the foundation of our socialist system and our growing socialist national unity.

From the standpoint of property relations and social status generally, the clerical and professional workers stand close to the working class. Numbering more than one million, they include a large number of former industrial workers and peasants who now occupy positions of responsibility.

Professional people occupying salaried positions constitute the biggest group in the non-manual category. Of this group it may be said that not only its social status and functions but also its composition has changed. The cultural revolution has opened the doors to higher education to the worker and peasant youth, and many former manual workers have acquired an education while holding down a job in industry and are now engaged in mental labor. Forty per cent of all non-manual workers in the towns began as manual workers. Our intellectuals are socialist workers on an equal footing with the industrial workers and the members of producers' cooperatives.

Here is an indicative fact: 74.2 per cent of the total labor force are wage or salary earners, while these and the members of producers' cooperatives taken together account for 96.4 per cent of the labor force. In other words, small commodity producers in agriculture and industry, people who might be called capitalists and those belonging to the statistical category of "others," account for only 3.6 per cent of the total. Clearly, the last-mentioned groups no longer represent an economic base for the revival of private enterprise and capitalist relations. Moreover, the labor of the majority of the small commodity producers plays a useful and necessary role in the socialist society. Hence the state supports them and provides them with every opportunity to find their place in the socialist economy.

The consolidation and development of national unity called for by the Party Congress became objectively possible as a result of the

radical change in class relationships. In bourgeois society no national unity is possible either in theory or in practice. The reverse is the case under socialism. All the classes and significant segments of our society are objectively interested in the building of socialism. Hence, if the tasks confronting us are resolved in the interests of socialism, there is nothing that might disunite, even temporarily, the working people of our country. On the contrary, the successful building of socialism provides the basis for continued improvement of the conditions of the masses and for cementing their unity. The material well-being of the overwhelming majority of the population both now and in the future is directly connected with the strengthening of the socialist economy. Though there still are social distinctions between various sections of the working people, and even if the interests of all the groups of the population do not always coincide in every detail, they are at one on all basic issues. Sound development of the socialist economy as a whole, consolidation of the socialist character of our society and the extension of the achievements registered so far to all areas of life are essential for the well-being of the working masses.

Consequently, when the Eighth Party Congress called for socialist national unity, i.e., cohesion among all classes and sections of society, it was not merely voicing a subjective wish but proceeded from the scientifically established fact that the basic interests of the existing classes and social strata are identical.

For the first time in our history the real prerequisites have been created for a national unity embracing all classes and sections of society, moreover, a unity socialist in content. But this is not to say that this unity will come into being of itself, without conscious political effort, struggle or discussion, simply because the objective conditions for it exist. Unflagging political and ideological work cannot be dispensed with.

Some people eagerly accept or even propound national unity minus its socialist aspect; it is as if some self-induced inhibitory mechanism prevented them from seeing that what we need is not just any kind of national unity but socialist, and exclusively socialist, national unity—unity with the working class playing the leading role and aimed at completing the building of socialist society.

On the other hand there are those who hold that if we want socialism we can hardly talk of broad national unity. For if we are to cooperate with everybody, whom are we to fight, they ask, what will happen to the class struggle?

The proponents of national unity in the abstract divorce it from the program from which it derives and which nurtures it. The Communists seek unity not through renunciation of socialist principles and aims, not through unprincipled conciliation. On the contrary, they are working to build it in order to rally the entire nation in the common effort to complete

the building of socialism. Our policy of national unity is thus unquestionably socialist in content. For us socialist national unity is not a matter of fine words, self-adulatory eulogies to socialism, but of the correct, most effective implementation of the economic, political and cultural tasks arising in the process of building socialism.

Hence the fact that the various sections of the working people are still at different levels of political consciousness, that their outlooks and ideological views are not identical, is not an obstacle to unity. Work under the leadership of the Party towards common aims heightens the socialist consciousness of the masses, helps people to see the world around them in the right perspective and thereby cements the socialist unity of political thinking and outlook.

Our national unity is socialist unity also in the sense that the leading role of the working class remains its motive force.

The fulfilment by the working class of its historic role is measured by the advance towards the goals for which its finest sons fought and sacrificed themselves through the years. It would be strange logic indeed to assume that the leading role of the working class is jeopardized by the fact that with the laying of the foundations of socialism and its completion, all the laboring classes and strata become objectively socialist, i.e., approximate to the already socialist working class, with the result that the alliance of the working classes is raised to a higher level. What is in question is the continued movement of society as a whole towards the goal which the working class alone originally set for itself but in fighting for which, it has always regarded the other sections of the working people as its natural allies.

Consequently, the leading role of the working class in society as a whole is threatened not by growing national unity, but by everything that tends to separate and counterpose to each other these two concepts — both by attempts to exclude from working class policy the achievement of national unity and by advocacy of national unity while sowing distrust of the working class and its ability to exercise leadership in society. National unity and the leading role of the working class are indivisible.

The policy of socialist national unity implies not seeking the lowest common denominator for the multiplicity of existing views, but gradually raising all classes to the political level of the most advanced class.

Combating hostile elements and their machinations remains one of the forms of class struggle. But it would be an over-simplification to see its essence only in this. The Marxists define class struggle in the period of the building of socialism as an all-embracing struggle to overcome the resistance of the old, capitalist world, a struggle against all the forces retarding progress, for the complete triumph of so-

cialism. It is this that Lenin had in mind when he said that the "dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully."*

The frontline of class struggle in the period of building socialism is not a clear-cut demarcation line visibly separating us from the enemy. The supporters of socialism and its enemies do not always clash openly. Not always can they be clearly distinguished. The struggle is extremely involved and hence the methods and instruments employed in it are likewise bound to be complex. Clearly in these circumstances the bloodless, not the bloody, the peaceful, not the violent, the educational, economic and administrative, not the military, aspects of the class struggle come to the fore.

The link between the class struggle and the policy of socialist national unity is obvious: this policy is the most effective way of uniting all forces (despite insignificant differences between them) in the interests of socialism in the key areas decisive for its complete victory.

Socialist national unity is cemented in the class struggle waged in the sphere of economic construction and socialist education which today are the main sectors of the fight for the complete victory of socialism.

This unity largely depends on the dissemination of socialist ideology and culture. The deeper socialist ideology strikes root in the minds of the people generally, the stronger the bonds of political unity and cooperation welding the nation.

An important element making for socialist national unity is the emergence of a new awareness of nationhood: socialist patriotism. Deriving above all from the revolutionary changes that have taken place, it is the ideological reflection of the rise in the past twenty years of the new socialist Hungary. This patriotism is closely linked with proletarian internationalism, for its essential components include unity, cooperation and solidarity with the other socialist countries, with the newly-free peoples and peoples still fighting for freedom from colonial slavery, as well as with the working class and all other sections of the working peoples in the capitalist countries and all progressive forces the world over.

Socialist national unity is realized as a dialectical combination of consistent prosecution of the class struggle all the way to the final achievement of socialist and national cohesion on a socialist foundation. The Eighth Party

Congress defined its political content at the present time as follows: "Struggle in defense of the socialist system and to develop it, for the complete victory of socialism, for peace, for national independence, and against international imperialism and the hostile forces and currents still existing at home."

IV

Hungary's role in the world arena and its international contacts have radically changed in the past twenty years. Formerly the so-called "traditional" ruling classes did not hesitate to betray the national interests whenever this served their class interests. Pursuing a reactionary, nationalistic, chauvinistic foreign policy, they sought to sow hatred for neighboring peoples. To uphold their class privileges and power, they relied on the support of international reaction to suppress revolutionary movements. In the course of the past century the tide of progressive social movements and revolutions was halted on more than one occasion by barriers raised by the alliance of Hungarian and international reaction. Suffice it to mention the bourgeois revolution and freedom struggles of 1848-49 and the fate of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919.

Today our country has allied itself for all time with the international forces of progress. Indissoluble ties link it with the socialist world system and the international Communist movement. Bonds of durable friendship have been formed with many peoples which have freed themselves from colonial slavery and launched out on the road of progress. Together with hundreds of millions of men and women all over the world we are working for peace, progress and socialism.

The political, social, economic and cultural development of our country and the crystallization of our socialist nation are closely interwoven with the fundamental historical processes of our time—processes characterized by the struggle and competition between the two world systems, the spread of socialism, the disintegration of the colonial system, the rise of new independent states and the anti-imperialist struggle waged by people everywhere for peace, democracy and socialism.

From the standpoint of our own progress, our close alliance and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are of utmost importance.

The socialist countries are the first sovereign states in history among which there are not only no antagonistic contradictions, but whose interests, essentially coinciding, call for mutual aid and support. Thanks to this, with the rise of the socialist world system, a new type of international relations too came into being—relations characterized primarily by mutual aid, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, political and economic equality, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and, what is most important, proletarian interna-

*V. I. Lenin. "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

tionalism. The emergence and development of this new type of relationship is made possible by the identity of the economic and political systems of the socialist countries. Their leading parties share the same ideology—Marxism-Leninism. Although identity of basic interests naturally does not preclude the possibility of differences of opinion and contradictions appearing in one or another limited area, these differences are of a secondary and transient nature. The dominant tendency in relations between socialist countries is unity, and we should tirelessly work to consolidate and strengthen it. The unity of these countries extends to the political, economic, cultural, military, scientific and ideological spheres and is the cardinal factor promoting their progress and the shaping and consolidation of socialist nations.

Economic cooperation and division of labor occupy an increasingly important place in the relations between the socialist countries. Division of labor among them is not only possible but necessary, for it accelerates the economic and social advance of each.

Economic cooperation reinforces their sovereignty and national independence by strengthening their economic base. Conversely, integration under capitalism encroaches on the independence of the countries concerned since the monopoly-capitalist interests of the stronger powers take advantage of this integration to infiltrate the national economy of the weaker.

The objective interdependence of the socialist countries and comradely mutual aid among them find expression in free cooperation which takes account in equal measure of the common interests of the community of nations forming the socialist world system and of the specific interests of each of these nations. Hence active participation in promoting the progress of the socialist world system strengthens the sovereignty, equality and independence of each socialist country. The strengthening of the socialist world system is a condition for the development of each of its members taken separately, just as the progress of the separate socialist nations is a precondition for the continued development of the community as a whole.

With the growth of cooperation among the socialist countries a consciousness of a socialist community of interests takes shape. For the achievements of one country cannot but evoke a feeling of pride and gratification among the peoples of all other socialist countries.

One of the most important components of internationalism is this awareness of the community of socialist interests, awareness which helps to safeguard and heighten the unity of the peoples of the socialist countries. Untiring effort to imbue our people with this awareness and socialist internationalism has a prime bearing on the evolution of our socialist nation.

As this process goes on, we, naturally, must reckon with the existence of the capitalist countries and also with factors stemming from

the struggle between the two world systems. International imperialism is striving to destroy the socialist system, to prevent the complete and final abolition of the colonial system, to strengthen its domination and to extend it to the whole world. To this end it resorts, depending on the circumstances, to economic and ideological infiltration, subversion from within, military intimidation and naked aggression.

The imperialists employ two types of tactics. On the one hand, they seek to disunite the socialist countries, to weaken their ties with the Soviet Union, and, on the other, they place their stakes on undermining the social system of some socialist countries from within and preventing them from achieving socialist national unity. In pursuing their first line of attack, they resort to a two-stage tactic. First they preach nationalism, hypocritically voicing apprehension with regard to the "national independence" and "sovereignty" of one or another socialist country, thereby endeavoring to counterpose the various socialist countries to the socialist community as a whole, to wrest them from the socialist world system and subordinate them to their own influence. Secondly (provided the first phase of the operation has succeeded) they extol cosmopolitanism, arguing that the peoples concerned should renounce, "for the good of humanity," their patriotic feelings, national traditions and culture, and that in our time independence and sovereignty are obsolete concepts. The object is, of course, to bring the "independent" countries under the sway of imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism.

These tactics are aimed against the unity of the socialist countries, against our socialist national unity. We must take this into account in our day-to-day work and always be prepared to rebuff such moves. Things are, of course, made easier for us by the fact that the balance of forces in the international arena has radically changed. The forces of socialism, peace and progress are now stronger than the forces of imperialism and are able to prevent the realization of its aggressive plans.

It is in the light of this premise that, while combating the aggressive actions of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism, and its efforts to drive a wedge between the socialist countries, we strive to preserve and extend advantageous economic, cultural and scientific contacts with the capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. At the same time it must be made clear that our national independence, sovereignty, social system and our socialist and communist perspective can never be made the object of barter.

* * *

The establishment of socialist power and the predominance of socialist production relations in the economy have created the objective groundwork for the evolution of the bourgeois nation into a socialist nation.

The rise and consolidation of socialist national unity is an important step towards the creation of a socialist nation in Hungary. We shall become a fully socialist nation when socialism overcomes the survivals of capitalism in the spheres of production, forms of property and public consciousness, when the overwhelming majority of our citizens will live, work, think and act in accordance with the

standards of socialist morality. Identity of interests of the socialist working people is the foundation on which the socialist ideological, political and moral unity of society as a whole will be built. This unity will be a social force more powerful than any bourgeois nation could ever know, a force which will open up boundless vistas and ensure our steady advance towards Communism.

New trends in Poland's economic planning

S. JEDRYCHOWSKI

A MEETING OF THE Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party convened last July to discuss planning and management trends for 1966-70 ushered in a new stage in the effort to improve organization and methods in this sphere.

This effort began as far back as 1956, when the emphasis was shifted from strict centralized planning and management, under which many functions were concentrated in the State Planning Commission, to a search for new, flexible forms more in line with the level of development of the productive forces and socialist production relations, offering wider scope for initiative at enterprise level and making for more efficient management. At that time the rights of the enterprise as the basic economic unit were defined. More attention was paid to cost accounting. Workers' self-management bodies were established in the enterprises and given broad powers with regard to planning and control over the affairs of the enterprise. The so-called factory fund to provide additional incentive to the workers and directly dependent on the performance of the enterprise was established. The central administrations which had stood above the enterprises and enjoyed the rights of government departments were reorganized into economic amalgamations operating on a cost-accounting basis. The powers of the enterprises, amalgamations, ministers and the Central Planning Board were re-defined.

Already at that time the relations between enterprises were being put on a contractual footing and arbitration introduced as a means of settling disputes between them. Consumer demand was made the basic criterion in deciding what range of goods an enterprise should put out; in other words, factories were to work mainly on orders from buyers. In case the enterprise did not find a market for products included in the plan, its production targets could be adjusted accordingly.

In order better to correlate the structure of

production with demand, the relations between distributors and producers were revised. Trade organizations now exert the decisive influence on the structure of production. Commodity exchanges have been set up, and representatives of trade and industrial enterprises hold regular meetings. Twice a year national fairs are organized, at which retail trade enterprises too can place orders directly with the producers. To keep industrial enterprises properly informed of the needs of the market, special retail shops selling only their goods have been opened. These enable the manufacturers to conduct independent market research and to offer the consumers goods not available through the ordinary trade network.

In the sphere of material and technical supply, the old system of distribution has been gradually replaced with transactions of a commercial type with a view to economically expedient utilization of resources in this sphere.

At the same time economic management in the localities was decentralized. The range of activity of the local councils — first the regional and then the district, urban and rural community authorities—was gradually extended both in the various areas of administration and in the economic sphere. Guidance of agriculture and supervision of the small state-owned and cooperative industry, retail trade, roads and motor transport, housing and public utilities, primary schools and most vocational schools and public health, have been transferred to the local councils.

Planning of capital construction has been decentralized and divided into four categories—centralized investment, investment by industrial amalgamations, by enterprises, and by administrative bodies — according to the character and dimensions of the undertakings. Planning of capital construction has been made more flexible with the addition of several types of investment financed from the funds of the enterprise or by bank credits.

Planning in agriculture has been simplified

and made more flexible. Indirect methods are being used with regard to private farmers, such as, for example, contracts for purchase of their produce, advantageous prices for this produce, credits, tax exemption and obligatory procurements, and also planned supply of tractors and other machines, insecticides, selected seed and building materials. Obligatory deliveries of milk have been abolished. Other obligatory deliveries (grain, potatoes and meat) have been fixed at the present level, which means that the shares of obligatory deliveries in the total output for the market will steadily decline as farm production grows.

In 1959 an agricultural development fund was set up to provide means for the purchase of tractors and other machines by the farm pools functioning in most villages. This is financed from state revenue accruing from the difference between the prices paid for obligatory deliveries and the prices of free state purchase of products, which amounts to four million zlotys a year.

The methods of planning on the state-owned farms too have become simpler. These farms are now free to determine the volume and range of production. Only the deliveries of basic products, the general financial guidelines, the ceiling for capital construction and the volume of the wage fund are determined from above.

Much has been done in the past five years to regulate the normative foundations of planning and cost accounting.

