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On the Geneva Summit Central Committee, CPUSA

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On the Geneva Summit

The Geneva summit was an important, positive event. It was a victory of reason over fanatical warmongering, especially coming after seven years of extreme, big lie anti-Communism.

It created cracks in the cold war ice. It too steps toward normalizing relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, which is crucial to world peace. It was a setback for the ultra-Right and anti-Soviet Weinbergerite militarists.

The summit and the consequences flowing from it will change the political climate and ideological atmosphere for the better. It was a call, to use the words of Mikhail Gorbachev, for "learning the art of living together in the nuclear age."

There was a tremendous public response, especially in the United States. People are overwhelmingly happy, excited and supportive of the summit process. The majority would have been much happier if a Star Wars ban had been reached. Most see the summit not as one event, but as a process and they will continue to support this process. The majority are supportive of the process of normalization. Most feel the world is safer.

The world is safer because the summit agreed:

☆ that preventing war is the joint responsibility of the two great powers, with both pledging not to seek nuclear superiority.

☆ to reaffirm and extend the non-proliferation treaty.

☆ to a 50 per cent reduction in nuclear warheads and to speed up the Geneva negotiations.

☆ in a joint statement to work for a chemical weapons treaty.

☆ for an interim agreement to reduce Pershing and SS-20 missiles in Europe.

☆ to expand trade and people-to-people travel.

☆ on extensive cultural, educational, scientific and technological exchanges and cooperation.

Henry Winston
National Chairman

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPUSA

ation, including joint work on cancer research and thermonuclear fusion energy research, and a one-year student exchange agreement.

☆ to open consulates in New York and Kiev.

☆ to airspace security (with Japan) in the Far East.

☆ to work out agreements on other matters after the summit.

While much remains to be done, these agreements show that peace can be won. The summit was made possible by objective necessity and universal awareness of the catastrophic danger of overkill arsenals of nuclear weapons. But without the world-wide peace movements, especially the U.S. peace movements, the summit would not have taken place.

Much remains to be done because the agreements at Geneva can be brought to life only by still more powerful peace movements; because it will take still greater, more intensive activity to end the U.S. policies of aggression in Central and Latin America, in Asia and Africa; because an end must be put to Star Wars and because anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism, the pretext for the arms race and cold-war tensions, are not yet eliminated.

The summit makes it easier to wage and win the fight for peace. An event such as the summit starts a process that has its own inner laws, its own momentum that will produce additional repercussions and results. These laws of motion only lay the foundation. They are the objective developments. It would be very difficult to halt or reverse this process. But the working class and the people must react to them, mold them, extend them to produce the desired results—nuclear disarmament, peace and detente. In the new situation that is now unfolding, the great imperative is unity of labor and the people, of all proponents of peace and democracy, in the struggle for the realization of the promises of the Geneva summit.

Gus Hall
General Secretary

The Electoral Stakes in '86

TIM WHEELER

With the 1986 Congressional elections less than a year away, Washington has entered a period of intense maneuvering. Incumbents seeking reelection have one eye on the reaction of voters back home when they cast votes on issues as varied as the arms race, "Star Wars," tax reform, federal deficits and affirmative action.

This gives organized labor, civil rights and other grassroots movements greater leverage to influence policies. The 1986 elections are a historic opportunity to setback Reaganism.

It is generally agreed among anti-Reagan forces that overturning Republican control of the U.S. Senate is an overriding priority. A total of 34 Senate seats are up for grabs, 22 now held by Republicans and 12 by Democrats.

During the 1970s, the ultra-Right systematically sought to win control of the Senate, selecting Senate races in which liberal incumbents were deemed vulnerable for a concentration of money and forces. They targeted senators like J.W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Frank Church of Idaho and George McGovern of South Dakota, who opposed the Vietnam war. Liberals from rural states, these senators could not rely on large blocs of working-class and minority voters to repel the Right-wing attack. The winning of a Republican majority in the Senate coincided with the ultra-Right's capture of the executive branch with the election of Ronald Reagan.

Prospects for overturning Reaganite Republican control of the Senate have improved in recent months. Evidence that the tide was turning surfaced in 1984, when Iowa voters replaced Reaganite Senator Roger Jepsen with liberal Tom Harkin. Similarly, voters in Illinois elected Paul Simon to replace Charles Percy. The Republican majority in the Senate was reduced to 53. A turnover of four seats next November would return the Senate to Democratic control.

Tim Wheeler is Washington correspondent of the *Daily World*.

The decision of Senator Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) not to seek reelection has thrown a pall of gloom over the headquarters of the Republican National Committee. Laxalt is considered one of the most influential senators, Ronald Reagan's best friend.

The retirement of Senator Charles McC. Mathias, the independent Maryland Republican, illustrates another problem for the ultras. Mathias, by seniority, was in line for chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee when the Republicans gained control of the Senate. But the ultras, spearheaded by racist Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), brushed Mathias aside. His record of support for civil rights made him anathema. Instead, they installed the rabid Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Now the Reaganites desperately need Mathias. They pleaded unsuccessfully to dissuade him from stepping down.

Another imperiled Reaganite Senate seat is that of retiring Republican Senator John East of North Carolina, a protege of Jesse Helms. At similar risk is Senator Paula Hawkins (R-Fla.) who is trailing in the polls. Other Senate contests where Reaganite control is in doubt include those in Idaho, South Dakota, Missouri, Wisconsin, Washington, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, Oklahoma and New York.

Of course, all 435 House seats are also at stake in the 1986 elections. Enlarging the bloc of prolabor, propeace Housemembers, adding more Afro-Americans, Latinos and women, is crucial to the fight against Reaganism. The people's leverage over Congress would be multiplied many times over if they could elect more Representatives in the mold of Rep. Charles Hayes (D-Ill.), who proudly introduces himself on the floor as a former Vice President of the Meatcutters Union. Recent signs suggest that independent candidates for Congress, including trade unionists, will run next year with enhanced possibilities for victory. With a bloc of trade unionists in the House, the labor move-

ment could much more effectively fight to expand the rights of workers to organize. The movement to repeal Section 14-B of Taft Hartley could be revived.

Failure to win outright control of the House has always been viewed by Richard Viguerie and other gurus of the ultra-Right as a fatal flaw in their political strategy. The Administration successfully put together a bipartisan coalition of "boll weevil" Southern Democrats and Republicans to ram most of Reagan's program through during his first term. Nevertheless, this coalition has proven to be shifting and uncertain. The House continues to be an obstacle to the consolidation of Reaganite control in Washington.

And as resistance by organized labor and other people's movements has mounted over the years, the House, and even the Senate, has displayed some readiness to resist Reaganism—albeit timidly and with much vacillation. An important bloc of about 100 Afro-American and white lawmakers has fought with some skill and persistence to block Reagan's offensive. The Congressional Black Caucus has served as a rallying center, introducing a wide range of important legislation, including the Alternative Human Needs Budget, which preserves low income programs while eliminating funds for nuclear first-strike weapons.

A CHECKERED LEGISLATIVE RECORD

On occasion this bloc has succeeded in assembling a majority for legislation bitterly opposed by the Administration. This was the case with a bill by Rep. William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) to impose limited economic sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Beginning on Thanksgiving Day 1984, the Free South Africa Movement has staged demonstrations in front of the South African Embassy every day, leading to thousands of arrests. The FSAM has worked in close consultation with the anti-Reagan bloc in Congress.