In mid-1960 the system of wholesale prices in industry was radically reorganized, with the result that the deficit formerly shown by whole branches, primarily in the sphere of producing means of production, has been abolished. The new prices are designed to cover the average social cost of production and to provide a certain margin of profit. The pricing system has been reorganized and the following groups of prices established: 1) retail prices paid by consumers; 2) selling prices charged by the enterprises to trade organizations and other customers; the latter differ from retail prices by the sum of the distribution charges added at various levels; 3) factory prices in some branches of industry; these are the average prices for the branch equaling production cost plus average profit; the difference between these and the selling prices is the equivalent of the turnover tax paid by the enterprise or, in the case of production at a deficit, the subsidy received from the state; 4) clearing prices corresponding to factory prices but differentiated for individual enterprises in the given branch of industry, depending on their production costs (these prices are used only in some branches of industry); 5) comparable prices used only for determining the cost of the gross output with a view to measuring the dynamics of production; 6) procurement prices, for which cooperative or state enterprises purchase agricultural products from the peasants.

An inventory of fixed assets has made it possible correctly to determine depreciation rates and hence to assess more exactly the national income and net investment, besides putting capital repairs plans on a proper footing. This inventory is important from the standpoint of cost-accounting since it provides reliable data on the value of the fixed assets; previously the various components of these assets, having been entered into the books at different times, did not find uniform reflection in our accounting system.

In recent years much has been done to ascertain the production capacities of the enterprises and the degree of their utilization.

With a view to strengthening the element of economic expedience in planning, large-scale research on returns has been started, primarily in the sphere of investment and foreign trade.

Steps have been taken also to improve planning and coordination of research and technological development. A new coordinating center — the Committee of Science and Technology — has been set up and a comprehensive, thematic approach adopted to planning research.

Of late, extensive work has been done to classify products in the engineering industry. Three classes have been established, depending on the technical level of the output.

Despite appreciable progress in improving planning and management, we still have many shortcomings which, basically, can be listed as follows:

- 1) too many directive indices limiting initiative by the enterprises; in 1956-59 their number decreased considerably, but later, owing to certain economic difficulties, the trend was reversed, especially as regards employment and the wage fund;

- 2) use of the gross output index as the basis for planning the labor force and the wage fund and as the point of departure for readjustments in these areas arising from overfulfilment of production plans; this approach has retarded the growth of labor-intensive production and economy of materials, and at the same time has hampered the work of adjusting the range of output to the demand;

- 3) excessive rigidity and overstraining of plans, insufficient reserves to guarantee their fulfilment; obstacles arising from the periodic character of plans (difficulties encountered in passing over from one period to another);

- 4) the lack, both in the system of planning and management and in the working of the enterprises of levers and incentives tending to raise the quality and technical level of output and to promote technological progress and production for export.

Proceeding from a critical examination of the system of planning and management and its shortcomings and drawing on the broad discussion of these issues which preceded it, the meeting of the Central Committee charted

a comprehensive program of changes in planning and management.

These changes are aimed at ensuring the continuity and greater flexibility of planning (observing, of course, the principles of centralized planning), reinforcing its scientific foundations, greater use of cost accounting at all levels of planning and management, reducing the number of directive indices, perfecting the target indicators, heightening the role of the enterprises and amalgamations in compiling plans, enhancing the role of economic levers and incentives in the process of fulfilling the plan and in current management, greater flexibility in financing the enterprises and amalgamations, more independence for the amalgamations as economic units uniting the enterprises, observance of the principles of economic expediency by the amalgamations and more extensive coordination of economic activity. Moreover, special attention is being paid to improving the economic and organizational conditions stimulating foreign trade. Work to improve planning and management is to be continued on the basis of extensive economic experimentation.

Greater continuity and consistency in planning will be achieved through a system of interconnected plans — a long-range plan for a period of 15-20 years, and five-year and annual plans. Some years ago work was started on a long-range plan, and will be resumed next year when the compilation of the 1966-70 five-year plan will have been completed. The long-range plan will cover the period up to 1985, subject to verification and elaboration in detail every five years. It is a blueprint designed to be constantly revised and containing variants of solutions providing a basis for successive five-year plans.

Both the long-range and five-year plans will be compiled on the basis of the program for technological and organizational reconstruction of the various branches of industry now being worked out by the amalgamations of enterprises (these programs also cover the general investment trends) as well as the territorial technical and organizational reconstruction plans and programs for different parts of the country. To make planning more consistent, tentative guidelines for the two years following each five-year period will be worked out simultaneously with the elaboration of the five-year plan. In working out annual plans the basic indices will be outlined for the following year as well.

A new method, first introduced in the first half of this year when compiling the five-year plan, will be used. It consists in the enterprises drawing up alternative variants of the targets handed down by the ministries and amalgamations. The alternative draft will enable the personnel of the enterprises to take an active part in tapping reserves, thereby stimulating initiative on the part of the workers, engineers and technicians. They will make for better utilization of production capacities, rational

changes in the structure of production, more effective adaptation of output to the needs of the home and export market, and for greater efficiency in general.

More flexible planning will be based on production to fill orders or contracts between enterprises—a principle which is already enforced. In order to remove the above-mentioned obstacles to better correlation of production with social needs — obstacles arising from incorrect planning of the labor force and wage fund — the gross output index used so far will be replaced, in the next two or three years, with indices essentially approximating to net output, such as standard labor input or processing cost indicators.

In branches with uniform types of production where the range does not change too frequently, output will be measured in natural units or converted into equivalent units allowing for differences in quality and grade. In branches of this type where production depends on inter-factory cooperation, the so-called gross production turnover will be used as an index. In addition to the cost of the finished article, it will include also the cost of the semi-finished goods produced by the enterprise to meet its own needs.

More flexible planning also calls for a system of reserves ensuring fulfilment of plans regardless of external and internal difficulties. These include both balance reserves in the sphere of investment and wage fund, the income-expenditure balance of the population, the sphere of material and technical supply, agricultural production and foreign trade, and actual reserves not intended to be drawn on in the course of working on the plan, such as, for example, the central currency reserve of basic raw materials. Whenever economically expedient, planned reserves of production capacities will be created in some branches of the manufacturing industry, as well as reserves in the sphere of transportation, loading and storage facilities.

In order to make planning more flexible, the directive indices of plans will be reduced and made less detailed. In particular, the number of output items covered by planned directives is to be reduced. The wage fund, too, will be defined in lesser detail. The more thrifty the approach to utilization of the wage fund becomes, the less need will there be to set limits to the size of the labor force. It has been decided to abolish restrictions on employment and the wage fund in the sphere of public and agricultural services.

The reduction of the number of goods covered by directive targets is accompanied by further departures from the old system of distribution of materials, machines and equipment. Moreover, the system of material and technical supply is being simplified and made more flexible (for example, orders are filled much faster than before, more and more items are sold directly at the warehouse to meet buyers' urgent needs). As regards finan-

cial planning, the directive indices of accumulation and lowering of production costs applied so far will be replaced by the returns index expressing the ratio of profit to cost of production, or the rate of profit, i.e., the relationship of profit to the fixed and circulating funds. Profitability will be the main synthetic criterion of the functioning of the enterprise.

The Central Committee resolution provides for further improvement of the system of prices and more flexible utilization of this system as a means of influencing demand and supply. At the same time, the shaping of price policy remains in the hands of the state, which operates through agencies independent of the enterprises and amalgamations. The aim of retail price regulation is to increase the consumption of goods whose production is stepped up in accordance with the national-economic plan (for example, durables, synthetic fibers and plastics). On the other hand, price policy will be directed at doing away with unwarranted disproportions between profit levels and putting an end to production for the market at a loss.

The latter possibility will be countenanced only if justified by reasons of a social or economic order. In such cases the government will cover the deficit. To make retail prices more flexible, wider use will be made of a three-stage price structure for goods affected by the factor of fashion or novelty: when first put on the market, a higher "novelty price" is fixed for such articles; at the mass production stage the basic price goes into effect, and when the article goes out of fashion it will be offered at clearance-sale price. Differentiation depending on the season will be practised more widely than hitherto.

Along with greater resilience of retail prices, the state will seek to ensure stability in the cost of living.

As regards selling prices of means of production the object is to achieve a correlation between prices of interchangeable goods that will stimulate the use of the more economical types and better coordination of these prices with the terms of sale and delivery. Prices should more consistently reflect the use-value of goods, especially up-to-dateness and quality. In the case of new articles showing an improvement over the old and costing relatively little to produce, the sale price should be made attractive to the buyer while ensuring a bigger return to the producer.

It is along these lines that continued perfecting of the system of sale prices are projected as of January 1, 1967; above all, the prices of machines and equipment will be reduced. Prices of plastics are to be cut beginning with January 1, 1966.

Simultaneously with making better use of retail and wholesale prices as economic levers, the system of factory prices will also be improved.

Hitherto factory prices were used chiefly to determine the amount of turnover tax and

for the settlement of accounts between the enterprises and the foreign trade organizations. These prices will now play a bigger role in planning output and the cost of production, and especially in providing incentives. In all cases where economic stimuli were hitherto associated with the total accumulation (i.e., profit including turnover tax), they will now be linked to profit alone. It is proposed to use factory prices to stimulate modernization of output. They should make for greater profitability of the more modern types of output measuring up to the best world technical standards, and thus cover the cost of launching their production. Factory prices should be reduced progressively as the items in question become obsolescent and fall below world standards.

Changes in the system of financing should make for greater flexibility in the management of the enterprises and amalgamations and greater stability of the conditions of their operation. The purpose of the changes is to ensure that the enterprises use their funds to finance first the building of reserves, and only after that, capital investments. This will prevent them from accumulating excessive or unnecessary reserves. A plant which accumulates such excess reserves and encounters financial difficulties may obtain bank loans but at a higher rate of interest.

The changes are likewise aimed at the percentages of profit channeled to the development fund, the factory fund and the amalgamation being determined for no less than two years ahead, with a view to eventually extending this term to five years. The same applies to the principles for the distribution of profits at amalgamation level (among deductions for the state budget and the various funds of the amalgamation). This should serve to ensure more stable conditions for the operation of the enterprises.

More far-reaching changes are contemplated in the system of financing capital investments. Hitherto capital investments were financed chiefly from the state budget. It is now proposed that in future only investments of primary importance will be financed directly from the state budget. Other centralized investments will be financed through bank credits to be repaid with state subsidies granted after the completion of the project in question. Less important investments at amalgamation or plant level, i.e., for replacement of buildings and plant, modernization and small-scale expansion, will be financed by the factories and amalgamations themselves from their own funds, plus bank credits. Such investments will not be specified in detail in the national plan, which will indicate only the total sum for the given years, allowing for a margin of 5-10 per cent in excess of this figure in the course of fulfilling the plan. The amount will be regulated through credits.

A new feature is the deduction of a percentage from fixed assets wherever accumulations

allow for this and where it is expedient to do so in order to stimulate economic activity. These deductions will be made from net fixed assets, that is, minus depreciation. The percentage deductions will be reflected in the balance sheet of the enterprise concerned, showing a reduction either in profits or in the turnover tax. The purpose of the deduction of a percentage of the fixed assets is to stimulate their more effective use.

In the sphere of construction the purpose is to find new production indices that would more accurately reflect the work of the enterprise. Very important in this connection will be the changes in the system of accounting between the building and installation enterprise and the client. In general construction it is planned to settle accounts upon completion of the project, while in industrial construction accounting in three or four stages will be practised for the next few years. Settling accounts upon completion will do away with the need to grant credit to the client. Construction work will be financed out of the turnover funds of the building and installation enterprise or out of the funds it has procured at the bank.

More flexible planning in the sphere of foreign trade will be achieved by setting the Ministries and amalgamations import and export targets in terms of foreign exchange value. This will make it easier to adjust the range of exports and imports to the needs of the economy and the price trends on foreign markets and, consequently, increase foreign trade returns.

The decision of the Central Committee provides for further improvement of the system of individual and collective incentives for factory and office workers. We are referring, in particular, to wages, the factory fund, the bonus fund for non-manual workers, etc. The latter fund was reorganized last year with a view to using it as a means of stimulating fulfilment of priority targets. Bonuses are paid according to the points rated in carrying out definite jobs. The point scales are worked out three months ahead.

In future the underlying principles of using the factory fund will be less complicated. The fund's receipts will depend on the extent of the factory's efficiency; as regards bonuses paid from this fund to individual workers or entire groups, the principle will be roughly the same as in the case of the above-mentioned bonus fund for non-manual workers.

A more complex task, and one that will take some time to carry out, is that of regulating the wage system. In the process of accomplishing this task increasing importance will be attached to the quality of the goods produced. This is being done in the iron and steel industry, in forge and foundry shops, and also in the chemical and pulp and paper industries. Wherever possible, measures stimulating economy of materials will be given consideration in the wage system.

The changes in the system of management are aimed at strengthening the role of the industrial amalgamations as economic organizations and achieving the consistent realization of aims set forth as early as 1958. The amalgamations will stimulate the performance of enterprises by means of economic levers such as, for example, different rates of distribution of profits and of deductions for the factory development fund, the budget and the factory fund, clearing prices corresponding to the specific conditions of the enterprises, by setting up joint organizations in the sphere of technical servicing, selling, transportation, etc. In accordance with performance, the amalgamations will open certain funds, such as a reserve fund and an investment fund and also, if necessary, a fund for joint undertakings.

Enhancing the role of the amalgamations will necessitate certain changes in the powers and method of work of the ministries with emphasis on long-range planning, technical guidance, etc., rather than on current managerial functions.

Along with enhancing the role of the amalgamations and basing their work on economic principles, inter-branch and territorial coordination of industry will be extended. This form of voluntary coordination of the operation of enterprises coming under the jurisdiction of different organizations but producing the same or similar items, has proved most successful. The purpose of the inter-branch coordination is to overcome organizational obstacles, promote specialization and cooperation between factories of the same industry, secure the proper distribution of goods and optimal use of production capacities, build up a selling and supply network, and to organize mutual technical aid. Territorial coordination under the local councils aims at promoting joint exploitation of power resources, use of warehouses and other facilities, joint building of power stations, etc.

It is also planned to promote such forms as patronage over enterprises and amalgamation of allied enterprises. With a view to greater concentration many plants will be amalgamated into a single enterprise.

The decisions of the Central Committee do not claim to have exhausted all the possibilities for improving economic guidance. They chart the direction and principles of further experimentation in the national economy, calling, in particular, for the introduction of centralized mathematical processing of data with a view to optimal planning. The results obtained in the course of the experimentation will be carefully analyzed and the direction and forms of further research and experimentation defined accordingly.

The program for improving planning in 1966-1970 will act as a new incentive furthering the harmonious development of the national economy and its better management.

The Cuban revolution and the peasantry

C. R. RODRIGUEZ

THE ROLE OF THE peasantry in the Cuban revolution is self-evident. There is no need to underscore it by subscribing to the questionable thesis that from the moment Fidel Castro and the survivors of the crew of the *Granma* established themselves in the Sierra Maestra the revolutionary process in Cuba basically assumed a peasant character. What is unquestionable, however, is that one of the factors which helped to overthrow Batista and enabled the revolution to withstand the onslaught of U.S. imperialism was the resolute support of the vast majority of the poor and middle peasants and the participation of their vanguard in the revolutionary battles—witness the large numbers of peasants who joined Castro's forces in the Sierra Maestra and the formation of the "alpine" battalions of "guajiros" which now too supplement the regular armed forces.

Needless to say, the position taken by the working peasants stems from social, class factors. But the attitude of the peasants to the revolution cannot be attributed to this alone; it is also the result of the agrarian policy of the revolutionary forces ever since the fighting in the mountains, and, above all, of their policy towards the small agricultural producers.

* * *

Before the revolution the plight of the poor and middle sections of the peasantry in Cuba was as desperate as in the other Latin American countries. But unlike the situation in most of the former colonial and dependent countries, and also in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, in Cuba nearly two-thirds of the land was not tilled by traditional "peasant" methods. The big U.S. sugar companies and their local partners and associates—the latifundists, who reduced thousands of peasants to poverty and capitalized on their plight after the national-liberation war against Spain—squeezed out the small farmers and embarked on large-scale cane growing with hired labor at starvation wages.

The result, in effect, was a repetition—with actual if not formal slave labor—of the pattern of the cotton plantations of the U.S. South.

As for livestock raising, to which 40-50 per cent of the area of the latifundia was devoted, the latifundists left the hard work of raising the young stock and improving strains to the small peasants while they, employing laborers, monopolized the final stage of grazing the herds (which they bought for a song) and fattening them for the market.

In these circumstances it was easy enough to produce sugar to sell for less than three centavos a pound and deliver cattle to the slaughterhouses for six centavos a pound on the hoof (100 centavos=1 peso=1 dollar.) No wonder the 500,000 agricultural laborers, of whom nearly 300,000 were idle for nine months of the year, could hardly afford to buy this cheap sugar and only rarely could they buy second-grade meat.

The system of ownership in agriculture hit the working peasants hardest. If we examine the social cross-section of the countryside as it was in January 1959, we find that of the nine million hectares of arable land less than 2.5 million were held by peasants with no more than five caballerias (67 hectares) each. The poorer peasants with less than 25 hectares each tilled a total of 1,021,810 hectares.

In this category the land was distributed as follows:

	Number of farms	Total area in hectares
Under 5 hectares	32,195	86,033
From 5 to 10 hectares	30,305	210,706
From 10 to 25 hectares	48,778	725,071

These figures are based on the last agricultural census (1946). However, experience showed, and the statistics drawn up during the second agrarian reform (1963) confirmed, that

many of these holdings were broken up further, owing to the constant impoverishment of the peasants and division among heirs. It can be assumed that by the time of the 1959 agrarian reform there were about 140,000 peasant households with plots under 25 hectares.

A feature of the Cuban peasantry was that less than 20,000 owned their plots. The remainder were tenant farmers paying an exorbitant rent, or sharecroppers whose status was no better than that of the medieval serfs and who turned in anything from 30 to 50 and sometimes as much as 60 per cent of the crop to the landowner. This form of extortion was applied also to tenant farmers raising the most valuable crops for which there was a guaranteed demand, such as tobacco. In this way the big tobacco and cigar makers ensured themselves a cheap supply of high-grade leaf; moreover, they were bothered by neither trade unions nor social legislation, for the peasant committed to peonage had no choice but to drive himself mercilessly in order to have something left over to live on after meeting his rent.

Besides other levers of economic pressure, the landowners could always resort to eviction. Controlling the political machine, the big landlords were able to use the law courts against their tenants. The most ruthless landlords, unwilling to undertake any legal commitments, refused to conclude any contracts with the peasants. The result was the emergence of a stratum of peasants completely at the mercy of the landowner. This group was augmented by the thousands of squatters who at times had to resist attempts to evict them by armed force.

The social structure in the Cuban countryside before the revolution was, then, characterized by a vast mass of agricultural laborers and a relatively smaller number of peasants, most of them working peasants.

THE POSITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT

From the forties on, the agricultural proletariat in Cuba represented an organized and politically advanced force. It is no exaggeration to say that in this respect they were ahead of all other social groups in Latin America. There were several reasons for this. First of all, it should be borne in mind that Cuba is a relatively small country where no great distances separate the countryside from the towns. With the exception of Sierra Maestra and part of Escambray and Cienaga de Zapata, no area in Cuba is nearly so remote from the urban centers and civilization as the outlying sections of, say, Brazil, Colombia or Peru. Moreover, since agriculture offered them employment only during a very brief period each year, the agricultural laborers settled in the vicinity of the towns in hopes of picking up an occasional job to keep going the rest of the time. (Thousands of sugar-cane cutters used to come to

Camaguey province during the harvest season from the towns and settlements of Las Villas, Matanzas and Oriente provinces.) Because they were thus concentrated in urban centers and worked part of the time in the services, in handicrafts workshops and even in factories, a substantial part of the agricultural workers acquired many of the features of the industrial proletariat.

At the same time trade union struggles, led by the united Workers Confederation in which the greatest influence was exerted by the Communists, reached a high pitch. The Party and the trade union movement soon realized the importance of the agricultural proletariat, as the most numerous and most exploited section of the working class, and hence the need to organize it into a militant force. As early as 1931 the Communist Party began to organize the sugar workers, who comprised the majority of the working class, into a single trade union. In the struggles fought after the fall of the Machado tyranny (especially in 1933-47), the sugar workers proved to be the most active and most militant section of the proletariat. During this period hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers were organized. They took an active part in strikes, demonstrations and conferences. Meetings, radio broadcasts and other educational measures were organized to raise their political level.

In the course of these years, thanks to the growing trade union struggles, the agricultural laborers won significant social gains. Incomes grew notably compared with the grim early thirties, although poverty and unemployment remained widespread. Their wages exceeded several times—in both absolute terms and the relative terms of purchasing power—the wages of agricultural laborers in the rest of Latin America and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia and Africa. At the same time there was a continued deterioration of the economic position of the poor and middle peasants who were increasingly caught up in a process of proletarianization.

Because of this, the overwhelming majority of the agricultural laborers came to see the solution to their problems not in an agrarian reform which would give them land and make them small agricultural producers, but in a revolution which would guarantee them steady work and a higher standard of living *as workers*. The insecurity of the small peasant was less attractive than the living standard of the better-paid urban workers, such as those engaged in the tobacco, brewing and some other industries. It can be said—and history bears it out—that the Cuban agricultural laborers did not experience the “land hunger” typical of the peasants and farm workers of Europe and some areas in Asia.

This tendency was strengthened by the fact that farm labor in Cuba was employed mainly to bring in the harvest, not to till the land. As a result of the extensive forms of sugar-cane growing and livestock raising, most laborers

had little first-hand knowledge of agriculture or animal husbandry as such. The cane cutters, the most numerous group, did not need to know anything about growing sugar-cane to be able to harvest it.

This picture of the structure of agricultural property and the rural population throws light on the premises from which, beginning with the Sierra Maestra days, the leadership of the Cuban revolution approached the problem of the agrarian reform.

The existence of the latifundia, operated along capitalist lines and employing hired workers who had no great desire to obtain plots of land and become peasants, *made it possible to transfer to the state large tracts*, some of which had been cultivated as capitalist farms and others partly or completely untilled. The transfer of the latifundia to state ownership was effected in two stages. The first began in May 1959 with an agrarian reform which set a 400-hectare limit on holdings by individuals or groups of owners. This was a death blow to both imperialist and local latifundia. The second agrarian reform, in October 1963, finally abolished whatever remained of the big estates by fixing the maximum holding at 67 hectares.*

FROM SIERRA MAESTRA TO THE SECOND REFORM

It goes without saying that the revolutionary expropriation had far-reaching social repercussions. It could not have been realized had the revolution not enjoyed from the very outset the support of the peasant masses, above all the small peasants. This support and the militant participation of the peasantry in the revolution were, in turn, the result of untiring struggle over the years under the slogan "Land to the Peasants" and the revolutionary strategy and tactics pursued under the leadership of Fidel Castro.

The fact is that immediately after their arrival in the Sierra Maestra, Castro and his comrades began to carry out a policy designed

*Some comrades who examine the Cuban agrarian reform from the European standpoint find it difficult to understand why the maximum was set at 67 hectares—an area which in the conditions of **intensive** farming is quite a sizeable farm. The point is that in Cuba, owing to the **extensive** methods of farming, backwardness of agricultural techniques and lack of machinery, the bulk of those with 67-hectare holdings fall into the category of "middle peasants." It was necessary to find a criterion for defining the boundaries of the working peasantry, and the only possible yardstick was the maximum allowed one owner. We deliberately chanced the possibility that among the small peasants generally a few really rich peasants might slip through. Examples could be cited showing that the economic possibilities of peasants with less than 67 hectares of land depend in Cuba less on the size of the holding than on the quality of the land and the type of crop grown. For instance, in analyzing the income of 92,000 peasants with a total of 1,200,000 hectares it was established that the highest were the incomes of 18,600 peasants in Pinar del Rio province whose plots did not exceed seven hectares. All tobacco growers, their income averaged 350 pesos per hectare. At the same time the incomes of 1,551 owners with plots from 53 to 67 hectares averaged 90 pesos per hectare, since most of them went in for less intensive farming, besides which the bigger area created difficulties as regards labor power (we shall dwell on this later in this article).—C.R.R.

to demonstrate to the peasants that the revolutionary guerrilla detachments were their allies in the fight for land and well-being against the latifundists who oppressed them and against the rulers who served the latifundists. Mingling with the peasants, respect for their property and scrupulous payment for whatever they supplied to the guerrillas, and fraternal aid in coping with the difficulties of life—all were from the outset components of the far-sighted and principled revolutionary policy of Fidel Castro. At the same time the Rebel Army, as its ranks were swelled by the peasants and agricultural laborers, disseminated in the rural areas of the Sierra its views on how society should be reconstructed, explaining to the peasants that the aim of the revolution was to transfer the land, free of charge, to those who till it.

When victory was in sight, Fidel Castro decided to give the policy of the Rebel Army on the agrarian question the form of a program. The epoch-making Sierra Maestra Law No. 3—the first agrarian law of the revolution—came into being.

In preparing this law, Fidel paid special attention to problems of a tactical order. By this time—September-October 1958—Batista had to all intents and purposes lost the support of the big latifundists and sugar refiners, i.e., the very force which, with the blessing of imperialism, had organized the coup of March 10, 1952, and which through the following six years had been the mainstay of his regime. Over considerable areas in Oriente, and also in Las Villas province, the owners of sugar refineries began paying taxes to the Rebel Army as the new revolutionary government. Some of the latifundists, sugar planters and cattlemen offered the revolutionary forces material aid in various forms. Under the circumstances it would have been a mistake to introduce an agrarian law which would have dealt a direct blow at the local and foreign latifundists; this would only have made them rally around Batista again and would have disclosed the aim of the revolution to imperialism before power had been won. In a word, the enemy would have been put on his guard.

At the same time, it was necessary to convince the peasants that this was *their* revolution, without frightening the big land-owners but not giving them any guarantees in regard to their property. This correct tactic was reflected in the instructions issued by Castro to the group drafting the law. Law No. 3 thus stipulated that all peasants with no more than five caballerias ((67 hectares) of land who tilled these holdings at the time of the promulgation of the law as tenants, sub-tenants, sharecroppers or on the basis of a verbal arrangement with the landlord, were entitled to two caballerias (26.8 hectares) free of charge. As for the latifundia, the law invoked Article 90 of the 1940 Constitution according to which the government was to abolish them by legislative means. The Rebel Army confirmed this pledge.

The law had the desired effect. The peasants, who learned of it through *Radio Rebelde* broadcasting in the mountains or through booklets and handbills circulated by revolutionary organizations, rallied more and more to the support of the revolution. On arriving in the hills of Escambray, Major Che Guevara began distributing the land according to the above principles. At that time the latifundists and imperialists were not unduly alarmed by the pledge to implement Article 90. They thought, as Fidel Castro pointed out later, that the new, revolutionary government could be "tamed" by the methods which had been used in 1933 to turn the petty-bourgeois "revolutionaries" of the time into professional bourgeois-landlord politicians. Subsequent developments, however, showed that they were sadly mistaken.

From January to May 1959 the revolutionary forces headed by Fidel were engaged in preparing the agrarian reform. In the meantime a political polarization and crystallization of positions took place among the diverse forces taking part in the anti-Batista revolution. The Rights in the government and outside it advocated a "regulated" agrarian reform, i.e., a reform of a type which bourgeois reformists in Latin America had always wanted and which Romulo Betancourt and his associates carried out in Venezuela. They argued that if the peasants had to pay for their land instead of getting it free of charge they would have a greater incentive to increase its productivity. The exploiters were out to line their pockets with the compensation payments with a view to buying the land back when economic vicissitudes had once again ruined the peasants as had happened in other countries. The most reactionary groups, whose mouthpiece was the *Diario de la Marina*, were against any agrarian reform and advocated a plan for the settlement of the unused lands. The object was to make the peasants open new areas for cultivation and then to buy these lands at low prices.

As is known, the agrarian reform of May 1959 dashed these hopes and for the first time in the Americas introduced truly revolutionary changes in the land-tenure system.

This reform could not yet pose socialist aims proper, although the nationalization of nearly half of the land played, as mentioned above, an extremely important role in putting agriculture on a socialist footing later, beginning with October 1960, when the revolution acquired a socialist character. The promise to abolish the latifundia contained in Law No. 3 was carried out when the 67-hectare ceiling for individual holdings was set, with the working peasants entitled to 2 caballerias (26.8 hectares) free of charge.*

This far-reaching agrarian reform, however, did not represent the final solution of the

agrarian problem. It prepared the ground for new battles.

It soon became clear that the structure of landownership was incompatible with the socialist content the revolution had acquired less than a year and a half later. The reform left some 10,000 landowners whose continued existence could be accepted at the bourgeois-democratic national-liberation stage of the revolution but which became incongruous with socialist development. Of this number, 6,000 owned from 67 to 134 hectares (a total of 607,500 hectares), 3,000 from 134 to 268 hectares (a total of 610,000 hectares), and about 1,500 from 268 to the 400-hectare ceiling (500,000 hectares in all).

This social group included the remainder of the old latifundists, the rural bourgeoisie exploiting the land by capitalist methods (for instance, the big rice-growers and cattle ranchers) and another variety of rural exploiter—the rich peasants.

With the proclamation of the socialist objective, the class struggle in the countryside flared up with renewed force. From the early months of 1961 on, the 10,000 surviving members of the bourgeois and landlord classes were the only sector of the Cuban economy left over from the anti-socialist economic forces, since the nationalization of industry owned by Cuban capitalists had got under way already in October 1960.

The rural bourgeoisie and the landlords were an alien body thrust into the mass of working peasants numbering some 200,000 families. In the pre-revolutionary village they had been the most influential and best-trained elements, the political "bosses" who, using the "stick-and-the carrot" method, had often been able to sway the working people in the localities.

The revolutionaries knew full well that these forces were not only their potential opponents but also their enemies at the moment. The revolutionary leaders realized that the only correct strategy was to separate the mass of working peasants from this powerful minority which owned almost as much land as the 200,000 families of working peasants taken together. (The peasants occupied slightly less than 2.5 million hectares while the holdings of the rural bourgeoisie and the landowners amounted to 1.8 million.)

There could be no question of remedying this state of affairs at once by nationalizing all holdings over 67 hectares. Had this been done in 1960 or 1961 the economic consequences would have been disastrous, for the revolution still lacked the organizational wherewithal and the managerial and technical personnel to organize production over the nearly seven million hectares which would have come into its possession.

It was therefore necessary to coexist for a time with these class adversaries, in the meantime laying the organizational groundwork for state-conducted agriculture, training managerial personnel, providing the working people with

*Actually the peasants received up to 67 hectares gratis, since rents were annulled beginning with 1959 and, with the second agrarian reform of 1963, no payment was required for land received above the 26.8-hectare minimum.

at least a minimum of technical equipment, and mechanizing farm production.

But the adversary too was aware that he had to go over to the offensive before he was utterly defeated. The rural areas were his last stronghold. In the closing months of 1960 and through 1961, the CIA, the various emigre groups in its service and its agents still operating in Cuba exerted every effort to control the rural areas. Their aims were:

1. To activate their class allies (the above-mentioned 10,000 rural capitalists and landlords) as an instrument of counter-revolution both politically (using them to win over the small peasants) and militarily (using their estates as bases for forming armed bands, for caching arms brought in from the USA and setting up organizational centers).

2. To ensure themselves the political support of the peasants, using to this end both ruthless terror and propaganda designed to delude the peasants into believing that the socialist revolution would allow no private property in land and that the assurances given by Fidel Castro and the revolution were sheer deception; that the socialist reconstruction of the countryside would pass through a number of stages, from the agrarian reform of 1959 to the abolition of all "average" proprietors and eventually the eradication of every vestige of individual property and the "communization" of land.

Powerful machinery was set in motion to conduct this campaign, including the propaganda machine of U.S. imperialism whose radio broadcasts could be heard all over Cuba at all hours of the day and night.

But the revolution met this economic, technical and political pressure with the irresistible impact of its correct policy towards the peasants.

The tactics of the revolution were based on the following principles:

1. Nationalization of the property of the sections hostile to socialism was to be postponed until the time was ripe, while combating all counter-revolutionary activities and punishing all those involved in them by expropriation of their property in conformity with the law.

2. The small peasants had to be convinced, not only by means of propaganda but by practical measures corresponding to their interests and hence reinforcing their trust in the revolution, that the revolution would not deprive them of their property but, on the contrary, would help them get solidly on their feet, that socialism would help them with credits and machinery, through its price policy, etc. At the same time a clear demarcation line had to be drawn between the smallholders, on the one hand, and the rural bourgeoisie and the landlords, on the other, and, while the exploiting classes were to be given no cause to anticipate their expropriation, neither were they to be given any reason to expect that the revolution would perpetuate their property "rights." This line did not rule out the possibility of those members of the rural bourgeois-

sie and landlord class who proved their support for the aims of the revolution being allowed to retain their property.

In accordance with these strategic and tactical principles, the National Smallholders' Association was organized as the sole representative of the interests of the peasantry. Landowners with more than 67 hectares were not eligible for membership. At the inauguration celebration Fidel Castro unequivocally declared that the revolutionary forces would safeguard the rights of the small peasants to their allotments. The smallholder, it was pointed out, was the bulwark of the revolution in the countryside, a reliable ally of the working class. The Association was charged with organizing credits for the smallholders,* and providing them with the necessary means of production. A farm-machinery service was set up to cultivate their land with state-owned machines.

The principles were correct and clearly defined. But they were not always correctly implemented. Mistakes were made which played into the enemy's hands in 1961 and 1962, at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the offensive mounted by the CIA, which sponsored the organization of counter-revolutionary guerrilla groups. For one thing, some local bodies were unable correctly to differentiate between the rural bourgeoisie and former landlords, the organizers and the chief protagonists of the counter-revolution, on the one hand, and the small peasants who, under the influence of the propaganda conducted by the former, or out of fear or lack of faith in the future, collaborated with the enemies to one or another extent, on the other. Extremist distortions struck not only at the real dyed-in-the-wool enemy but also at those who had fallen victim to deception. The expropriation of smallholders, though in some cases justified from the purely legal standpoint, afforded the enemy an opportunity to deceive scores of working peasants in Matanzas province and the southern part of Las Villas, who, seeing peasants with no more than 67 hectares of land deprived of their holdings, and not always convinced that the people concerned were guilty of counter-revolutionary activities, began to lose faith in the policy of the revolution.**

Let us examine another factor which caused discontent among some groups of the peasantry at that period.