When the Gray measure passed the House overwhelmingly, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) reluctantly announced that he would allow a Senate ver-

sion to reach the floor. Reagan had threatened to veto any sanctions measure that reached his desk. Yet the pressure on the House and Senate to repudiate Reagan's "constructive engagement" with apartheid had become so strong that White House strategists warned that the two-thirds majority for an override of his veto was within reach. To head off such a humiliation, Reagan imposed by executive fiat most of the symbolic sanctions.

Gray's measure is far short of the total investment required by a bill introduced by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Cal.) that is still pending. Yet the success in forcing Reagan to impose sanctions, however cosmetic, on South Africa, contains important lessons for the "all people's front" against Reaganism. The key to that victory was sustained nationwide mass mobilization, coupled with a campaign for enactment of pending legislation.

Consider what such campaigns could mean for a number of other measures that are pending—the bill by Rep. John Conyers to create an estimated 6 million new jobs by shortening the workweek to 32 hours with no cut in pay; the full employment bill by Rep. Charles Hayes; or the various versions of the Alternative Human Needs Budget introduced by the Congressional Black Caucus over the years.

On other fronts, the Senate and House retreated, revealing that without enormous mass pressure, Congressional leaders are not prepared to fight Reaganism. In panic, the House turned tail, gutting the Boland Amendment which had blocked aid to the "contras" for their terrorist war on Nicaragua. The House and Senate voted \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid to the contras. The feeble excuse was that Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega had dared to visit Moscow. Congress also quietly repealed the Clark Amendment, which forbids CIA aid to Jonas Savimbi, a stooge of South Africa, whose terrorist outfit, UNITA, is pillaging Angola.

Early last summer, the peace movement embraced a strategy of struggle for a nuclear weapons test ban. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D.-Col.) introduced a bill that would terminate funds for nuclear weapons testing if Reagan refused to

agree to a mutual test ban. The fund cutoff would continue for as long as the Soviets continued their moratorium. Rep. Berkley Bedell (D-Iowa) introduced a weaker measure, House Joint Resolution 3 (HJR-3), expressing the "Sense of the House" that Reagan should submit the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Purposes Test Ban to the Senate for ratification. It also called for resumption of negotiations for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, and expressed hope that a test ban would be high on the agenda of the Geneva summit. Cosponsored by 200 members, the measure was virtually assured of passage. It was scheduled for floor debate.

Then Sec. of State George P. Shultz wrote a letter to House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill flatly opposing the test ban treaties as "unverifiable," and hinting darkly that the Soviets have violated them. He warned against a "fractious debate" that would "undercut" the President during his talks with Gorbachev and demanded that the Democrats join in a display of "bipartisan" unity.

O'Neill jerked HJR-3 off the House calendar. Shultz' letter was an imperial decree, ordering the House and Senate to button their lips on arms control in the weeks before the summit. For the most part, the lawmakers fell into a sullen silence. A powerful grassroots movement was filling newspapers with full page ads, circulating petitions, staging sit-ins at the Yucca Flats nuclear test site, all demanding that Reagan stop stonewalling and reach an arms control agreement at Geneva. The people recognized an opportunity to exert maximum pressure for a breakthrough on arms control. At that very moment, the House and Senate chose to shut their mouths in a display of "bipartisanship."

Millions in the peace movement demanded that the lawmakers speak out. Finally, a few days before Reagan left for Geneva, the House Democratic leadership broke its silence. O'Neill, and others convened a news conference to urge Reagan to make arms control his top priority at Geneva. Their statement urged him to agree to resumption of the comprehensive test ban negotiations and to agree that the 1972 Anti-Ballis-

tic Missile Treaty forbids testing of Star Wars. Again, the Democratic leadership was responding to powerful grassroots pressure.

The gyrations by both Democratic and Republican lawmakers took some ludicrous turns in the Senate. On the eve of Geneva, the senators debated an amendment by ultra-Right Senator Charles Grassley to rename an avenue near the Soviet Embassy "Sakharov Street." The Senate approved a subpoena by the fanatical Jesse Helms ordering a Soviet seaman, Medvid, to appear before Helms' Agriculture Committee, despite his repeated statements that he wished to return home. A majority of Democratic senators rushed to support this crude maneuver aimed at sabotaging the summit. The Soviet grain ship, Marshall Koniev, ignored the U.S. Senate and sailed from New Orleans.

Finally, Senator Charles McC. Mathias delivered a brief speech against these displays of cold war distemper. Why, Mathias demanded, did the U.S. Senate waste its time with such childish anti-Soviet "pinpricks" on the eve of a summit meeting with the fate of humankind on the agenda? The parliamentarian upheld Mathias' charge that Grassley's amendment was "out of order."

NEW TWISTS IN TAX AND BUDGET SWINDLES

While the Geneva summit and the arms race dominated foreign policy in the waning weeks of 1985, budget, tax and economic questions loomed in domestic policy. As Reagan began his second term, he announced that "tax simplification" would be the top priority. He embraced a vast rewrite of the U.S. tax code which, in essence, moved to destroy what is left of progressivity in the tax code. The graduated income tax, which pegs an individual's taxes to his or her ability to pay, would be replaced by a modified flat tax with a maximum rate of 35 per cent. Most deductions and exemptions that provide limited tax shelter for working people would be eliminated. Even unemployment compensation would be subject to taxation.

Reagan began a speaking tour to drum up support for his "tax revolt." He avoided large cities and spoke mostly to handpicked audi-

ences consisting of affluent students on Southern college campuses. But lawmakers reported that their constituents were not turned on by Reagan's tax revolution.

But there is a real tax revolt brewing in the country—a revolt against Reagan's virtual repeal of corporate taxes. Citizens for Tax Justice (CTJ) released a report last spring exposing 56 corporations that raked off billions in profits yet paid no taxes and received hundreds of millions in "tax rebates." Heavily represented among the corporate tax dodgers were Boeing and other scions of the military industrial complex. CTJ, a labor-supported research and advocacy group, helped launch a petition campaign, Citizens Organized to Restore an Effective Corporate Tax. Nearly one million persons signed petitions calling for a shift in the tax burden from poor and working people to Big Business and the rich.

Reagan's plan to complete the repeal of corporate taxes while saddling the people with an even more regressive tax system is running into trouble. But into the breach has dashed Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Rostenkowski, a holdover of the Daley Democratic machine in Chicago, is preparing to rescue Reagan's beleaguered tax plan from oblivion. He promises to report out a bill from Ways and Means before the end of the year.

Rostenkowski is from a stable of Democratic leaders which also includes "neo-liberals" like Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who saved the MX missile from certain defeat in the House.

Reagan's tax swindle is far from passage by the 99th Congress and opposition is mounting from organized labor, senior citizens and other groups outraged by the double dosage of taxes they would suffer if the exemption for state and local taxes is repealed.

Senator Phil Gramm (R-Tx) is another Reaganite who has rushed to breathe new life into Reagan's second term. Gramm, in secret consultation with the White House, drafted his now notorious "balanced budget amendment." Together with Senators Warren Rudman (R-NH), and Fritz Hollings (D-SC), Gramm attached his

amendment to a bill raising the federal debt limit from \$1 trillion to \$2 trillion.

The Gramm amendment is a Constitutional nightmare. It strips Congress of its Constitutional control of the federal pursestrings and hands over to President Reagan authority to inflict \$39 billion annually in "across-the-board" budget cuts to achieve a balanced budget by 1991. While ostensibly exempting Social Security benefits and government contracts, especially Pentagon weapons contracts, from the mandatory cutbacks, all other programs would be fair game for Reagan's budget axe. Medicare, Medicaid, cost-of-living adjustments for benefit programs, including veterans benefits, would be subject to meataxe cutbacks. Programs like Revenue Sharing and Urban Development Action Grants would face outright elimination. Foodstamps, Aid for Dependent Children, WIC (a nutrition program for pregnant women, infants and children) could be slashed. Education spending, Amtrak subsidies, farm support programs would face horrendous new cuts.

Since the cuts are mandated by law, they would be imposed even if the U.S. plunges back into recession, which always means lower government revenue since unemployed people stop paying income taxes. Yet foodstamps and other entitlements obviously rise. But under the Gramm amendment, the President would be "forced" to impose even deeper cutbacks in benefit programs to achieve the mandated "balanced budget."

Most damning of all, the amendment sidesteps the real sources of the \$200 billion annual deficits—President Reagan's \$750 billion tax giveaway to the rich and his military buildup.

By a 74-23 majority, the Senate approved Gramm's amendment. A majority of Senate Democrats, 27, joined Republicans in approving the legislative monstrosity.

The House was on its way to following suit. But a cry of outrage was gathering force across the country. Editorials appeared pointing out that the measure is unconstitutional, a cowardly abdication of Congress's responsibility to solve the deepening budget crisis. Others pointed out that deficit reductions would not be required

until after the 1986 elections, sparing 22 incumbent Republican senators the embarrassment of explaining new human service budget cuts to voters in the election campaign.

Some election strategists pointed out to the Democratic Senators that they had voted for a measure that neutralized one of their most potent reelection campaign issues. Indeed, Tip O'Neill scornfully referred to the Gramm amendment as the "Senate Incumbent Protection Act of 1985."

That the Democratic senators would become, in O'Neill's phrase, "co-conspirators in political fraud" by voting for the Gramm Amendment is a sign of their bankruptcy. Essentially leaderless and without an alternative program, they drift whatever way the wind blows.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted a resolution denouncing the Gramm amendment. The National Council of Senior Citizens, the Coalition on Block Grants and Human Needs, which unites nearly 100 low income advocacy groups, launched a drive to block the measure.

The House leadership, which at first was poised to rush the amendment to a vote, hesitated. They drafted a version of their own which would force the budget cuts to begin immediately—a maneuver to embarrass the Republican majority Senate. Their version exempted foodstamps and six other low-income programs from the mandatory cuts and increased the percentage of the cutbacks that would come from the Pentagon budget. They also included a clause that if the Supreme Court ruled any section of the amendment unconstitutional, the entire amendment would be nullified.

The measure came to a vote and was approved 249 to 180. House Minority Whip Trent Lott and other Republican leaders fumed with anger and denounced the Democrats for refusing to allow "a straight up or down vote" on the Gramm amendment.

At this writing, the Gramm amendment and the House version are pending before a conference committee of the House and Senate so deeply deadlocked that Congress had to pass a stopgap increase in the debt ceiling to forestall

a fiscal default by the U.S. government while Reagan was in Geneva. The fate of any balanced budget measure is in doubt and the Reagan Administration itself appears to be split. Rep. Aspin wrote to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger asking him if he had read the fine print on the Gramm Amendment that would dictate deep cuts in military spending. Weinberger later announced that he is opposed to the amendment. The White House has announced that Reagan will veto any amendment that resembles the House version.

Clearly, the success of the House Democrats in stopping the Gramm Amendment juggernaut does signal something. It is another sign of the decline of Reaganism. However, the Democratic balanced budget amendment suffers the same constitutional defects as the Senate version. While protecting seven low income programs, it would inflict unacceptable cutbacks on scores of other programs. And like the Gramm amendment, it evades the central issues of the deepening federal budget deficits—the arms race, tax forgiveness for Big Business, massive poverty, unemployment and economic stagnation.

FRESH WINDS BLOWING TOWARD WASHINGTON

Indications are that independent candidates for Congress, including trade unionists, will run next year with enhanced possibilities for victory. It already time for the people's movements to be seeking trade unionists, Afro-American and white, women, peace candidates, and so on, to serve as standard bearers in this important electoral battle against Reaganism.

Among the favorable signs is the fightback movement by workers. Strikes are either still in progress or have won important partial victories in auto, steel, shipbuilding, carhauling, meatpacking and other basic industries. Teachers continue their militant struggle for decent salaries and smaller class size. The struggle by 8,500 steelworkers at Wheeling-Pitt Steel to defend their contract is a "dress rehearsal" for contract negotiations in the steel industry next year.

Contracts covering more than 3 million workers will be negotiated next year. This con-

frontation between labor and capital will inject class content into the 1986 elections.

Another worrisome sign for the Reaganites is the spreading revolt among the nation's hard-pressed farmers. The anger of rural masses is increasingly directed at Reagan, who garnered a large percentage of the farm vote in 1984. Farmers, thousands of them facing bankruptcy, were enraged by Reagan's refusal to grant assistance to them even as he rushed to support bailouts to Continental Illinois Bank and brushed aside disclosures of \$640 toilet seats from Lockheed and other "cost overruns" for Pentagon contractors. Farm belt voters are so angry that incumbent senators in states like North and South Dakota and Iowa are seeking every opportunity to put distance between themselves and the White House. Senator Grassley, for instance, now poses as a crusader against Pentagon "waste, fraud and abuse." In Iowa the favorite slogans are "Farms not arms" and "Silos for corn, not missiles."

Since the rural regions of the Midwest and South have been crucial to Reaganite domination of both houses of Congress, this anti-Reagan upsurge in the countryside could spell disaster for their dream of a permanent Right-wing political realignment.

Another element in the farmers' fightback movement is the solidarity expressed by organized labor, especially the United Autoworkers, and leaders of the Afro-American people such as Rev. Jesse Jackson. These bonds between farmers, workers and the Afro-American people's movement lay the basis for a powerful anti-Reagan election coalition in 1986.

The Reaganite extremists are lashing back. It is one factor in the appearance of neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic sects in the farm belt. Farmers can gain nothing from the activities of these outfits, but the Reaganites hope they can split the farmers' movement and neutralize it as a factor in the 1986 elections through such provocations.

Reaganites received some jolts in off-year elections in 1985. Their worst setbacks were precisely in those states targeted by the ultra-Right with huge infusions of corporate money—Texas and Virginia. These states are central to the

"Southern strategy" on which reaction pins its hopes of a permanent Right-wing realignment.

Texas and Virginia are two of the most heavily militarized states in the U.S., with high concentrations of military personnel, bases and weapons contractors. In these former Confederate states with long histories of segregation, the ultra-Right has worked strenuously to build a mass base. Northern Virginia is a viper's nest of headquarters for ultra-Right outfits, including Richard Viguerie's direct mail operation, the Nazi Party, the National Right to Work Committee and so on. Rev. Jerry Falwell and his "Moral Majority" are ensconced in Lynchburg, Virginia. Of course, these groups cosy up to the Pentagon, located on the banks of the Potomac in Northern Virginia. The CIA is headquartered in Virginia. The two states are dominated by the electronics industry, much of it tied to the Pentagon. And Texas, of course, is home for the U.S. oil monopolies.