Following the revolution the demand for farm produce sharply increased. The reason for this is clear if we recall that between 1959

*See article by Antero Regallado in *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1965.

**The situation was aggravated by another mistake. Although Fidel Castro suggested—and the national leadership endorsed the idea—that decisions on the application of revolutionary laws concerning landowners engaged in counter-revolutionary activities should be taken by vote at membership meetings of the Association, in many cases the idea was distorted and the decisions were taken at meetings not of small peasants but of agricultural laborers, who naturally were inclined to favor expropriation.

and 1961 purchasing power increased by more than 500 million pesos annually as a result of exemption of the peasants from rent, the lowering of rents in towns, the introduction of free education and, above all, the fact that work had been provided for more than 400,000 urban and rural workers.

But while the demand for food and clothing increased in step with the growing purchasing power, the production of food for the market could not keep pace. Moreover, the peasants, who no longer had rent to pay and whose purchasing power had increased as a result of the higher prices paid for agricultural products, kept for their own consumption produce they formerly sold. If we bear in mind that, as a survey made by the Catholic Youth organization shortly before the revolution showed, our peasants and agricultural workers hardly ever ate meat, eggs or milk, the effect of the appearance of more than three million new consumers in the agricultural areas will be appreciated. The revolutionary state was unable to produce on publicly-owned land enough to compensate for the reduction in sales by the peasants and the increase in urban demand. Although output on the state-owned land did not decline in 1959-61, it could not be increased fast enough to meet the growing demand.

With difficulties encountered in satisfying the demand for food, the petty-bourgeois nature of the private peasant proprietors naturally asserted itself and prompted them to take advantage of the situation. As was to be expected, there was a revival of speculation, black market profiteering, and the counter-revolutionary groups seized on this to aggravate the situation in the cities and to sow discontent both before and after the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Many of the local authorities and representatives of the purchasing machinery of INRA (the National Institute of Agrarian Reform) acted with undue haste. Instead of solving these problems economically and by political means, they resorted to administrative measures and intimidation. Although they had no legal grounds for doing so, they sought to compel the peasants to sell their produce only to the state and in some cases resorted to confiscation of agricultural products intended for the market.

As mentioned above, these incorrect actions running counter to the policy of the Party and the government caused tensions in a number of regions. By the end of 1961 the counter-revolutionaries found openings for their machinations in some areas where the government did not enjoy full support as it did in areas like the Sierra Maestra where the peasants themselves hunted down armed enemy groups.

In March 1962 the revolutionary leadership examined the problem at a conference attended by the provincial and local agricultural leaders. Fidel Castro delivered a report at this meeting which provided the basis for a thorough analysis of the situation. Extremist deviations were

exposed and measures were taken throughout the country to restore the correct line.

The consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was now ensured. The administrative bodies and the party set to work to eliminate the shortcomings in the agricultural procurement policy, in supplying the peasants with the things they needed, and in the functioning of the agricultural machine service. On the other hand, the Association re-examined its activities. It was established that, concentrating on administrative matters (granting credits, distributing material means, etc.), it had neglected political and organizational work with the result that it lost contact with the peasants. The time had come to transfer its administrative functions to specialized government bodies and to make it a representative organization of peasants giving expression to their needs and aspirations and capable of explaining to the masses why it was impossible to solve all the problems at once. In a word, it was to be an organization representing the peasants vis-a-vis the revolution and the revolution vis-a-vis the peasants.

The cardinal issue was differentiation between the rural bourgeoisie and the remaining landlords, on the one hand, and the working peasants, on the other. It was essential that the peasants themselves should see the demarcation line and come to realize that whereas the class interests of the rural bourgeoisie and the big landowners brought them into conflict with the revolution, the interests of the small peasants were indissolubly linked with the revolution.

Clearly, this could not be achieved by talks alone. And here we must look more closely at some of the methods used in our agrarian policy.

FREE TRADE AND FAIR PRICES

It was not possible in Cuba to repeat the experience of other socialist revolutions in this sphere. For example, any attempt to introduce a tax in kind or compulsory selling to the state would have undermined the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The revolution recognized the peasant's right freely to sell his produce directly to the urban consumer. At the same time a ruthless war was declared against the profiteering middlemen.

In the past farm produce had been sold to consumers by these middlemen who bought it from the peasants for a song and then charged the consumer an exorbitant price, thus battenning on both the grower and consumer alike. Through a number of special laws the revolution put a stop to this profiteering.

At the same time the INRA improved the functioning of its purchasing organizations. These reached out to every peasant, however distant from the towns. The elimination of the middlemen, therefore, did not prevent the peasant from placing his produce on the market. In addition a new price policy was work-

ed out based on the premise that in the transitional period, with socialism being built, prices play the same role in relation to the small peasants allied with the working class as wages do in relation to the workers. Distribution of the social product according to the quantity and quality of the labor contributed can be effected only through an adequate system of prices.

We cannot say that such a system has already been devised in Cuba since prices of farm produce conforming to the dictates of the law of value clearly cannot be regarded in isolation from the prices of manufactured goods and the cost of services. But progress has been made in fixing farm prices at a level corresponding to the quantity of socially necessary labor embodied in the product and aimed at protecting the producer against the vagaries of demand and supply.

The prices of some products, for instance sugar-cane, were designed to encourage the peasants to raise yields by employing new methods and fertilizers. Individual producers obtaining more than 35 tons per hectare are paid a higher price, which rises further if the yield quota is exceeded by no less than 30 per cent annually. These special measures are prompted by the role played by sugar-cane in the country's economy.

This might be called a policy of "price regulation." But this regulation is by no means arbitrary, for average cost of production, which depends on the farming methods and mechanization, is never lost sight of. The government recently reduced the excessively high prices paid for some vegetables, supplies of which outstripped demand because of the high returns. On the other hand, the prices of products in short supply were increased. This was the case, for instance, with malanga* which the peasants were reluctant to grow because of low returns and considerable expenditure of labor.

Another feature of the price system is seasonal adjustment depending on the supply.

The fact that purchase prices are not reduced when the supply exceeds demand has a stabilizing effect. The state purchasing organizations buy surplus vegetables for processing, or for use as cattle feed, whenever there is temporary overproduction. Reduction of purchasing prices with fluctuations in demand would discourage and hurt growers.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the system of purchasing prices for farm produce is a unified one, in other words, the peasants are paid as much as the publicly-owned estates of the state sector (the only exception is sugar-cane, for which the peasants are paid a higher price).

THE TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTION

The policy of the revolution has triumphed.

*A root crop which takes the place of potatoes in Cuba. It is an important item in children's diet.

The years 1962-64 saw the complete consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasants. While crushing blows were struck at the counter-revolution in the countryside (mopping up of the CIA infiltrators in the Escambray mountains and of the gangs in the Matanzas, Las Villas and Camaguey provinces, and the closing to the enemy of the Sierra Maestra where the peasants themselves hunted down the conspirators), the relations of the revolutionary Government and its administrative bodies with the peasantry rapidly improved. This of course is not to say that an ideal state of affairs has been achieved. There still are price imbalances, shortcomings in the sphere of state purchases, in the supply of means of production, etc. But the results began making themselves felt from the moment the Party focused attention on the situation in the countryside.

The second agrarian reform, effected in October 1963, was a major test. The object was to nationalize, through purchase, the lands of the remaining 10,000 members of the rural bourgeoisie and the landlord class. It should be mentioned that this reform caused much concern among many friends of the Cuban revolution, who, remembering the experience of other socialist countries, thought that it might cause dissatisfaction among the small peasants and facilitate the machinations of the counter-revolution.

But the Cuban leaders knew the situation and were confident that the small peasants would remain loyal to the revolution. They knew that the educational work and practical experience of the preceding years, and above all the policy of rectifying the mistakes of the past (an important element of this policy was the return to the small peasants of the property taken from them as a result of extremist methods in enforcing revolutionary laws) had convinced the small peasants that their property was inviolable, and that the pledge given them in the name of the revolution by Fidel Castro would be redeemed.

Experience shows that we were right. In the course of one day, under the direct supervision of the Party, all holdings exceeding 67 hectares were taken over throughout the country. The rural bourgeoisie, the landlords and their counter-revolutionary allies were paralyzed and could do nothing to stir up trouble among the small peasants, who supported the reform everywhere.

The contingency created by hurricane Flora gravely complicated the situation in the countryside but at the same time it helped to rally the peasantry behind the revolutionary government. The hurricane, a national disaster, hit the country just when the second agrarian reform was being carried out. It ravaged densely populated areas in Camaguey and Oriente provinces, taking a toll of nearly a thousand lives. Many families lost homes, crops and cattle. Before the revolution a disaster of this kind would have spelt utter ruin

for the victims. But now the peasants saw the government and Party leadership come to their aid. At the risk of his life, Castro himself went to the worst danger spots, accompanied by President Dorticos and members of the Council of Ministers. Had it not been for the efforts of the Party, the air force and the army, which organized the rescue work, the toll of life would have run into the thousands. Immediately after the hurricane, work was started to rebuild the homes of the peasants and agricultural laborers. Their debts and payments on bank credits were cancelled, and they were provided with cattle and loans to get production started again. Less than six months after the disaster the stricken area was again thriving agricultural country where only grief for the dead remained to remind the people of one of the worst calamities in Cuba's history.

The concern displayed by the government for the peasants during and after the hurricane rallied them still closer around the revolutionary leadership, shattering the hopes of the imperialists and their agents who had counted on the nationalization of the property of the rural bourgeoisie and the landlords giving them a chance to drive a wedge between the revolution and the peasants.

GROWTH OF PURCHASES OF FARM PRODUCE

In 1964 the counter-revolution lost all openings for maneuver in the countryside, while the revolution consolidated its positions and became master of the situation.

Data on purchases of farm produce from the peasants is an economic index to the political situation.

As pointed out above, there now are nearly 200,000 peasant families in the Cuban countryside. However, the holdings of some 40,000 peasants (former semi-proletarians) are too small to produce any appreciable surplus for the market. Today these agricultural laborers receive steady wages throughout the year and cultivate their own plots only to meet their own needs (this category also includes those members of peasant families who have tiny plots acquired either through inheritance or division of the family land for other reasons.)

The number of peasant households producing a marketable surplus, consequently, is in the neighborhood of 150,000-160,000.

According to data on purchases of farm produce in 1964, state organizations obtained from private growers produce to the value of about 220 million pesos. This breaks down as follows:

	Pesos
Meat	13,782,170
Milk	10,408,060*
Sugar-cane	86,000,000
Field and garden crops	120,285,000

*This figure includes only sales to the Milk Industry Amalgamation. It does not include sales to local organizations which account for more than 50 per cent of all purchases.

From these figures it follows that the annual state purchases per farm (13 hectares on the average) amount to 1,500 pesos. If we add sales to local organizations, trade between the peasants themselves and sales directly to consumers, the figure will increase by another 500 pesos. The peasants sell nearly two-thirds of their produce to central or local state organizations.

In the light of the general willingness of the peasantry to sell their produce to the state, it is of interest to note the reaction to the raising of purchasing prices for sugar-cane. Whereas in 1963 average yield of cane per hectare was 28.6 tons, in 1965 it amounted to 45.5 tons, the highest yield ever attained by small peasants.

At the same time one cannot but note the low yield per hectare, due to the traditional farming methods. There is no doubt that better equipment and new farming methods will enable the peasants to double their production for the market within a brief space of time.

COOPERATIVES OR INDIVIDUAL FARMS

Many revolutionaries in other countries who examine the agrarian reform in Cuba are concerned about the absence of Government stimulation of agricultural cooperation. These comrades may ask whether we are not opposed to agricultural cooperatives as a form of socializing production through joint ownership and use of machinery.

Of course, this is not case. The Cuban revolution recognizes that cooperative farming creates better conditions for modernizing farm work through the use of machinery on large tracts of land and for solving numerous problems connected with labor and organization of work which individual farmers cannot solve by themselves. This was clearly stated by Fidel Castro at the ANAP Congress.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the imperialists, using all the propaganda means at their disposal, have been conducting an intensive campaign to deceive the peasants into believing that a cooperative movement "imposed" by the Party and government would be the first step towards depriving them of their land.

To this lying propaganda the revolution has replied with the firm promise by Fidel Castro that the peasants have every right to own their plots and to till them either individually or collectively as they wish. We, the members of the government and revolutionary leaders, will in no way force them into cooperation; the peasants will make the choice themselves.

For these reasons the voluntary principle, the strict observance of which Lenin urged at the very inception of the cooperative movement, acquires special significance in Cuban conditions.

On the other hand, the question of the need for cooperation is posed differently in the Cuban revolution than in the revolutions in the other socialist countries. In practically all

of these, and especially in the Soviet Union, cooperation was the crucial issue in the socialization of agriculture, since nearly 90 per cent of the land was in the hands of millions of small peasants. A somewhat similar situation existed in China and the countries of Central Europe.

The situation in Cuba is quite different. To date 70 per cent of the land has become the property of the whole people—the highest form of property. The existence of this state property and the organization of socialist-type agriculture is a guarantee that, unlike the situation that prevailed for a time in a number of socialist countries, Cuba's economy will not be dependent on the will and actions of the individual peasants. At present the state estates account for just under half the cattle, primarily beef cattle, and they grow 75 per cent of the sugar-cane and 100 per cent of such industrial crops as kenaf and cotton.

True, individual peasant farms play the decisive role in growing tobacco and coffee and account for more milk and root crops than the state farms. But the relative share of individual peasant households in the total production tends to decline. Within the next five years the share of the state sector in sugar-cane will continue to increase much faster than hitherto, since only a negligible increase is envisaged in cane output by the individual farms, while in the state sector it is scheduled to be nearly doubled. If at present the state sector produces only one-third of the milk consumed by the population, five years hence it will exceed the private sector four or five times over. As for root crops, realization of the plans for the state sector in agriculture will enable it to surpass the private sector by 1966. Moreover, the small tobacco and coffee growers are completely dependent on the revolutionary government which helps them to bring in the crop by enlisting students, housewives and factory workers for voluntary work at the height of the season.

Firm control over production facilitates the pursuance of revolutionary policy toward the peasantry. Of course, since there is no organized campaign for agricultural cooperatives, the movement in this direction is slow. But this is not the only reason. A more important reason, perhaps, is that in Cuba, where the small peasant has more land than his Russian, Chinese, Bulgarian or Czechoslovak counterparts owned in their time, and where he enjoys state aid in the form of cheap bank credit, advantageous purchasing prices, supply of machinery, technical aid, fertilizers, etc., the small peasant does not feel any urgent pressure to join a cooperative. He can retain the individual forms of property more to his taste and still see his income grow.

It may be asked: is not this situation likely to lead to the development of capitalism in the countryside? The Cuban revolutionary leadership has not forgotten Lenin's warning that small property engenders capitalism every day,

every hour, every minute. But then the small peasants do not carry the same weight in the Cuban economy as they did in nearly all other socialist countries. As we have seen, in Cuba the small peasants are an island in a socialist ocean. Further, by fixing just prices for the produce of the small peasant, the Cuban revolution is far from being guided by the "Get rich!" slogan Bukharin addressed to the kulak. These are purchasing prices which can stimulate the most efficient farming methods but do not result in either excessive accumulation or indolence. More, the peasant cannot use his income to acquire machines, for their sale to private individuals is prohibited, or more land, since the state has the priority right to buy land put up for sale and, moreover, can forbid sales making for excessive individual holdings. In cases when the state does not acquire land put up for sale, priority is given to peasants with insufficient land. In all such transactions the local branch of the peasant association has its say.

Does this mean that we believe individual peasant property will remain indefinitely and that no forms of cooperation will emerge? Of course not. First of all, cultivation of certain crops requires a measure of joint effort by peasants to make better use of machines and to run their holdings efficiently (as in the case of tobacco growers). It is not surprising that the credit and service cooperatives, in which the peasants jointly carry out irrigation, obtain credits collectively, and buy fertilizers and pesticides, etc., at advantageous wholesale prices, have been very successful. For example, in Pinar del Rio province there are at present 618 groups of tobacco growers using machines jointly. All told, there are 816 cooperatives of this type uniting 56,000 peasants with half a million hectares of land. Of cooperatives of a higher, collective-farm type, there are only 215 (they are called "agricultural societies"), uniting 2,600 peasants with 30,000 hectares of land.

The simpler forms of cooperation are now beginning to develop among small sugar-cane growers. It should be said that there are nearly 40,000 of the latter who produce less than 150 tons each annually and consequently cannot make effective use of cultivating, cane-cutting or loading machines. With the advance of mechanization these producers are coming to see the need to get together with a view to buying or renting equipment which would obviate the need to hire workers.

THE LABOR SHORTAGE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Shortage of labor is another factor inducing the peasants to adopt new methods. The shortage affects both owners of big holdings and those owning small plots but who grow tobacco, coffee or tomatoes, i.e., crops requiring many workers.