Yet in both these states voters rebuffed the Reaganites. Despite expenditure of millions, the Reaganites suffered a series of sharp reversals by voters clearly rejecting Right-wing extremism. Ed Hargett, Republican candidate for Congress in a special election in Texas, lost to Jim Chapman. Hargett's election campaign was to be the centerpiece of an intensive campaign throughout the South, codenamed "Open Door," to convince one million voters to change their registration from Democratic to Republican. With huge expenditures, the GOP succeeded in netting fewer than half a million shifts in registration.

Houston mayor Kathy Whitmire was targeted for defeat by the ultra-Right. Former Houston Mayor Louie Welch, a "law 'n order" Right-winger, attempted to parlay hysteria against gays into a victory for the so-called "straight slate." The strategy backfired and Ms. Whitmire was reelected.

In Virginia, the rejection of the ultra-Right was even more dramatic. L. Douglas Wilder won election as Virginia's first Black Lt. Governor. In fact, Wilder is reportedly the first Afro-American elected to statewide office in the South since Reconstruction. The Democratic

sweep in Virginia also included election of Mary Sue Terry as the state's first woman attorney general.

The defeat for the Reaganites in Virginia was so dismal that former Governor Linwood Holton blasted the ultra-Right takeover of the Republican Party. "What was missing from the Republicans was the middle," he said. Falwell and other ultras injected "Right-wing issues that scared the middle away." Holton urged the GOP to turn away from the ultra-Rights toward policies of moderation.

In Connecticut, meanwhile, the movement for women's equality won a tremendous victory as voters defeated ballot referenda in three cities calling for the overturning of the Supreme Court's decision establishing the right of a woman to have an abortion. It was a smashing defeat for the Reagan-supported "Right to Life" hysteria.

The only noteworthy Republican victory in the 1985 election was the reelection of New Jersey Governor Thomas H. Kean, who strenuously worked to project an image of moderation. Kean assiduously wooed the votes of organized labor, Black and other minority voters and women. His success raises questions of whether or not the moderate forces within the Republican Party might revolt against the Reaganite stranglehold on the GOP.

While voters have chosen to use their ballots to defeat Reaganites, this does not negate the fact that deep crisis afflicts the Democratic Party. Like the Republicans, it is a party in the service of Big Business and this has placed the Democrats in an insoluble dilemma. Recent victories by the Democrats, most notably the Virginia sweep, are being used to promote the current governor, Charles Robb, as a new star of "centrist" Democrats. Robb projects a "progressive" image on social issues and civil rights. He appointed more Blacks and women to political positions than any other recent Virginia Governor. Yet Virginia is a "Right-to-Work" state and Robb supported the retention of this unionbusting statute.

Robb is a founder of the non-elected "Democratic Leadership Council," consisting of

similar politicians—mostly in the Sunbelt—who attribute the Democratic Party's recent electoral defeats to domination by what they call "special interest groups."

By "special interests" they mean the AFL-CIO, which insisted on the right to have a voice in which Democratic Presidential candidate would receive labor's dollars and support in 1984. "Special interest" is also the codeword for Afro-American and other minority people, women—all those sectors of the population effectively shut out from the corridors of political power. In short, "special interests" are the overwhelming majority of the population.

It is a sign of the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party leadership that they would embrace Reagan's definition of "special interest." They have turned the term on its head, applying to the people a word historically referring to oil, steel, banking and other trusts. This was the same Democratic quandary that led 27 Democratic senators to vote for the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings "balanced budget" amendment.

GRASSROOTS POLITICAL ACTION

The AFL-CIO, at its convention in Anaheim, California, approved a resolution upholding the correctness of their decision to demand a role in the selection of the candidate to run against Reagan. The resolution declared:

While the labor movement's candidates did not win the election, the solidarity demonstrated by labor made it clear that we would no longer permit others to name the candidate and determine the issues without full participation of working men and women . . . it is of vital importance that the AFL-CIO process we started prior to our last convention be continued. That process is based on membership involvement and consultation. It produced increased political education and participation within our ranks, solidarity among our affiliated unions and a stronger, more effective labor movement.

While the resolution focuses on the 1988 Presidential election, it is certain to guide stepped-up labor involvement in the 1986 Congressional elections.

(continued on page 14)

The Cleveland Municipal Elections

RICK NAGIN

Elections in Cleveland are becoming more and more openly an arena of class struggle. The massive cutting of federal funds to the cities to feed the war machine, coupled with massive layoffs and shutdowns in basic industry, has plunged Midwest industrial cities like Cleveland into a state of deep-going perpetual crisis.

The program of Big Business in this situation is an endless series of downtown commercial development projects, to be paid for by increasing the already excessive tax burden on the people and mortgaging their future. In Cleveland, this includes a \$350 million domed stadium, the development of the Lake Erie waterfront into a kind of massive shopping mall, the continual remodeling of the downtown area around Public Square, the transformation of public buildings into hotels and other such projects.

This program has met with persistent resistance from grassroots community forces, who have demanded that the city's dwindling resources be used first to meet the people's growing needs for improved housing, education, health care, public safety and neighborhood development. They have demanded that these needs be met by tax reform, by making the corporations pay their fair share.

Politics in Cleveland is a constant series of skirmishes between the advocates of these two opposed viewpoints. In elections, Big Business is at a distinct advantage. It is able to use the machines of both major political parties, it has massive financial resources and controls the news media.

The people scramble, seek to back candidates of their own choosing and mobilize their own resources. In non-partisan city elections this fall, some modest, but important, steps were taken in the direction of people's independent politics. In the races for mayor, City Council, School Board and municipal judge, a number of independent, and, in most cases, Black progressive candidates took to the field, challenging the major party machines and the Big Business interests behind them.

While few actual victories were scored, a new consciousness, a new level of cooperation and

a growing linkage with grassroots political movements has emerged with an important potential for the future.

The primary fight begins

The most significant development was in the mayoral election, where grassroots community forces—Black, white and Latino—united behind James Barrett, the Black former Safety Director under ex-mayor Dennis Kucinich. Barrett, an ally of former mayor Carl Stokes, ran an issue-oriented campaign focusing on the key problems facing the city in the areas of jobs, safety, utilities and housing.

His candidacy originated with a group of grassroots forces active in the 21st District Caucus, the independent political organization of Congressman Louis Stokes. The group, which became independent of the caucus, was known as the C-Team, short for Committee for a Minority Mayor, and its leadership included people active in the movement against police brutality and for a Civilian Review Board, which emerged in the wake of a series of police killings of Black and Puerto Rican youth.

The C-Team's main focus was to persuade Carl Stokes, now a municipal judge, to run for mayor. Stokes, after serious consideration, declined because he would have faced the opposition of George Forbes, the Black City Council President closely linked to the Growth Association (the Chamber of Commerce), who maintains a formidable machine based on city patronage. Forbes made it clear early on that he supported the reelection of incumbent Republican mayor George Voinovich.