Agriculture is the only sphere in which pri-

vate exploitation of productive labor remains in Cuba. The labor is supplied largely by the peasants themselves (semi-proletarians and the children of peasants owning small plots), and also by the traditional agricultural laborers. With the building of socialism, however, the latter are showing an increasing reluctance to work in the private sector; they prefer to work on the publicly-owned estates as members of the socialist community. These estates with their social services, housing, clubs and nursery facilities, none of which the private farmer can provide, are attracting more and more agricultural laborers, and since the same system of norms and wages operates everywhere (the members of the private sector are not allowed to pay the hired workers more than is stipulated by law), the agricultural workers will, increasingly, opt for work on the state-owned estates.

The smallholders with the least land, traditionally the political and organizational vanguard in the countryside, solve their labor problem by forming cooperatives within the framework of their sector. This is the origin of the "mutual aid teams" organized by the peasants to perform jointly the work requiring the most manpower on all the farms in the district. These teams were formed originally to bring in the sugar-cane harvest, but now the movement has spread to all crops. There are at present over a thousand such teams uniting more than 20,000 peasants; moreover they are showing every sign of growing and becoming mechanized.

The way the labor shortage has been tackled has again demonstrated the strength of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The workers voluntarily help the peasants to harvest their crops, above all sugar-cane, and when this is done the peasants in their turn help to bring in the harvest on the state-owned plantations on the same voluntary basis. For example, thousands of peasants took part in the recent campaign to harvest the sugar-cane crop.

The owners of farms of over 25 hectares face a somewhat different problem. For them the labor shortage is a factor limiting production. The state, which has priority rights to land purchase, buys up the land these peasants offer for sale whenever it can be used by the neighboring Government estates. Moreover, the Government can turn over the land purchased from individual farmers to cooperatives of the collective-farm type or promote the organization of a cooperative to till it.

Another factor increasing the tendency toward cooperative farming is the mood of the youth, the section of the rural population whose thinking has been most profoundly influenced by the revolution. More than 100,000 young men and women from peasant families have completed study courses, mainly in Havana, raising their general educational level and especially their technical training. These

public-spirited young people, eager to apply their newly-acquired skills, are no longer satisfied with small individual farming, and are persuading their elders to go in for large-scale mechanized farming.

Many young men and women go to work on the publicly-owned estates as specialists and skilled workers, with the prospect of becoming agronomists, animal husbandry experts and veterinary surgeons in the state sector. In this way the process of the reproduction of small peasantry is to a large extent interrupted.

This shows that a gradual change in the present structure is bound to take place in the near future. The tendency in all probability will be toward the abolition or voluntary reduction of the excessively large holdings and the merging of medium-sized and small plots in cooperatives of various types which, without eliminating private ownership of the land, would jointly solve their mechanization, chemicalization, irrigation and other problems. Subsequently, with the growth of socialist production, the peasants will choose the forms of agricultural endeavor they want within the overall framework of the advance to communism.

Aged peasants who have no relatives and are too old to cultivate their plots will be provided for by the state which will buy their plot and pay them an annual sum ensuring them a decent income. The question of pensions for peasants is under consideration. The pension, plus the payment for his land, will enable the aged peasant to live in his own home and enjoy the fruits of his labor.

* * *

The specific features of the Cuban revolution necessitated a specific approach to the peasant question. Some of these features have made it possible to accelerate the process of placing agriculture on a socialist footing through the expropriation of the latifundia of the capitalist type. Others have caused this process to appear to be somewhat slow, inasmuch as the organization of farming cooperatives in most socialist countries was accomplished at a more rapid pace. Generally speaking, the most important aspect of our experience is the speedy reorganization of agriculture along socialist lines through the state sector. Moreover, we have demonstrated, we trust, that the existence of a large sector of peasants not united in cooperatives does not weaken the alliance of the working class and the peasantry or create any obstacle to the building of socialism. On the contrary, the Cuban revolution is convinced that its method of solving the agrarian problem is the best guarantee of obtaining the full support of the peasants for socialism and the most reliable and effective means of ensuring their voluntary and ever-increasing participation in the socialist economy.

Ninth congress of the Rumanian Communist Party

B. ZAHARESCU

THE NINTH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of Rumania, an historic event in the life of the Party and the people, took place over July 19-24 in Bucharest.

Before passing on to its agenda, the Congress unanimously decided that the name of the Party be changed from Workers' Party to Communist Party, for the latter fully reflects the character of the Party as the vanguard of the working class and political leader of the people, as well as the present stage of the country's development and the ultimate goal of the Party—building a communist society. Simultaneously, it was decided to count the number of congresses beginning with the First Congress of the Communist Party in May 1921, and ruled that the present Congress be considered the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party.

The Congress was attended by delegates from 57 Communist and Workers' parties and other democratic parties in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

The agenda included: the Central Committee's report for the period between the Eighth and Ninth Congresses of the CPR; report of the Central Auditing Commission; report on the economic development projected for 1966-70; report on the guidelines for the ten-year development plan for the power industry; report on the Draft Rules of the Party.

After discussing the C.C. report delivered by Nicolae Ceausescu, the Congress assessed it as a document of paramount importance for the life of the Party and country. The report summed up the results of the achievements scored in the past six years, set the goals for the present stage of the process of completing the building of socialism, and enriched the theoretical thought of the Party, closely linking it with the practical work of building socialism.

The Congress highly appraised the work carried out by the Central Committee for fulfilment of the tasks set by the previous Congress for steady implementation of the Party

line in completing socialist construction and in the sphere of international relations. It noted that the achievements of the people during the years of the people's democratic rule, and the big changes in the economy, social structure and in the life of the working people, have confirmed the soundness of the political line of the Party which, in all its activity, is guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, creatively applying it to the conditions in Rumania.

These years have seen further powerful growth of the productive forces. Socialist industry has been developing at a fast rate, ensuring progress in the national economy and in society as a whole. The completion of agricultural cooperation marked a radical change in the life of the peasantry, a change extending socialist production relations to the entire national economy.

The complete triumph of socialism in town and country, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man are regarded as the biggest political victory for the Party since the conquest of state power; they signify the attainment of goals for which the best sons and daughters of the working class and of the people fought and sacrificed their lives.

The Congress noted with satisfaction that the main economic tasks set by the Eighth Congress for 1960-65 have been successfully fulfilled, and highly appreciated the firmness and persistence with which the Central Committee has focussed the policy of the Party on socialist industrialization, which is the basis for the advance of the entire economy and for the all-round development of socialist society, and the decisive factor for national independence and sovereignty.

Socialist industrialization has proceeded apace. By the end of this year industrial output will be 124 per cent greater than in 1959, which means that the assignments of the Six-Year Plan will be exceeded. Annual rate of industrial growth averages 14.4 per cent instead of the

13 per cent envisaged originally. The priority accorded output of means of production, evident from the average annual rate of growth in this sector—15.7 per cent—has facilitated the advance of other industries as well. A feature of the economic development was the large-scale introduction of highly-efficient plant, comprehensive tapping of the natural resources, and continuation of the policy of rational distribution of the productive forces throughout the territory of the country.

The Congress stressed the correctness of the Party's agrarian policy and also the work done by the Central Committee in resolving one of the major tasks of socialist construction—the switching of individual peasant farming to cooperative lines, a task which was completed nearly four years ahead of the schedule fixed by the Eighth Congress. Steady growth of grain and vegetable output is a feature of the cooperative movement in the countryside. The Party and government have done much to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture and to organize production on scientific lines. Today the country has at its disposal a large number of tractors, combine harvesters and other farm machines. All producer cooperatives have agronomists with a higher education.

The policy of providing incentives to the peasants, encouraging them to grow more, has been applied consistently. The provision of conditions for selling products at advantageous prices and on the basis of commercial relations has contributed to the steady growth of the earnings of the cooperators. Since the completion of the cooperation, overall cooperative property has increased by 36 per cent in terms of value, and cash incomes, by 37 per cent.

The Six-Year Plan period has witnessed a steady growth of grain and industrial crops production. Animal husbandry has also advanced. In 1960-64 average annual grain crops increased by over 1,100,000 tons compared with the previous Five-Year Plan, and by over 2,300,000 tons compared with the average annual grain crop in the Rumania of 1934-38. Despite the unfavorable weather conditions during some of these years, crop-farming and animal husbandry uninterruptedly provided the population with food and industry with agricultural raw materials, and also made it possible to put aside state reserves and surpluses for export. Congress noted that, these successes notwithstanding, some targets for agriculture had not been reached.

Economic progress has brought with it a rise in the national income and, on this basis, a rise in the standard of living. National income has grown by almost 65 per cent as against 1959. Real wages are up 39 per cent, and the number of factory and office workers has grown by 1,300,000. Incomes of the peasant cooperators have likewise grown. Appreciable funds have been earmarked for social and cultural needs, for housing, schools, students' hostels and hospitals. Good progress has been made

in the development of science, the arts and culture generally.

This progress is the fruit of the labor of workers in industry, of peasants and intellectuals, of the working people as a whole, who are steadfastly carrying out the policy of the Party.

Congress also noted some shortcomings in the work of the leading economic and planning agencies.

Congress adopted directives for development in the next five years with a view to accelerating the process of completing socialist construction in all areas of economic, scientific and cultural activity.

It approved the basic aims, target figures and tasks set for both the five-year development period, 1966-70, and for the ten-year project for harnessing the power resources and electrification of the country.

Stress was laid, as before, on socialist industrialization with priority to heavy industry, and especially machine building. Industrialization is seen as the sole path to progress and culture, which effectively guarantees national independence and sovereignty and rapidly brings the country nearer the level of economically developed countries.

In the next five years the high rate of industrial development will be maintained, and the role of industry as the key branch of the economy will be enhanced. Growth of industrial output is envisaged at an average annual rate of 10.5 per cent, with output of means of production growing at the rate of 11 per cent. Consumer-goods output is scheduled to grow at an annual rate of 10 per cent. Power generated will rise from 3.5 million kwh in 1965 to roughly 10 million in 1975, i.e., threefold. Steel production will nearly double in five years. Gross output of agriculture will rise about 20 per cent compared with the average annual level for 1961-65. Congress resolved that priority be given to systematic improvement of the quality of products, to further growth of labor productivity by roughly 40 per cent by 1970, a nearly 10 per cent reduction of production costs in industry, technological progress in every sphere of economic activity, and extension of mechanization and automation.

Congress decided that, simultaneously with ensuring high rates of socialist industrialization, more attention should be paid to intensive and diversified agriculture, increasing output in cropfarming and animal husbandry, and raising the contribution of agriculture to the country's progress and to the well-being of the people.

A powerful material and technical base will be established, and all-round mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture is expected to be secured, in the main, by 1970. Special attention will be paid to land improvement, primarily irrigation, to utilizing the immense potential of agriculture so as to ensure greater output of grain and fodder, of products of animal husbandry, horticulture and market-gardening.

Strengthening the agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically will be the constant concern of the Party and government. Better forms of labor organization and remuneration are needed in the cooperatives so that members' incomes should be more closely related to production results, and to quantity and quality of work.

With a view to improving the forms of guidance and management of the cooperatives, Congress pointed to the need for inter-cooperative organizations—district and regional associations of cooperatives—and a central agency. The functions of these bodies should be to coordinate the efforts of the cooperatives toward increasing production and carrying out joint measures.

Investments under the Five-year Plan will total 250,000 million to 260,000 million lei, or as much as has been invested during the previous ten years. Some 750 new enterprises will be put into operation. Over 80 per cent of the total investment is to go to industry, agriculture and transport, which reflects the main lines of the Party's economic policy.

In keeping with the Congress' decisions, fraternal cooperation with the member-countries—members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and with all the socialist countries will continue to develop within the framework of international socialist division of labor. At the same time, with due regard to the division of labor on a world scale, Rumania will extend economic relations with all countries, irrespective of their social system, on the basis of mutual benefit. The economic development in the next five years is expected to result in a 40 per cent increase in foreign trade over 1965.

Congress approved the criteria of distribution of the national income for 1966-70, according to which over 25 per cent of the income will go to accumulation to ensure extended socialist reproduction, and about three-quarters, to consumption.

The entire policy of the Party is aimed at raising the standard of living. That is why provision has been made for a 20 to 25 per cent increase in real wages in 1970 compared with 1965. In the next few years, steps will be taken to increase pensions in all categories. Along with greater agricultural output, especially for the market, peasant incomes should rise by roughly 20 per cent.

Further measures are envisaged to increase the sale of goods to the population, to build more houses, improve labor protection, medical services, sick benefits and to develop sports and recreation facilities. Thus, the benefits of socialism will be enjoyed in growing measure by every citizen, by every family, by all the people.

In accordance with the development program more will be done to reinforce the material base of science, with a view to extending research, both theoretical and applied. For this purpose a National Council for Scientific Research will be set up (under the Council of

Ministers) to work out guidelines and a uniform program for research and training personnel and to coordinate all the work in this field.

Education at all levels will be extended and improved. In the next few years the term for compulsory elementary education, presently eight years, will be extended. Secondary education is to be extended to cover, along with general education schools, specialized industrial, agricultural, economic and pedagogical schools. Beginning with the 1965-66 school year, pupils in the 9th-12th grades of secondary schools will be supplied with text-books free of charge.

The complexity of the tasks of building the new society calls for improvement of the forms of organization and methods of leadership and planning. To take account of the objective laws operating in society, and carefully to study life and developments is the principal and absolutely essential requirement of proper economic management and planning. Collective leadership is the guiding principle in economic activity and planning, one that must be applied unflinchingly in every area of socialist construction, for it ensures that planning and basic decisions will be the fruit of collective thinking and effort by leading personnel, by the more experienced workers and by the specialists in the fields concerned.

The Congress noted that the basic provisions of the new Constitution discussed by the public and approved by the Grand National Assembly correctly reflect the deep-going changes that have taken place in the socio-economic structure of the country and secure the victories won in building socialism. The new name for the country—the Socialist Republic of Rumania—fully accords with the present stage of its development. The new Constitution reflects the basic features of the social and state system: unity of the state, sovereignty of the people vested with all power, socialist ownership of the means of production, the working class as the leading class in society, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the active contribution of the intellectuals to the effort of the people as a whole, full equality of all citizens irrespective of nationality, linked by bonds of fraternity and jointly comprising the grand family of socialist Rumania, and the leading role of the Communist Party in all fields of endeavor. The fundamental law of the country, Congress stressed, proclaims and guarantees the rights and freedoms of citizens, the steady extension of socialist democracy, and the growing participation of the masses in public life. The principle of collective leadership is assigned the leading role in the state.

The Central Committee report thoroughly analyzed the growing role of the state and the all-round development of the socialist nation in the conditions of completing the building of socialism. Congress fully endorsed this analysis, stressing that the nation and the state will for a long time to come be the base for the

development of socialist society, and that growth of the nation and consolidation of the socialist state correspond to the objective needs of social life. And this, far from conflicting with socialist internationalism, is, on the contrary, completely in harmony with its interests, with the principle of the working people's international solidarity, with the cause of socialism and peace. The progress and prosperity of each socialist nation and of each equal, sovereign and independent socialist state are essential for the greater unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, for their impact on man in his advance to socialism and communism.

Congress endorsed the new Party Rules which generalize the experience gained over the years, take account of the changes in the life of the Party and our society, the new historical setting and the present stage of the effort to complete the building of socialism.

In the new Rules democratic centralism is stressed as the guiding principle of the organizational structure and activity of the Party. In accordance with the profound democracy typical of the Party, the Rules lay down that collectivity and team work are the supreme principle of Party leadership. Congress insisted that the method of submitting vital questions of policy to the membership for discussion be continued, so that the decisions adopted should reflect the opinion of the Party as a whole and meet best the actual conditions and needs of the country.

Congress decided that a member can hold only one post requiring continuous activity—either in the Party or in the organs of state power. This is a principle of collective work and an expression of consistent implementation of inner-Party democracy. From now on, members will be admitted directly to the Party, without probation.

Special attention was paid to the ideological and political work of the Party. "The main ideological and political task," the resolution points out, "is to equip the membership and the masses with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with the political line of the Party on home and foreign policy matters, so as to rally them to carry out their duties in building socialism." It pointed to the need to coordinate ideological and theoretical work and the practice of social construction. Noting that the practical work should be based on the latest achievements of science, and that more attention should be paid to generalizing the experience gained by the Party in socialist construction, the Congress recommended that theoretical work should be focussed primarily on the more pressing problems.

Generalizing the new developments taking place in society, and encouraging creative work in the theoretical field presuppose sustained effort in maintaining the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideology, in combating reformist, revisionist, dogmatic and every other kind of distortion.

The requisite for steadily improving scienti-

fic knowledge and promoting theoretical thought is to hold wide discussions and confrontations of views from the standpoint of the proletarian world outlook, to which narrow-mindedness and rigidity in thinking are alien and which teaches us that every social phenomenon should be viewed as a process in continuous change and development.

The task of the Party committees and organizations is to step up political work among the public with a view to moulding the new man of the socialist era, and enhancing ideological vigilance and militancy in the struggle against survivals of the past and the influence of bourgeois ideology.

Special concern was displayed for the development of literature and the arts, and the men of culture and art were called upon to create new works deeply permeated with socialist humanism, devoted to the policy and work of the Party, the prospering of the country and the people, to the happiness of man. Each artist, while preserving his own style and individuality, should display a high sense of responsibility for the content of his work, and should strive to find a way to the hearts and minds of the people. Free and principled discussion of the problems of culture, of the theory and history of art on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and social doctrine is essential for the development of art and culture.

Congress fully approved the work carried out by the Central Committee, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to further cooperation with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. It reaffirmed the opinion of our Party that in view of the diversity of conditions in which Communist and Workers' parties operate, there are bound to be differences over the ways of winning political power and the ways of building socialism, as well as a great variety of forms and methods of work. The way in which a particular party solves its problems cannot be questioned; each party has the exclusive right independently to shape its political line, devise the forms and methods of its work, and set itself concrete tasks as it creatively applies the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of its country and contributes thereby to the common treasury of revolutionary thought and experience.

There may also be differences in approaching and interpreting questions affecting the world revolutionary movement and development in modern society. As stressed in the Statement of the enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee, held in April 1964, our Party considers that these matters should be discussed in terms of principle and in comradely fashion, with due regard to our common world outlook, Marxism-Leninism. In so doing, it is necessary to work patiently and steadfastly for mutual rapprochement and understanding, for unity on the basic issues of the struggle against

imperialism, for peace and for the victory of the socialist cause.

Congress maintained that in order to achieve and promote this unity, it was essential consistently to adhere to the fundamental standards of relations between the parties, the principles of independence, equality, and non-interference in the affairs of other parties. It is most important to develop inter-party relations based on trust and mutual respect, and every issue of common interest should be directly discussed between the parties, between their leaderships, sincerely and in comradely fashion.

Referring to the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties, the resolution of the Ninth Congress points out that the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party is constantly to further world Communist unity. It is of the utmost importance to achieve the cohesion of the socialist world system, the steady growth of friendship and fraternal cooperation between socialist countries, and to ensure that inter-party differences are not extended to relations between countries.

Congress expressed the firm conviction that the vital thing is what unites the Communist parties—a common ideology, common aims and interests, common struggles, a common historical mission, and that this should be placed above any differences in views.

Congress fully approved the analysis of the international situation and of the main revolutionary changes taking place in the world today, contained in the report of the Central Committee, and also the entire activity of the Party and government in the sphere of international relations, considering that it wholly corresponds to the basic interests of the people of Rumania, to the cause of socialism and peace. Rumania will continue to pursue a foreign policy of peace, international détente and cooperation between the nations. In its foreign policy our country will steadfastly concentrate

on close friendship and fraternal alliance with the socialist countries.

In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Rumania will continue to advocate cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social systems.

The principles of sovereignty and national independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit—these are the solid and permanent foundation of Rumania's foreign policy.

Congress emphatically condemned the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists and adopted a special resolution on solidarity and internationalist fraternity with the heroic people of Vietnam, who are waging a resolute struggle for freedom and independence.

Congress elected a new Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. At its first plenary meeting the new Central Committee elected the Executive, a Permanent Presidium and Secretariat of the Central Committee. The Congress enthusiastically hailed the election of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The Rumanian people followed with close attention and enthusiasm the proceedings of the Ninth Congress and fully approved its decisions. The working people enthusiastically responded to the call of the Party to devote all their energies to the tasks set by the Congress.

The Congress evoked a wide response also in public opinion abroad. It was greeted by many Communist, Workers' and other democratic parties, both through their spokesmen and in numerous messages and letters.

The Ninth Congress of the CPR turned into a mighty demonstration of the strength of the Party, of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist policy, the cohesion of its ranks, its close contact with the masses, and the unshakable unity of the people around the Party and its Central Committee, which serves as a guarantee of further victories in the struggle for building socialism and communism.

The people's forces grow stronger in struggle

(Scanning the Vietnamese press)

NHAN DAN, ORGAN OF the Party of Working People of Vietnam, which heads the first workers' and peasants' state in Southeast Asia, commenting on the situation in the country writes: "North Vietnam, covered with a network of strongpoints, is a bristling fortress, as the U.S. airforce has learned to its dismay. Thanks to the correct policy of people's war, thanks to their fervent patriotism and peerless courage, our people and their armed forces have inflicted telling blows on the American aggressors. We are resolutely combating the enemy's air operations, and are carrying on with socialist construction, ever ready to check the enemy's attempt to extend the aggressive war. The people of North Vietnam are a people in arms; the home guards function in every town and village, in factories and on building sites, in offices and in schools and colleges."

"At present," the newspaper continues, "the Vietnam revolution is accomplishing two strategic objectives: first, completing the socialist reconstruction in North Vietnam and, second, carrying out the national, people's-democratic revolution in South Vietnam. The urgent task of the revolution on a countrywide scale is to rally all forces for the defeat of U.S. aggression, the liberation of the South and the defense of the North." The people, organized by the Party and inspired by its noble ideas, are carrying out these revolutionary tasks in labor and in battle.

The press gives examples of individual and collective feats of heroism.

"The garrison of the island of Con-Co has been beating off enemy air raids for more than a year," we read in one of the dispatches to the *Nhan Dan*. "Thousands of tons of bombs have been dropped on this small island: one-ton bombs, delayed-action bombs, napalm, rocket missiles and shells of every calibre... It has been estimated that for every square metre on the island the enemy has used on the average one large bomb, three shells, dozens of large calibre bullets... Yet the island con-

tinues to live and fight as before... In the course of the year its garrison has tangled 197 times with enemy aircraft and 35 times with enemy warships, shooting down 22 planes and destroying two naval craft."

"The border post of Cu-Bai was the first to be attacked by the American planes in August 1964," writes another correspondent. "In the course of the year the post beat off dozens of raids by U.S. jet fighter-bombers... In one of these raids 50 heavy bombs were dropped in the vicinity of the anti-aircraft installation commanded by Sergeant Dien, enough, one would think, to wipe it off the face of the earth... But the battery went on firing, shot down two planes and damaged two others. Only after the attack was beaten off did Dien realize that he had been wounded in three places by bomb splinters."

Another anti-aircraft installation famed throughout the country is that commanded by political commissar Nguyen Viet Xuan. "Though seriously wounded Xuan did not leave the battlefield," the *Nhan Dan* correspondent reports. "He continued to direct the operation, inspiring his men with his willpower, staunchness and courage... The battery has fought dozens of actions against enemy aircraft. It is still defending the skies of free Vietnam against the enemy."

"The U.S. imperialists," writes *Nhan Dan*, "are covering up their designs to extend the war by hypocritical talk about 'peace'. Their 'peace' propaganda is accompanied each time by the dispatch of more troops to South Vietnam and by extending operations against North Vietnam. They talk about 'unconditional negotiations' but in fact they advance new brazen conditions calculated to force our people to surrender, to turn South Vietnam into their military base, into a new colony of U.S. imperialism, and to perpetuate the division of our country."

Contrary to U.S. press claims, the Pentagon is directing its bomb strikes not so much against military targets and communications

between North and South as against towns and villages. "In North Vietnam," writes *Nhan Dan*, "the enemy is bombing and shelling hospitals, schools, temples, densely populated rural areas and towns." Referring to the savage bombing of the textile town of Nam Dinh in North Vietnam, the paper writes that the U.S. planes destroyed four schools, the city hospital, a public dining-room, the textile workers' club, a nursery school, and an ancient pagoda. "Many children were killed and many more were orphaned," the paper says.

Nhan Dan enumerates the crimes perpetrated by the U.S. military in South Vietnam. "On August 2 several thousand shells were fired into the village of Chau-Son, after which the Americans combed the village, throwing grenades into shelters where old men, women and children had taken refuge. Hundreds of civilians were slaughtered. On August 3 they burned the village of Cam Le near Dan-Nang with flame-throwers . . . They are committing worse crimes than Hitler in his time . . . These heinous deeds are witness to the barbarism and savagery of U.S. imperialism."

The profound faith of the Vietnamese people in victory is expressed in these words of President Ho Chi Minh: "We are determined to drive out the American aggressors, to safeguard the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of our homeland. Our people are firmly convinced that thanks to their solidarity, their courage and wisdom, and also thanks to the sympathy and support of people all over the world, they will succeed in bringing this great war of resistance to a victorious conclusion."

"In our struggle," writes *Nhan Dan*, elaborating this thought, "we have the sympathy and support of the socialist countries, of freedom-loving people everywhere, including the people of the United States. This support and assistance multiplies our strength."

Vietnamese people fully endorsed the sentiments expressed by Le Dinh Tam, head of the DRV delegation at the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament in Helsinki. "We are deeply grateful to the more than 200 million people of the Soviet Union," he said "who are giving every support to the patriotic struggle of our people, strengthening the defense might of our country and thus enabling us more effectively to safeguard the security and sovereignty of our country."

"In their revolutionary struggle our people have always enjoyed the support and aid of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries," writes *Nhan Dan* in a special editorial on this subject.

In a speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the DRV, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong pointed to the reasons for the solidarity of the people of the world with the struggle of the Vietnamese people. "This is because our struggle is closely bound up with the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the

world, with the cause of national liberation, socialism and peace, in short, with the aims of the struggle waged by all mankind at the present stage of history. The Vietnamese question, the Vietnamese war, has become the key issue in world politics and is exerting a powerful impact on the political life of many countries."

The enemy is meeting with failure after failure in North and South Vietnam.

"The Liberation Army and the armed forces of the people of South Vietnam are constantly attacking the enemy, maintaining the initiative on all fronts," *Nhan Dan* wrote on August 19. "They have destroyed a substantial part of the enemy's man-power. The enemy is becoming bogged down more and more . . . His forces are being dispersed and decimated. The situation is highly unfavorable for the United States. Its 'special war' has clearly failed. The puppet army is battered and demoralized. The people are strong enough to hold their own, to engage the armed forces of the United States and its satellites in open battle . . . Nearly 500 U.S. aircraft have been shot down and hundreds more damaged in the raids on North Vietnam. More than two thousand planes have been shot down, or destroyed or damaged on airfields in South Vietnam. Many American pilots have been killed or taken prisoner. This is another big defeat for U.S. imperialism. The aggressors have had to admit that they are being worsted in the Vietnamese war and that never in their history have they found themselves in such a hopeless situation militarily."

The *Liberation News Agency* also cites some illuminating facts. In July, it reported, the Liberation Army and the people of South Vietnam fought a total of 580 engagements with the enemy, killed or wounded over 10,000 enemy soldiers and officers, including 860 Americans and their Australian and South Korean mercenaries, and routed five battalions, 14 companies and many smaller units of enemy regulars. The enemy has lost more than 100,000 soldiers and officers in killed and wounded since the beginning of the year.

The people are redoubling their war effort in all spheres. The journal *Hoc Tap* writes that rice fields in the provinces of Vinh-Linh, Quang-Binh, Ha-Tinh, Thanh-Hoa, Bach-Long-Vi and Ngho-An have been extended despite the fact that these areas are constantly bombed and shelled. Output is rising steadily in the Thai-Nguyen iron and steel works, in the Hanoi engineering plant, the Hai-Phong cement factory, the Nam-Dinh textile mill and in enterprises all over the country.

The resolve of the people to carry on until victory is won is expressed in the concluding words of an editorial in the central organ of the Party:

"Final victory shall be ours, and the people of Vietnam will build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam!"

Their heroism illumines the path to victory

IN JULY 1963 THREE VALIANT fighters for the cause of the Iraqi people perished at the hands of the fascist hangmen. Two of them—Jamal al-Haidari and Mohammed Saleh Abali—were members of the Political Bureau of the Iraqi Communist Party; the third, Abdul Jabbar Wahbi, was a member of the underground Party center, a well-known satirist who wrote under the pen name of Abu Said.

These men had carried on the underground struggle under incredibly difficult conditions. They were arrested by the counter-revolutionaries in those grim days when the blood of thousands of Communists and other democrats slaughtered after the counter-revolutionary coup of February 1963 still stained the streets of Baghdad.

The names of these three Communists are well-known in Iraq. In the revolutionary movement they were known as staunch fighters under the terror regime of Nuri Said and his colonialist masters, under the personal dictatorship of Kassem and under the reactionary regime of Aref.

JAMAL AL-HAIDARI, an outstanding Communist leader, was a man of honor and principle, an indomitable fighter for the purity of the revolutionary ideology. He was born in 1926 in Arbil, a small town in the foothills of Kurdistan. As a youth he joined his Kurdish compatriots in the common struggle for a democratic Iraq, for the liberation of his people from national oppression. He was arrested many times while still a student in a teacher training college.

His devotion to the Arab and Kurdish people, his keen mind and indomitable spirit led al-Haidari to the path of Marxism-Leninism. He joined the Party in 1946 and the same year participated in the mass movement in Baghdad against imperialist dependence, for democracy and a better life.

In 1947 he became a member of the leading committee of the Kurdistan branch of the Party. In the same year, when the wholesale arrests of Communists and other democrats began, he was sentenced to 15 years' hard labor and sent to the Nugret-al-Salman prison, known in Iraq as the "Death Castle." From there, after a 22-day hunger strike, he with

other political prisoners was transferred to the Baghdad jail from which he subsequently escaped.

Once free, Al-Haidari lost no time in resuming his underground activity. A Party conference held in the autumn of 1956 elected him to the Central Committee. Later on he was elected to the Political Bureau. Al-Haidari helped to prepare the revolution of July 14, 1958, and he witnessed its triumph.

He worked tirelessly to consolidate the revolutionary gains and to intensify the common struggle of the Arabs and Kurds. He actively participated in elaborating the internationalist policy of the Party on the Kurdish national question. As a consistent internationalist and a true Kurdish patriot, he called for an urgent settlement of the Kurd problem on the basis of recognition of the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination and full autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan.

Al-Haidari attended congresses of other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, and he was a member of his Party's delegation to the Moscow Meeting of 1960.

After the murder of the Party leader, Salaam Adil, and other comrades during the terror which followed the coup d'état of February 8, 1963, al-Haidari kept the banner of the Communist Party flying. Together with his comrades Abali and Abu Said he reorganized the underground center, built up Party organizations and saw to the printing of the central Party organ *Tariq al-Shaab*. In the circumstances this was a truly heroic feat.

The revolutionary devotion of Al-Haidari and his comrades is a token of the militancy and persistence which has characterized the Iraqi Communist Party ever since it was founded in 1934. Despite the severe blows inflicted over the years, our Party has never lost heart. Time and again it has amazed friends and foes alike by its resilience, by its ability to fight back, blow for blow, proving itself a political force to be reckoned with. The Party owes its unbreakable spirit to the working people of Iraq and to dedicated men like Jamal al-Haidari.

Al-Haidari's colleague and loyal comrade

even in the face of torture and death was **MOHAMMED SALEH ABALI**.

Abali was closely linked with the working class both by birth and by his activity. He was born in 1926 into a working-class family with a tradition of patriotic struggle against British imperialism. Abali grew up in that quarter of Baghdad where the poor folk live, the milieu from which bourgeois European literature preferred to draw the image of the notorious "thief" rather than the revolutionary people who with bricks and staves challenged British armored cars in 1920, and later, the heavy tanks of their lackeys. Abali was reared in the revolutionary tradition born of the struggles of the railwaymen, the tobacco and textile workers, the inhabitants of the reed hovels and the slums, the small traders, intellectuals, and office employees.

As a young man he joined the revolutionary struggle which in 1948 brought him into the ranks of the Communist Party. Together with Abu Said he played a leading role in forming underground democratic organizations such as the student unions, the youth movement and the women's leagues. A true son of the working people, Abali spoke their language and shared their aspirations.

Later, he proved to be an expert in underground work, displaying ingenuity and resourcefulness in managing the clandestine Party press. In 1956 a Party conference elected him a member of the Central Committee. He was also a delegate to the Moscow Meeting of 1960 and shortly after his return to Iraq he became a member of the Political Bureau.

After the coup of February 8, 1963, Abali led the armed struggle in the Bab-al-Sheikh district of Baghdad. When captured and threatened with death, he declared:

"I shall never betray my Party, not even to avoid death!"

Abali died under inhuman torture but, like his comrades, he did not besmirch the honor of the Party.

ABDUL JABBAR WAHBI, or **ABU SAID** as he was known, helped al-Haidari and Abali to revive the underground Party center.

Abu Said did not hesitate for a moment to undertake the grave responsibility of Party leadership at that grim period. And he fully justified the confidence reposed in him by the Party. In the crucial hour when he looked death in the face, Abu Said did not waver. He proved worthy of his comrades, al-Haidari and Abali.

By profession Abu Said was a physics teacher. From his youth he was known as a democrat, humanist, and a man of refined aesthetic tastes.

Abu Said had been a member of another democratic party before he joined the Communist Party after the murder of Yussef Salman Yussef (Fahad), General Secretary of the Party, and of the Political Bureau members

Zaki Basem and Mohammed Husein al-Shabibi executed by the monarchists in February 1949. The heroic death of the Communist Party leaders decided the fate of Abdul Jabbar Wahbi. Without hesitation he threw in his lot with the working class, with the Communist Party. Thenceforth Wahbi became an indefatigable participant in underground activity, playing an important role in the Party's work among the intellectuals and the youth. After July 1958, when the legal Party newspaper *Ittihad al Shaab* began to appear, Wahbi became a member of its editorial board.