The division between Forbes and the forces allied with the more progressive Stokes family has grown extremely sharp, and in this election not only prevented a viable Black candidacy for mayor, but also harmed the fight for Black representation in other races as well.

With only one week before the petition-filing deadline and only five weeks before the Oct. 1 non-partisan primary, the C-Team announced that Barrett would be its standard bearer. Barrett appealed to all community forces to join the effort which he said would be a campaign of the poor

Rick Nagin is district organizer of the Communist Party of Ohio.

and grassroots against the rich.

A positive response to this appeal came from a group of progressives, who had been working independently to build an electoral coalition to support candidates on issues. Consulting with a broad group of community activists in labor, housing, hunger, community services, consumer affairs, peace and other movements, they had developed a comprehensive people's program for Cleveland. Barrett welcomed their support and incorporated much of their program into his platform.

Aside from Barrett and Voinovich, two other candidates were in the field—Gary Kucinich, a city councilman and brother of the former mayor, and Henry Sheer, a Trotskyite. Neither saw the importance of a progressive Black candidate nor had a function other than to divide the people's forces.

Kucinich was viewed as a stalking horse for his brother, also a city councilman, who had announced that he would oppose incumbent Governor Richard Celeste in next year's Democratic primary. Celeste, one of the most liberal governors in the country, has close ties with labor, the peace movement, and to some extent the Black community. However, he is considered vulnerable because of involvement in the collapse of state-backed savings and loan institutions and because of a series of scandals in his administration.

Despite his combative style and flair for publicity, Kucinich was given little chance, especially after newspaper accounts appeared, at the instigation of the Democratic Party, describing his seances with a "spiritual" advisor who believes in reincarnation and communication with trees.

The Democratic Party sits it out

Because of this, it was clear that Gary Kucinich would get no support from the Democratic machine, despite the fact that the Party was unable to find anyone who would run against Voinovich. Increasingly divorced from the people, it ended up sitting out the election in a city where voter registration is eight Democrats to one Republican.

Further guaranteeing that Gary Kucinich had no chance was his use of racist tactics when he and his brother had conducted a relentless hate campaign against George Forbes, and had opposed school busing to the point of allying with the most extreme violence-prone forces.

On the other hand, the Kuciniches are widely known and enjoy a certain independent working-

class base because of fights they led against tax and public property giveaways to Big Business, most notably in blocking efforts of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company to take over the city's public power facility. They also enjoy close ties with major industrial unions, especially the autoworkers, and recently led a successful fight, together with the steelworkers' union, to block use of city funds to subsidize the building of a non-union, high-tech bar mill.

The Kuciniches describe their combination of unprincipled political opportunism and militant anti-corporate rhetoric as urban populism. However, like the old rural populism, this sidesteps the difficult problems of welding working-class and people's unity and mobilizing mass struggle on issues. It contains the ever present danger of slipping into racist and extreme nationalist demagogy. Utilizing the racial divisions Kucinich had helped to foster, and the antagonisms he provoked from grassroots community movements, Big Business was able to oust him from City Hall and replace him with Voinovich in 1979.

Having accumulated a war chest of \$400,000 and facing no opposition from the Democratic Party, Voinovich was certain of re-election. However, he preferred to run against Kucinich rather than Barrett in the Nov. 5 runoff, since he feared the possibility of Barrett uniting the Black community and developing a significant appeal among Puerto Rican and white voters as well. The Barrett campaign also had the potential of undermining Forbes' power in the Black community as well as generally raising the spectre of an independent people's political base.

For these reasons, Big Business and the power structure set out to isolate the Barrett campaign. The Democratic Party refused to endorse or support Barrett. Even the 21st District Caucus, under pressure from Voinovich, remained silent.

The strategy was adopted for the news media to downplay the election. Voinovich was continually publicized fulfilling all kinds of ceremonial roles in his capacity as mayor. He did virtually no public campaigning and used only a single mailing at the very end of the campaign. Only a few articles on the campaign appeared in the *Plain Dealer*, the city's only daily, and these were generally buried, even assigned to the obituary page.

Voinovich said he would not debate his opponents except at the traditional debate sponsored by the City Club. Thereupon the City Club made the

unprecedented announcement that it was cancelling the debate, claiming lack of public interest because the election result was a foregone conclusion. It was learned that this was the initiative of Bill Woestendieck, president of the City Club and executive editor of the *Plain Dealer*. After a strong public outcry, the City Club reversed itself.

But then Channel 25, the city's public TV station, for the first time refused to broadcast the debate. It is probably no coincidence that Tom Vail, editor and publisher of the *Plain Dealer*, sits on Channel 25's Board of Directors along with top officials from Sohio, TRW, Eaton Corp., National City Bank, Sherwin-Williams and other major Cleveland monopolies.

On the other hand, neighborhood papers, like *Community News*, published in the predominantly Black East Side and the *Plain Press*, published in a poor white and Puerto Rican neighborhood, gave Barrett full and favorable coverage. The *Call and Post*, the city's Black (and Republican) weekly, had endorsed Reagan for President in 1984 but, because of the Barrett campaign, made no endorsement in the primary.

In a chronically depressed city with over 20 per cent unemployment, Barrett's support for public works at union wages and massive housing construction won favorable response from a number of labor leaders. But he was unable to get any official support. Unions felt bound by the standing policy of the Cleveland Federation of Labor to endorse incumbents who have not been specifically antilabor. This was extended to Voinovich. The promised downtown construction projects certainly had an influence on the thinking of the building trades unions.

The Auto Workers, which maintains a separate political action arm, the CAP Council, on the other hand, considered endorsing Barrett, but finally decided to remain neutral in the primary and to support Barrett or Kucinich, whichever survived, in the runoff.

Barrett did win formal endorsement from one Democratic ward club in the Black community, and from a number of groups active against police brutality and for a civilian review board.

With such a severe shortage of time and money and lacking organized support in labor and the Black community, Barrett faced insurmountable odds. Nonetheless morale remained high throughout the campaign, fed by the sense that

something new and very positive was happening.

Campaigning at the grassroots

The campaign was run by rank-and-file community and trade union activists, Black, white and Latino. It was the only campaign to open neighborhood headquarters, one in the Black community and one in a white and Puerto Rican neighborhood. Weekly meetings of all campaign workers were held alternatively in one office or the other.

The campaign was brought into various people's organizations and movements with representatives actively participating in the 21st District Caucus, anti-police brutality groups and other organizations. Petitions against police brutality and for the Hayes-Conyers Jobs Bill were circulated as part of the campaign.

When Vaclav Hrvnar, an anti-Communist Czech emigre serving as Voinovich's Ethnic Coordinator, made an extreme racist comment in the *Plain Dealer*, the Barrett campaign organized a demonstration in front of City Hall. Groups opposed to police brutality took part and demands were raised for the ouster of Hrvnar and Joseph Paskvan, a sadistic racist cop, who in a short period had shot nine people, killing three.

Voinovich blandly denied Hrvnar was a racist and said his comments had been misunderstood. He further refused to take any action against Paskvan, who is the target of growing public outrage.

The Barrett campaign also engaged in traditional activities. It issued posters and bumper stickers, bright orange T-shirts and caps. It held fundraisers and motorcades. Barrett spoke at innumerable events.

Some 50,000 copies of the platform were distributed. The program stressed jobs as the main issue, calling for massive public works, housing construction and restrictions on plant shutdowns. The necessary revenue would come from ending corporate tax exemptions, collecting delinquent business taxes and expanding the city's public power service. The platform called for public takeover and renovation of substandard slum housing, steps to encourage integration of neighborhoods (Cleveland, after Chicago, is the second most segregated city in the country), expanded youth programs, full representation of minorities and women in all city departments and measures to bring city government closer to the grassroots.

Drawing on his years as a patrolman and director of the city's safety forces (police, fire and

emergency medical), Barrett made overhaul of the police department a major issue. Noting that police protection had declined while police brutality had grown, Barrett promised to fire the reactionary police chief, William Hanton, to put the police back in the neighborhoods, to involve the communities more in crime control and to establish an independent civilian review board to process complaints of police misconduct.

All of this was stonewalled by Voinovich and blanked out of the news media. On primary day (Oct. 1) many did not even know there was an election or that Barrett was a candidate and certainly not what he stood for. The result was a record low turnout of 17 per cent of the registered voters. There were even precincts in which no one voted.

Voinovich placed first with 33,000 votes—64 per cent of those voting, although only 10 per cent of registered voters. Kucinich placed second with 13,000 (25 per cent), followed by Barrett with 5,000 (10 per cent) and Sheer with 500 (one per cent).

Voinovich won every ward but the two represented by the Kucinich brothers. Eighty-nine per cent of Kucinich's vote was in white wards. Eighty per cent of Barrett's vote was in Black wards.

Barrett endorsed Kucinich for the Nov. 5 runoff. Kucinich was also endorsed by the United Auto Workers. But these endorsements offered little against the inevitable rout in which Voinovich received 72 per cent of the vote, winning every ward except that of Dennis Kucinich.

Voter turnout improved somewhat compared with the primary, but, at 37 per cent, was a record low. After Barrett's elimination, the media began covering the campaign, and this helped increase the vote, but more significant in this regard were a number of other hotly contested races, especially for the school board, which had not been involved in the primary.

The School Board elections

For many years, the Cleveland School Board has been the scene of the intense conflict. In the past, this has centered around the opposition by a majority on the Board to school desegregation. More recently, class economic issues have emerged as the Growth Association has increasingly intervened in efforts to control lucrative contracts and turn the school system's assets over to private business. Racism continues to play a major role in this, since nearly 80 per cent of the school enroll-

ment is Black.

Over the years, a powerful grassroots movement has emerged of parents committed to quality, desegregated education, which has been able to block reactionary forces on the seven-member board. A breakthrough occurred four years ago when this movement succeeded in electing Stanley Tolliver, a Black progressive attorney, to the Board.

This began to shift the balance of forces. A Black superintendent, Frederick Holliday, was brought in, but increasingly he came under the influence of the Growth Association forces on the Board.

A push was made to sell the beautiful, well-located School Board building to a hotel developer, who was a friend of Board President Ted Bonda. This was defeated and a four-member majority emerged, including the three Black members, who made it clear they were more committed to education than profits. Holliday was informed that he had to conform to this policy. But, tragically, he broke down under the pressure and committed suicide.

The Growth Association and certain news media personalities launched a vendetta against the Black members of the Board, especially Ed Young, who had been most vocal in his criticism of Holliday. George Forbes joined this chorus, vowing to defeat Young in the November election.

Four seats were up for the election, including those held by Tolliver, Young and Joseph Tegreene, who was backed by the business forces, as was a newcomer, James Carney.

The community groups focused on re-electing Young while Big Business poured huge funds into the campaigns of Tegreene and Carney. The danger to Black representation and to a pro-education outlook on the School Board was sadly missed by the 21st District Caucus, which became diverted in an effort to elect Cordi Stokes, the daughter of Carl Stokes, to the Board. Instead of trying to expand Black representation by supporting Tolliver, Stokes and Young, a deal was made with the Democratic Party to drop Young and endorse Carney with the understanding that the Democratic Party would support Stokes.

While Stokes ran first in the Black wards, the Democratic Party delivered nothing in the white areas and Stokes did not win. On the other hand, the combined support by the Stokes and Forbes forces guaranteed that Carney placed third in the

Black wards areas and came out first city-wide. The Forbes effort was strong enough to have Teegreene come in fourth in the Black wards, thus guaranteeing his election. Young was defeated on both sides of town and Tolliver narrowly won city-wide, getting enough votes in white areas to add to his massive vote in the Black wards.

The *Call and Post* summed up the outcome with a provocative headline: "Money talks, Blackness walks."

The hand of Big Business also had a negative impact on other races. The 21st District Caucus backed a progressive Black woman attorney who works for the Auto Workers in a race for judge. Forbes backed another Black woman, with the result that both got approximately equal votes and a more conservative white candidate was elected.

The Voinovich-Forbes Big Business machine was also able to use its unlimited finances to overwhelm independent candidates in City Council races, such as Tika Fufuka, former director of Pro-

ject Vote, who was active in the 21st District Caucus, and Joseph Strejnowski, a community organizer.

While the machine was able to contain for the time being the grassroots fires that flared up in this election, the fire is continuing to burn. The independent forces did well despite the massive material resources thrown against them and have emerged with their heads held high, more determined than every to carry the fight forward.

Greater people's unity and stronger grassroots movements, especially around economic issues, have never been more urgent. The 1986 campaigns are already underway. Aside from the Big Business campaign against Celeste, there are rumors of efforts to unseat Congressman Stokes.

The mistakes of the past must not be repeated. The independent political movement of the people must build the widest unity against Reaganism in 1986. □

ELECTION STAKES IN '86 (continued from page 9)

Already, Freeze Voter, a political action wing of the Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, is selecting a target list of warhawk Congressmembers to be defeated in 1986. Candidates are being sought to run against the Reaganites on this peace movement "hit list." The decision of Freeze Voter to continue its work reflects its remarkable success in the past two elections in defeating warhawks and replacing them with moderates or outright peace candidates.

Similarly, the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) is preparing a survey of all Congressional districts with a 25 per cent or higher potential Afro-American vote. The aim of the Congressional Black Caucus and its allies is to use that JCPS survey to identify districts, including those in the Deep South, where Afro-Americans can be elected to Congress. The election of Wilder in Virginia is proof that these victories are possible.

The moment calls for the creation of broad movements of direct political action based upon the vital issues—peace, jobs, affirmative action. These may form inside or outside the Democratic Party, as long as the independent voices of grassroots people and their organizations is not silenced. Those who seek to roll back labor's grow-

ing insistence on an independent political voice do terrific harm to the cause of defeating Reaganism. These independent initiatives by labor should be encouraged.

Another urgent task is to find ways to challenge in the elections the anti-Soviet poison that Reagan has used so effectively to silence and cow Congress into approving his arms buildup. During past years, the atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria whipped up in Washington has led many who should know better to join in slanderous attacks on the USSR. The results of the Geneva summit open up new possibilities of success in changing this. The grounds have been established by a series of Soviet initiatives, including their August 6 suspension of nuclear weapons testing, demonstrating that the Soviets want peace, that they are prepared to go the extra mile to achieve it.