Abu Said, a distinguished writer of political satire, was without peer in the Arab literature of our time. He dedicated his trenchant pen wholly to the cause of the working class, the cause of the Party. His caustic satire infuriated our class enemies.

Al-Haidari, Abali and Abu Said fell in unequal battle, true to the working class, to their people, to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism. They died as heroes and martyrs, like Fahad and Salaam Adil, and hundreds of other Iraqi Communists. It is not by chance that the people call the Iraqi Communist Party the party of sacrifice and heroism.

* * *

The Aref dictatorship continues to subject patriots to spiritual and moral torture, to murder Communists and democrats. Not long ago Hamid al-Dujeili, a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Party, was killed on the street by the police. Omar Ali al-Sheikh, a Kurd engineer, Saleh al-Razki, a public leader from Nejef, Taufik Ahmed, a Kurd oil worker, and many other Communists were subjected to frightful torture for several weeks.

Thousands of prisoners are still behind bars. In Kurdistan the military are pursuing their criminal policy of genocide, bombing and shelling Kurd villages.

The rulers of Iraq have learned nothing from history. They close their eyes to the fate of their predecessors, the former reactionary rulers of the country. Terror cannot intimidate the people nor can it crush the Communist Party and the other democratic forces. The rulers of Iraq are isolating themselves more and more and hastening the downfall of their regime.

The lives of the Communist martyrs are an inspiration to the people to fight against the reactionary regime, to replace it with a democratic system giving full autonomy to Kurdistan, and to realize the cherished dreams of our fallen comrades.

Their memory will continue to illumine the path of victory. As for their executioners, they have been pilloried forever. Neither their prisons, gallows nor bombing and shelling of Kurd villages can help them to evade retribution!

Eternal glory to the fallen heroes of the great army of the world proletariat!

Aziz AL HAJJ

Political storms in the capitalist world

As the summer drew to a close the capitalist world found itself gripped by a series of political crises of varying gravity. As we go to press, the news was broadcast of the armed conflict between India and Pakistan. The hostilities have already shifted to the territory of both countries. There is little doubt that this armed conflict benefits none but the imperialists who have long sought to turn Kashmir into a seat of world tension. Public opinion throughout the world hopes that, in the interests of the peoples of both India and Pakistan and in the interests of world peace, the leaders of the two countries will consider the grave consequences with which the conflict is fraught and find a way of settling their dispute by peaceful means.

Our commentator will return to this conflict in the next issue. Here we shall examine some of the political crises of the past weeks.

THE EVENTS IN GREECE

What began as a governmental crisis of the kind by no means rare in European countries, big or small, developed into a sharp political conflict. The coup of July 15 touched off a powerful mass movement which at this writing shows no signs of abating. The international significance of this struggle cannot be overestimated. The democratic and working-class movement has learned valuable lessons from it.

The crisis had been maturing for a long time. The initial successes of the people in their struggle for a democratic Greece led to a rapid though not always clear-cut polarization of political forces. Arrayed on the side of reaction are the big capitalists, shipping and commercial interests, and the Royal Court—the most reactionary monarchist clique in Europe notorious for its interference in the political life of the country. The reactionary camp includes also the military under NATO tutelage. The chief political instrument of the camp is the pro-fascist ERE party, defender of foreign, primarily American, capital, and of the big Greek capitalists closely associated with the latter.

These Rightist moves generated a consolidation of the Left opposition forces with the

working class, joined by the students and the petty-bourgeoisie, at the core. The peasantry, too, on whom the ERE usually relied for support, is displaying a growing tendency to join the opposition. The political organizations of the opposition are the Communist Party, outlawed by the regime, the United Democratic Left (EDA) and the Center-Left Party which unites middle class groups and groups of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The tragedy of postwar Greece was that the reactionaries succeeded for a time in retarding the political activity of the working class by outlawing the Communist Party and depriving the workers of their trade union base. Until quite recently Greece had no organized trade union movement to speak of.

The ruling clique, seeking support outside the country, found it in the NATO bloc at whose disposal they placed the territory of the country and the armed forces.

The defeat of the Karamanlis Right-wing government in the 1963 elections was the first major breach in the bastion of reaction. The first, albeit timid, democratic measures undertaken by the Papandreou government with the full backing of the progressive movement,

prepared the ground for a struggle for democracy. The traditions of mass action founded in the years of struggle against the fascist dictatorship and the Nazis were rapidly revived. The working-class movement gained in strength and numbers. Beginning with 1958 the numbers taking part in strikes just about doubled year by year. The General Confederation of Labor (GSEE) has a membership of 400,000.

The gains in extending democracy (modest though they were) injected new life into the popular movement.

Unfortunately Papandreou's policy even after the 1964 elections was far from according with the nation's interests. His government contented itself with half-measures which fell short of the demands of the growing movement. The democratic coalition which was taking shape at the time was threatened with the danger of a split.

The reactionaries were not slow in taking advantage of this. They stepped up their drive against the democratic gains and against the reforms. The crisis was precipitated by Papandreou's attempt to introduce changes in the army command. On July 15 he was dismissed by the King.

Two days earlier, on July 13, the day after the government's decision to remove Garofalis, the reactionary Minister of Defense, a meeting of the administrative councils of the trade unions affiliated to the Confederation of Labor called for general strikes and mass meetings all over the country in support of this democratic measure and appealed to all workers to rally in the fight against fascism.

True, none of the strikes called by the Confederation were "general" in the strict sense

of the term, but the scope of the mass actions surpassed anything seen in Greece since the war.

With the army being used as a tool of the reactionaries, and with the people constantly threatened with reprisals (with the possible participation of NATO troops) and the establishment of a military fascist-type dictatorship, the progressive forces are waging their struggle within the legal framework, advocating non-violent, democratic action. But the masses, who are demanding the abolition of the existing regime, are in a militant mood.

The six weeks' struggle has demonstrated the strength of the democratic forces. One of the significant results of the movement in defense of the Constitution, for an end to the illegal Palace governments and for a new general election is the confluence of the diverse streams of the movement. And the fact that the many different organizations have for the time being laid aside their own slogans for the sake of the main objective—the defense and consolidation of democracy—testifies to the immense potential of these forces.

The government crisis shows that the old political set-up in Greece has outlived its time. It no longer corresponds to the tenor of political life in the country. Lenin, writing of Russia in 1913, observed that the country was in the grip of a political crisis, "a crisis which affects the very *foundation* of the state system and not just parts of it, which affects the *foundation* of the edifice and not an out-building, not merely one of its storeys." (Works, Vol. 19, p. 22. Eng. Ed.) Things in Greece seem to be moving in the direction of a political crisis of precisely this order.

CONTRARY TO U.S. DICTATES

In Latin America the political conflicts have followed a somewhat different course. Noteworthy in recent months were the political stresses in the countries situated along the Andes. The armed resistance of the working class of Bolivia to the military dictatorship of Barrientos-Ovando which in its efforts to abolish the social and political gains of the 1952 revolution used troops against the miners; the acute government crisis in Ecuador demonstrating the hopelessness of the position of the "gorillas" who seized power in that country; the outbreak of guerrilla warfare in Peru—widely advertised show-window of prosperity under the Alliance for Progress; the peasant guerrilla war in Colombia and the growing tension in Guatemala—all show that the fight for democracy in Santo Domingo was not a chance or isolated episode. The revolutionary forces on the continent, learning from the

experience of the past decade, are regrouping and searching for new forms and methods of struggle better suited to the rapidly changing situation.

The Dominican crisis was, of course, the most striking revelation of the poverty of moral and political resources behind the military might of U.S. imperialism. It is now clear that the naked intervention by the U.S. armed forces has provided no satisfactory solution of the "Dominican problem" as far as the imperialists are concerned. On the contrary, it resulted in one more of the State Department's long list of blunders developing into a long drawn-out and steadily deepening crisis of the whole system of unequal neo-colonialist relations between the United States and the Latin American countries.

The Johnson-Mann recipe for curing the Latin American countries of their "revolutionary

malaise" by establishing at any price (including direct invasion) "stable regimes," i.e., pro-imperialist military dictatorships combined with dollar injections, has proved ineffective.

"If the year 1960 was regarded as Africa year, the year 1965 may turn out to be Latin American year, and in this respect the events in Santo Domingo acted as a powerful catalyst," was the opinion of Josue de Castro, the well-known Brazilian scholar and public figure, writing recently in the French newspaper *Combat*.

The wave of solidarity—the most powerful of its kind since Playa Giron—with the victims of the U.S. aggression had no little influence on the attitude taken by a number of Latin American governments, with the result that the seemingly smooth running and well-oiled machinery of U.S. political hegemony in Latin America is beginning to show signs of breaking down. Chile, Mexico, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, Ecuador and other Latin American countries have in one way or another expressed disapproval of the aggressive actions of the United States, upholding the principle formulated in Article 17 of the OAS Charter: the territory of the member countries is inviolate, it cannot be the object, even temporarily, of armed occupation or other violent measures undertaken directly or indirectly by other states on any pretext whatsoever.

The Johnson-Mann policy, one of the chief aims of which was to eliminate the bourgeois-reformist opposition of the "intermediate" sections to imperialism, has run aground. Even the ruling circles in some of the countries on the continent, under pressure from the masses, are being compelled to resist North American diktat.

Alarmed by the signs that the situation on the continent, sparked off by the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic, was getting out of hand, Washington has been making desperate efforts to salvage its prestige. In an attempt to extricate itself from the impasse of its own making in Dominica, Washington has gone so far as to sacrifice its puppets—witness the resignation of the so-called "junta of national regeneration" headed by General Imberto. On August 31 representatives of the OAS and the Constitutionals agreed to set up a provisional government headed by Hector Garcia-Godoy, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Bosch government, general elections to be held within a period of nine months.

Thus, after four months of occupation, Washington was unable to impose an openly reactionary regime on the Dominican people. The uprising and the resistance offered by Colonel Camaano and his men who in the street battles in Santo Domingo defended the democracy, freedom and sovereignty both of their country and of Latin America as a whole, have borne fruit.

The profound crisis of Washington's Latin American policy cannot be resolved by half-baked maneuvers. A sharp diplomatic struggle is now being waged around the cardinal issues

of the reform of the OAS and of Latin American economic integration.

Washington is bent on establishing a permanent inter-American armed force to combat the revolutionary movement on the continent "on a legal basis." The Press makes no secret of the fact that this is the principal aim of U.S. Latin American policy at the present time. Pending an OAS decision on this question, the Brazil and Argentine military have agreed on armed intervention against Uruguay in the event of increased "Communist infiltration" in that country.

While at home the U.S. imperialists speak quite frankly about the purpose of the reform of the OAS being to restore United States leadership, they are less outspoken on the Latin American scene. There they confine themselves to the watchword of "interdependence," which is supposed to replace the "old," "obsolete" principle of independence and non-interference. The advocates of this principle claim that the modern world, and particularly the Western hemisphere, is so closely interlinked economically, politically and culturally, that the old relationships between countries are a harmful anachronism and should be discarded. What is needed, they say, is "mutual" penetration and "mutual" influence. In the context of modern Latin America, however, this "mutuality" smacks of the "interdependence" between a cat and a mouse.

The point about the "interdependence" doctrine is that it speculates on some genuine trends that have manifested themselves of late in the economic, political and cultural life of Latin America. We have in mind the objective processes that have given rise to a growing desire for unity in seeking economic and social progress. Marching in the van of this unity movement of the Latin American countries, seen as a united anti-imperialist liberation process embracing most of the countries and peoples on the continent, are the revolutionary forces. As to the glib talk about economic and political union "from the Arctic to the Antarctic," this is simply a cloak for the hegemonistic aspirations of the United States.

During the past few weeks another concept of Latin American unity has emerged and has evoked considerable interest. Its political aspect was best formulated by President Eduardo Frei of Chile who declared that the OAS should be a Latin American forum in which all the Latin American countries, irrespective of socio-political systems, should be represented. A reform of this kind would obviously presuppose the participation in the OAS of socialist Cuba and exclude the participation of the United States. The economic section of the program provides for a Latin American common market which would not extend beyond the northern frontiers of Mexico. The authors of the project, a group of prominent economists headed by Raoul Prebisch, rely on cooperation with the EEC to create an economic and political counterweight to North American influence. The

promotion of economic relations between Western Europe and Latin America was the main reason for the Chilean President's recent tour of Federal Germany, France and Italy.

The slightly higher rate of economic growth in some Latin American countries cannot disguise the economic recession in other parts of the continent. The economy of countries traditionally regarded by Washington as the most reliable is giving cause for apprehension. Uruguay is an example in this respect. In the case of Brazil, too, dollar investments are failing to bolster the economy. Despite the rigid economy regime introduced by the Castelo Branco government, chiefly at the expense of the working people, inflation is swiftly growing. The industrial triangle (Rio de Janeiro—Belo Horizonte—Sao Paulo) is in a state of decline, and unemployment is growing day by day. The

draft budget for 1966 submitted to the Brazilian Congress again shows a huge deficit.

The masses are joining more and more actively in the effort to solve the chronic economic crisis engendered by the imperialist domination. Symptomatic in this respect were the People's Congress held in mid-August in Montevideo attended by delegates from over 700 trade union and other organizations in Uruguay, representing one-third of the population of that country, and the National Congress to combat the high cost of living, held in September in Argentina.

When they tried to starve out the Santo Domingo rebels and to postpone the inter-American conference, the U.S. imperialists believed that time was on their side. Now they are forced to admit that as the months go by they are finding it more and more difficult to impose their will on Latin America.

MALAYSIA: THE BEGINNING OF THE END

How is one to assess the political crisis in Asia which led to Singapore's secession from the Malaysian Federation?

This question is answered by the London *New Statesman* in its August 13 issue: "Seen in the gross pattern of Asian politics, Singapore is the first falling domino of the war in Vietnam."

Singapore's withdrawal from the Federation was a blow both to British imperialism and to the strategic positions of the leading imperialist power, the United States. *The New York Times* noted that the "British link in the anti-communist defense system in Asia has been weakened." For the Pentagon Malaysia is primarily a rear-echelon area for the U.S. forces operating in South Vietnam, while Singapore is used as a transit base for American troops.

Singapore's separation from the Malaysian Federation and its declaration of independence is evidence of a growing trend among the liberated peoples toward independence. It is a step in the direction of a free Singapore and a free North Kalimantan.

The crack in the Malaysian Federation is a political crisis of capitalism precisely because it demonstrates the collapse of a specific pattern of political organization brought into being by neo-colonialism. The *New Statesman* reference to the "falling domino" in Asia is apposite.

Faced with the bankruptcy of the old political concept of "divide and rule" British imperialism resorted to a neo-colonialist scheme based on the principle of "federate and rule," i.e., the creation of federations of countries and territories still awaiting freedom and ruled

by reactionary classes and political groups subservient to the colonialists. True, in doing so, capitalism is taking advantage for its own ends of certain trends which, objectively, favor integration. But ramshackle federations of this kind papered together by the British neo-colonialists are anything but a union of independent and equal countries and territories.

In any case these devices are meeting with little success. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Central Africa, set up by Britain in 1953 with the aim of perpetuating British colonial domination, lasted only until 1963. The West Indies Federation created in 1958 and consisting of ten British colonies in the Caribbean, fell apart in 1962. The South Arabian Federation, formed in 1959 and expanded by the inclusion of new principalities in 1960, began to break up in 1963 when an attempt was made to force Aden to adhere to it.

Whitehall pinned great hopes on the Malaysian Federation, an artificial merger of British colonies in Southeast Asia formed in September 1963 after the suppression of the liberation movement. Through the medium of this pseudo-independent federation they hoped to crush the national-liberation struggle not only in Northern Kalimantan, Singapore and Malaya, but throughout Southeast Asia, and to ensure imperialist control over this important strategic area. It is not by chance that authority in the federation was vested in the feudal compradore upper crust of Malaya. One year before the Federation came into being *The New York Times* observed: "Under the Conservative government of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, integration of the British

territories in Borneo would establish pro-Western control over the strategic sea lane between the Pacific and Indian oceans."

Today it is not only Britain's largest military base east of Suez that is threatened, but, as the *London Times* put it, "the whole future of the Malaysian Federation is thrown into doubt and with it British policies in Southeast Asia."

The Singapore base serves the same "watch-dog" purpose in this area as the Aden base does in the Middle East. Both constitute the foundation of Britain's "east of Suez" policy on which the entire neo-colonialist strategy of British imperialism rests.

The withdrawal of Singapore from the Federation objectively promotes the struggle of the people of Sarawak and Sabah for independence. The influential United People's Party of Sarawak is already demanding "self-determination for the people and elimination of all the hangovers of colonialism."

The neo-colonialist policy is cracking at the seams under pressure of the popular struggle. This is the feature of the political crises that have arisen in a number of areas of the world where capitalism still holds sway.