Peace sentiment in the U.S. and around the world is a majority conviction. Reagan's agreement to further summit meetings with Soviet leader Gorbachev is evidence that the Administration has not succeeded in whipping up a war psychosis in the U.S. The people want peace and dialogue, not anti-Soviet ravings. They want arms control, not Star Wars. □

The 'Farrakhan Phenomenon'

ROBERT LINDSAY

During a recent national speaking tour of Minister Louis Farrakhan, over 100,000 people turned out to hear him—30,000 at Madison Square Garden in New York.

Many people have been caught unawares by the so-called Farrakhan phenomenon, by his rapid rise to attention on the national scene. This rise has been the occasion for bolder outright attacks on the Black community and its leadership by forces who have always been hostile to the struggle for equality, and who now haughtily demand that Farrakhan be denounced. They would make the response to Farrakhan a litmus test for Black leadership and the criterion of legitimacy of the demands for equality.

Many in the Afro-American community point out correctly that the same people who hypocritically attack Farrakhan never demand that President Reagan denounce Falwell or Botha. In any case, they reason, "Black people should not wash their dirty linen in the streets."

However, the point is not to denounce Farrakhan, but to critically assess his policies and program and to determine if they really offer viable solutions in the fight for equality.

THE SO-CALLED MAGNETIC APPEAL

Not every idea that arises in the Afro-American community originates from the people's movement. Many are brought in from the outside, from forces foreign to the interests of the movement, under the guise of aiding equality. Only through debate and practical experience can it be determined what is in the interest of the struggle and what is not. Only the enemies of equality need fear this approach.

Robert Lindsay is secretary of the Commission on Afro-American Equality of the CPUSA.

Farrakhan attributes his "hold on people" to what he terms his "magnetic appeal." What accounts for this appeal?

Farrakhan comes on the scene as the struggle for equality has reached a new level of political awareness and militancy. This was expressed in the Jesse Jackson campaign for president and by the formation of the Rainbow Coalition, which grew out of a strong need for independent political action against Reaganism. It was also shown in independent political action of organized labor. This militancy reaches every sector of the Black community and expresses itself in greater unity among Afro-Americans and unity with other sectors of the population, particularly the organized labor movement.

Reaganism sharpens all of the contradictions of capitalism, whose impact is most visible among Black workers. Reaganism reflects not just the meanness of an individual or bad policies of an Administration, but the interests of Big Business—the military-industrial complex in particular—which he represents.

The people's conditions under Reagan clash with what Afro-Americans believe to be necessary and possible. Afro-Americans are influenced by the revolutionary struggles in South Africa, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola and other countries. Their vision is broadened by contact, direct or indirect, with peoples throughout the world in struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Reaganism is bankrupt ideologically. Reagan is dusting off, in more or less disguised form, all of the old ideological props used to justify the oppression of Afro-Americans since slavery. But these ideas are being challenged and rapidly rejected. Afro-Americans are in search of alternatives.

Afro-Americans are just not willing to return to Jim Crow. They feel their strength through the increasingly important role of Afro-American workers, who represent a wealth of experience and constitute a link with organized

labor. This creates a new awareness among Afro-Americans of their role in all social movements. They are saying that they will not accept inequality. This is expressed in the slogan, "Our Time Has Come!"

There are also certain weaknesses that accompany this rising militancy. Many do not perceive what political and organizational forms are required to achieve their demands. This is sharpened by the structural crisis, which is separating newly unemployed workers from their trade unions, social organizations and political associations. The same holds true for welfare recipients, farmers, women, youth and students, and seniors.

Furthermore, many of the programs and slogans carried over from previous periods do not meet the needs of today. They do not concretize the general demands and focus the will and energy of the masses against the main enemy.

The policies espoused by some organizations and their leaderships lag behind these developments. Consequently, what are essentially weaknesses of the movement overall are perceived as a failing of leadership. This perception is encouraged by the Reagan Administration, which has launched a vicious campaign to discredit the leadership of the Black community.

Many old ideological views are being discredited. But to translate the people's militancy into new gains requires answering the burning questions of what and how, what program is appropriate to this period, and how achieve it. This requires a growth in influence of organized Left forces.

THE SEARCH FOR ANSWERS TO BURNING QUESTIONS

It is a search for solutions, for answers to burning questions, that leads many to listen to Farrakhan. Farrakhan seems to offer a militant alternative. He seizes upon the lack of clear program and leadership, and with graphic descriptions of the conditions of Afro-Americans cap-

tures the anger and outrage against Reaganism.

But Farrakhan has not earned his credentials in struggle. They have been handed to him by the mass media, which present him as a militant leader, and by ultra-Right forces who present him as their antagonist.

Where does Farrakhan stand on the key questions of today? What are his solutions?

Today, no question can be isolated from the nuclear danger, a question of life and death for humankind. This danger is being heightened by Star Wars and the development of first-strike nuclear weapons.

Virtually every Afro-American leader is speaking out for peace and nuclear disarmament—out of concern for life on earth and with the realization that the forces behind the military buildup are major purveyors of racism and reaction. But not Farrakhan. In his speech at Madison Square Garden on October 7, for example, he never once mentioned peace and disarmament.

It is not possible to fight for jobs and increased social benefits without being against Star Wars, which will cost over \$1 trillion dollars. This money will come from social programs that particularly benefit Afro-Americans.

But jobs, affirmative action, housing, poverty, hunger, police brutality—all issues of vital concern to Afro-Americans—are not Farrakhan's concerns. He does not address these social questions or offer solutions to them. Attorney General Meese and the Justice Department have launched a drive to disenfranchise Afro-Americans, but Farrakhan never mentions it. He doesn't even denounce Reagan, Koch, the Ku Klux Klan, or the ultra-Right forces leading the charge against equality.

Once one cuts through the specious rhetoric, demagoguery and media imagery, all that is left is a dubious "economic program" that is neither antimonopoly nor anti-Reaganism. In fact, Farrakhan is not even antiracist.

According to Farrakhan, the main enemy of Afro-Americans is not Reaganism but the Jewish people in particular and white people in general. The Jews, he says, "through their stranglehold over the government" are respon-

sible for the conditions of Afro-Americans. They are today's slavemaster and he is "tired of this slavemaster and slave relationship."

Reagan appears virtually as an innocent, unwittingly doing the "bidding of the Jewish lobby." Reagan, says Farrakhan, is "just punking out for the Jewish lobby, selling America right down the tube."

Farrakhan uses anti-Semitism to shield Reagan and the real class enemy. Reagan is "punking out" to the military-industrial complex, the most reactionary sector of monopoly capital. Calling the tune in Washington are corporations like General Dynamics, Lockheed, Boeing, Bechtel and others, guaranteeing their financial interests; the top brass of the Pentagon, CIA and reactionary think tanks. This is not an ethnic category but a narrow section of monopoly capital, whose political and economic interests are at stake. Reagan represents these interests.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SHIFTING BLAME

This shifting of blame is not without its consequences. One can not explain increased racist oppression and exploitation, "constructive engagement" with apartheid, intervention against Angola and Nicaragua and the huge military buildup by the machinations of a supposed Jewish lobby. Neither can one, based on such an analysis, mount a struggle against these evils. One can understand, then, why Farrakhan does not call for U.S. companies to get out of South Africa, or support the democratic forces fighting apartheid.