* * *

As we have seen, the contemporary revolutionary process is developing against a background of recurring political crises which are shaking the foundations of capitalism in different areas of the globe. Reality, blasting the reformist myth about a crisis-free, "organized" imperialism, confirms over and over again the truth of Lenin's thesis that imperialism engenders "a number of very acute intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts." The struggle of the masses, of the working class, will play an ever bigger role in resolving these antagonisms."

Jan PRAZSKY

Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication unless otherwise indicated

BERNAL, D. *La paix, pourquoi faire?* Paris, Editions Sociales, 1965. 122 pp.

CHYONG CHUNG THY and NGUEN MANH DE. *Ekonomicheskaya politika amerikanskikh neokolonizatorov v Yuzhnom Vietname*. (The Economic Policy of U.S. Neo-Colonialists in South Vietnam.) Translated from the Vietnamese. Moscow, "Progress" Publishers, 1965. 239 pp.

CLEMENTIS, V. *Nedokoncena kronika*. (Unfinished Chronicle.) Prague, Ceskoslovensky spisovatel, 1965. 189 pp.

DUBULA, S. *The Menace of Apartheid*. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1965. 38 pp.

DURAND, P. *Vingt ans*. (Twenty Years.) The Chronicle of 1945-1965. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1965. 445 pp.

Generalny Soviet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1870-1871. (General Council of the First International.) Minutes. Moscow, Politizdat, 1965. XVI + 483 pp.

IVANOV, N. P. *Tekhnicheskyy perevorot i rabochy klass v glavnykh kapitalisticheskikh stranakh*. (Technological Change and the Working Class in the Main Capitalist Countries.) Skills and Employment. Moscow, "Nauka" Publishers, 1965. 189 pp.

KLEVEN, H. I. *Klassestrukturen i det norske samfunnet*. (The Class Structure of Norwegian Society.) Oslo, Forlaget Ny Dag, 1965. 317 pp.

KUDRYASHOV, A. P. *Sovremennaya nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i eyo osobennosti*. (The Contemporary Scientific and Technological Revolution and Its Features.) Moscow, "Mysl" Publishers, 1965. 176 pp.

MAIER, H. *Soziologie der Paepste*. (Papal Sociology.) The Theory and Practice of Catholic Social Doctrine. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1965. 328 pp.

Planification. (Planning.) "Recherches Internationales," No. 47. Paris, Editions de la Nouvelle Critique, 1965. 293 pp.

Problemy razvivayushchikaya stran. (Problems of the Developing Countries.) Edited by G.V. Astafyev. Moscow "Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya", 1965. 188 pp.

Rabocheye dvizheniye v skandinavskikh stranakh i Finlyandii. (The Working-Class Movement in the Scandinavian Countries and in Finland.) Edited by I. M. Maisky. Moscow, "Nauka" Publishers, 1965. 256 pp.

ROCHET, W. *L'alliance de la classe ouvrière et de la paysannerie laborieuse*. (The Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry.) Experience of the French Communist Party. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1965. 15 pp.

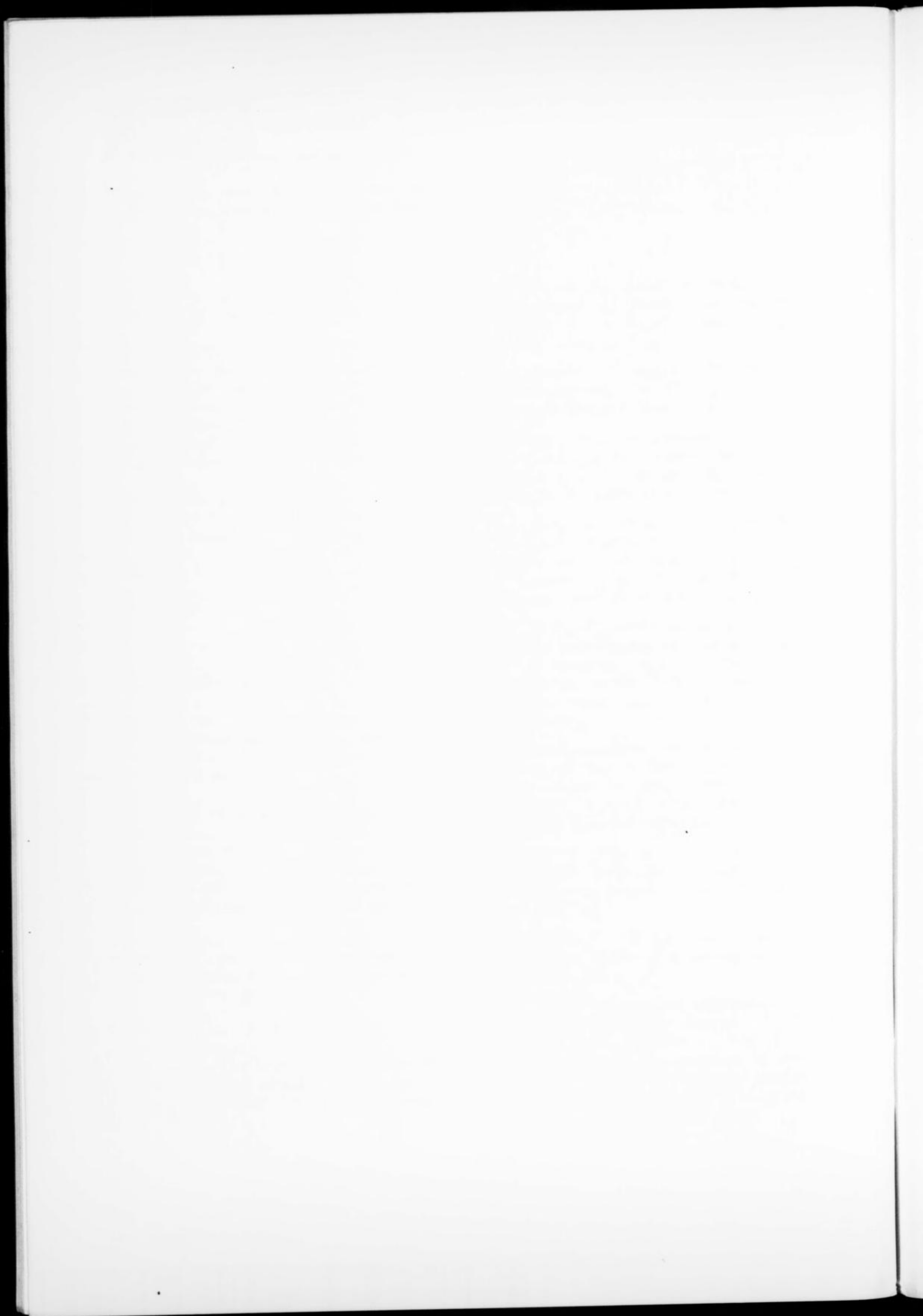
Seaturile populare—organe locale ale puterii de stat in RPR. (People's Councils—Local Bodies of State Power in the RPR.) Bucharest, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romine, 1964. 450 pp.

SIMON, B. *Education and the Labor Movement*. 1870-1920. Studies in the History of Education. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1965. 387 pp.

WILLARD, C. *Les guesdistes*. (The Guesdists.) Paris, Editions Sociales, 1965. 800 pp.

Zapadnaya Evropa: trudyashchiesya protiv monopoliy. (Western Europe: The Working People Versus Monopoly.) New Phenomena in the Conditions and Struggle of the Working Class of the Common Market Countries. Moscow, "Mysl" Publishers, 1965. 446 pp.

l
e
e
e
y
g
a



Five new exciting books from the Soviet Union

(In English)

KONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY: 1863-1963

A centenary, de luxe edition of memoirs, letters, reminiscences.
Richly illustrated. A beautiful production. 296 pp. **\$3.00**

EINSTEIN

B. Kuznetsov

Written by a vice-chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A leading physicist and writer on history and philosophy of science. He has written a comprehensive, readable yet profound biography of Einstein, the man, his contributions, times and the impact of his ideas. An excellent book in content and form. 378 pp., cloth, attractive dust-jacket. **\$2.50**

DISCOVERING THE SOVIET UNION

N. Mikhailov

A vivid presentation of Soviet economic and cultural progress, its vast mineral wealth, its fauna & flora. With maps, profuse photographs, well written. Another remarkable example of the improving publishing industry in the USSR. 349 pp., cloth, dust-jacket. **\$3.50.**

LETTERS FROM THE DEAD

Last letters from Soviet men and women who died fighting the Nazis (1941-1945). 233 pp., cloth, dust-jacket. **\$1.50**

MODERN HISTORY TEXTBOOK FOR 9th GRADE

A. V. Efimov

(Part 1) Hard-paper. 317 pp. **\$1.50.**

Special Offer: \$10.00 FOR BOTH SETS

MARX & ENGELS: Selected Writings. 2 volumes. Basic writings. (for set) **\$5.00**

LENIN: Selected Writings. 3 volumes. Basic writings. (for set) **\$7.50**

BOTH SETS FOR \$10.00. The best buy in the U.S.A.

Send in cheque or money order to

NEW ERA BOOKS

80 East 11th Street, Room 212, New York, N.Y. 10003

Five new books from

the Forest Union

1911-1912

1. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

2. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

3. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

4. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

5. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

6. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

7. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

8. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

9. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

10. The Forest Union, 1911-1912, by J. H. ...

JUST PUBLISHED!

Existentialism and Alienation in American Literature

by *Sidney Finkelstein*

A sparkling, profound, and critical survey of the "disillusion" literature of the '20s and the literary "rebellion" of the '50s and '60s, this book will arouse the liveliest controversy in many a year. □ From O'Neill to Albee and Baldwin, the author explores alienated expression and existentialist thought as reflected in the style, form and motif of the major works. He presents a masterful summary of the philosophical background, from Kierkegaard to Heidegger, and shows the influence of Camus and Sartre on American letters. □ You will not want to miss this exciting and basic contribution to the revival of meaningful social criticism.

Cloth \$5.95 / Paperback \$2.25

ORDER FROM:

New Era Books 80 EAST 11TH STREET, RM. 212, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism

80 E. 11th St., Rm. 212, New York, N.Y.
10003

Here is my subscription to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW. I understand I will receive as well INFORMATION BULLETIN, as issued, free of charge.

☐ 1 year (12 issues) \$3.50

☐ 18 mos. (18 issues) \$5.00

☐ New

☐ Renewal

Name

Address

Date

The following is a list of the
 names of the persons who
 have been admitted to the
 membership of the
 Association since the
 last meeting of the
 Association.

NAME ADDRESS CITY	
NAME ADDRESS CITY	NAME ADDRESS CITY
NAME ADDRESS CITY	NAME ADDRESS CITY

For the first time in English . . .
the complete text of

Lenin's collected works

This authoritative edition will run to
40 volumes, and contains much
material never before translated.
Volumes 1-25 (incl.) and 38
have now appeared.

SPECIAL OFFER

become a subscriber for the complete set
\$1.00 per volume
(\$40.00 for the complete set)

Volumes not on subscription sell at
\$1.50 each. A deposit of \$3.00 is required
with your subscription—to cover the
last three volumes of the set.

As volumes appear they are
immediately mailed C.O.D. to subscribers.

PROGRESS BOOKS

44 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ont. (in Canada)

NEW ERA BOOKS

80 East 11th St., Ste. 212, New York 3, N.Y. (in U.S.A.)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

..... Deposit enclosed \$.....

mail your subscription deposit now

FREE SAMPLE COPY

We would like to send a sample copy of

World Marxist Review

to interested people. Will you

fill out the coupon below and mail to us.

• • •

PROGRESS BOOKS
42-48 STAFFORD ST.
TORONTO 3, CANADA

NEW ERA BOOKS
80 EAST 11th ST., STE. 212
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Please send a sample copy of **WORLD
MARXIST REVIEW** to the following:

NAME.....

ADDRESS

.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS

.....

Sender.....

Address.....

.....

KEEP SAMPLE COPY

1. On the 1st of May

1914 the following

was observed

in the morning

at 10:00 a.m.

the following

was observed

at 11:00 a.m.

the following

was observed

at 12:00 p.m.

the following

was observed

at 1:00 p.m.

the following

was observed

at 2:00 p.m.

the following

was observed

at 3:00 p.m.

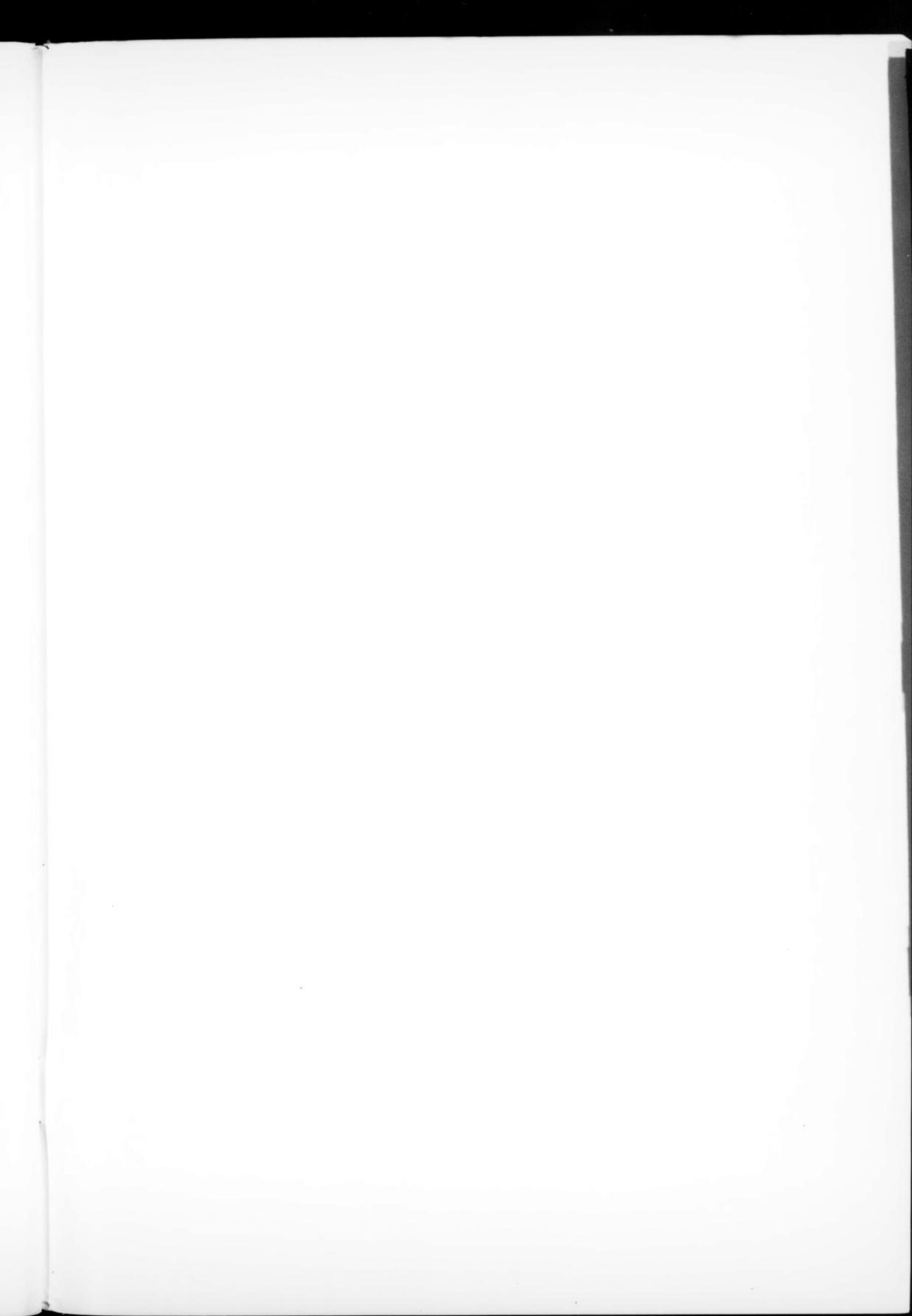
the following

was observed

at 4:00 p.m.

the following

was observed



Editions of the journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
44 Stafford St.,
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITIONS

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION

Stredisko pro rozširovani tisku,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3
Czechoslovakia

BRAZILIAN EDITION

(in Portuguese)
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION

Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CEYLON EDITION

(In Singhalese)
91 Cotta Road
Colombo, Ceylon

CYPRUS EDITION

(in Greek)
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 T. Nicosia

CZECH EDITION

Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:

Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITIONS

Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C 1, Leninstrasse 16

"Globus" Vertrieb ausländischer
Zeitschriften, Wien XX,
Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria

Genossenschaft Literaturvertrieb
Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46,
Switzerland

HUNGARIAN EDITION

Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U6

ITALIAN EDITION

Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscurie 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION

Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

MONGOLIAN EDITION

Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:

P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION

Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G.
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo,
Uruguay

Fondo de Cultura Popular
Apdo. postal 2352
Mexico 1, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral
San Francisco 36,
Casilla 13201
Santiago, Chile

Editorial "Anteo,"
Entre Rios 1033,
Buenos Aires,
Argentina

SWEDISH EDITION

Arbetarkultur, Kungsgt 84,
Stockholm K, Sweden

VIETNAMESE EDITION

So'o xuất nhập khẩu sách bao 32,
Hai Ba trung, Hà-noi