There have always been different trends in the movement for Afro-American equality. They reflect the fact that Afro-Americans are not some undifferentiated mass, but belong to different classes and strata. Progress toward equality has always been born of the realization that Afro-Americans can not win this battle alone. The search for allies is a basic strategic question in the struggle for equality and freedom. The objective basis for such alliances is the insepara-

ble link between equality for Afro-Americans and the general democratic demands of the majority of the people against a common enemy. This was the approach of Frederick Douglass against the slaveocracy, W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and Martin Luther King against Jim Crow, discrimination, lynching and capitalist monopolies.

Furthermore, Afro-Americans are a key force in society, affected by all questions of foreign and domestic policy. Any concept that the interests of Afro-Americans are narrow and self-contained has always been vigorously opposed by the Black community.

That the policy of alliances is the only winning strategy has been confirmed once again in the struggle against Reaganism. In 1984, the most powerful forces aligned against Reaganism were the Rainbow Coalition and the labor movement. They elevated unity and independent political action to an unprecedented level, merging the interests of Afro-Americans with the demands of labor, peace forces, other nationally oppressed people, the Jewish people, women and farmers—against the common enemy.

The highest vote against Reagan was cast by Afro-Americans and the Jewish people and organized labor. Since the elections this unity has been further concretized in the fight against U.S. support for apartheid by the election of anti-Reagan candidates, including Afro-Americans, in some of the most important industrial areas.

At the very time when unity is necessary and is developing, when it seems possible for the people's forces to inflict defeats on Reaganism in the 1986 elections, Farrakhan's policies go completely opposite to the Rainbow Coalition and labor's independent political action. The problem, he says, is "white people and the Jews." His policy is race against race, Judaism vs. Islam.

This scenario has happened before. It occurred during the peak period of the civil rights movement led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the 1960s. As the forces of the Afro-American movement were reaching out to organized

labor, and the fight for equality was merging with the peace movement, with Black-white unity an accepted concept, there suddenly arose forces calling on Afro-Americans to retreat from the broad arena of struggle, back to the ghetto. They advocated cutting all ties to organized labor, the peace force, and giving up ties with the worldwide progressive movement.

This was, at first, the position of Malcolm X, who saw all white people as enemies. He soon realized, however, that this policy moved in the same direction as the enemies of his people. He consequently changed and embraced the concept of unity.

Farrakhan's policies assist the Reaganites. In 1984, when the key question was the defeat of Reagan, Farrakhan issued the most provocative statements, directed not against Reagan but at the Jewish people. This became the "issue" for the Reaganites, Zionist elements, and the most racially divisive forces, such as Mayor Koch of New York. It was a decoy to draw attention away from the real issues of jobs, peace and equality, and it armed the Reaganites for attacks on the Rainbow Coalition.

Farrakhan's concept of race against race can not solve the problems of housing, unemployment or any other issue in the Black community. Take, for example, Harlem. It is the banks, the real estates interest, the houses of Rockefeller and Morgan who leech the Afro-American people there, taking billions out of the community. This is the source of the problem.

Can Afro-Americans alone change this situation? The banks and real estate interests have their hold on political as well as economic power. To change the conditions of Afro-Americans, the political landscape must be changed, which includes electing representatives on the basis of an antimonopoly program. The interests of the people must be placed before the profits of Citibank and Chase Manhattan in order to build low-income housing, rebuild the infrastructure of the city, overhaul the educational system and provide youth with the skills necessary for today's jobs.

The concept of race against race is at variance with the reality of the movement for Afro-

American equality. Black people are, in their overwhelming majority, part of the working class—which is multiracial, multinational, male and female. Therefore, questions confronting Black people interlink with the demands of this class, which is in a day-to-day fight against monopoly capital.

There is no program to fight Big Business based on race against race. This explains why Farrakhan does not ask for one job or housing unit. He may look and act angry, but, in essence, his huffing and puffing just covers the tracks of the Rockefellers and Morgans as they make their way to the bank.

THE ABSURDITY OF SELF-HELP

Farrakhan extols his "economic program" for Black people as the way to "liberation." But what he pushes as "self-help" is a shameless absurdity. To attempt to pawn it off in earnest exposes only callous indifference to the urgent need to put an end to the horrible conditions forced upon over 30 million people.

Farrakhan describes his economic program as "building the Black nation in the flesh." This new nation, according to Farrakhan, will be built on "lands rich in mineral resources owned by the Indians." He, therefore, calls for an alliance with the Native Americans. To build this new nation he will "go to the government and ask that it hand over to me all of the 400,000 Black prisoners now behind bars to serve out their sentence" working for him. After all, he reasons, "this is how America was built in the first place." He proposes a corporation to deal in deodorants, toilet paper, tooth paste, soap, etc., with the money for such an undertaking to come from donations by Afro-Americans. Simple enough.

Let us suppose that the setting up of this corporation through weekly contributions of Afro-Americans were possible and were accomplished. This would still not change the conditions of the overwhelming majority of Black

people. Even if, by some means, General Motors became Black-owned, this would not change the conditions of Black workers, including the ones who work for General Motors.

Racism is an integral part of the capitalist system. It is institutionalized in economic relations. A Black-owned corporation can not exist as some communal island in isolation from these relations. It must operate on the basis of the laws of capitalism, the primary one being the drive for maximum profit, which gives rise to exploitation, discrimination and a racist division of labor. Monopoly capital itself must be curbed in order to change this.

Rather than linger on the absurdity of these proposals, let us consider whose interests lie behind such schemes. Farrakhan asks nothing from Big Business, even though they have enriched themselves from the labor of Black people. Afro-Americans have labored for almost 400 years to build this country—250 years at unpaid slave labor and over 100 years as, for the most part, miserably-paid wage workers. Yet Farrakhan can say, "leave us, we ask nothing from you, not even a job. We just want to build our own nation." How many nations are Black people supposed to build?

The only demand Farrakhan makes is the release of 400,000 Black prisoners—to work for him. Evidently he sees nothing wrong with exploitation. Nor does he see anything wrong with inequality. His proposed solution is not to end the superexploitation of Afro-Americans, which yields \$100 billion annually to monopoly corporations, but to get a part of these superprofits through hustling his own corporation.

Farrakhan sees the Afro-American community as a corporate executive might, as a market for exploitation. He talks of "the \$204 billion economic power of Black people" and how this money could be used to build his corporation. Overcome with the magnitude of this sum, he reasons that if Afro-Americans formed a separate nation, it would be the fourteenth richest country in the world. This is, to say the least, misleading.

Even after 400 years of productive labor, Afro-Americans do not own \$204 billion of pro-

ductive property. That sum is the current income of millions of Black workers, retirees, professionals and others. It is not a cornucopia for capital accumulation—for Farrakhan or anyone else—since in reality it is insufficient to pay for food, good housing, education, transportation and to satisfy other elementary needs of Afro-Americans. The assets of Afro-Americans collectively available for investment couldn't even purchase General Electric, which is the fourteenth largest corporation in this country. Going back to Africa or anywhere else, Black workers would take only the shirts on their backs.

Farrakhan's self-help "program" is not new. He is playing a variation on a theme by Booker T. Washington. Washington, rather than fighting for equal participation of Afro-Americans in all aspects of society, advocated that Blacks "should put your bucket down where you are." Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan's mentor, also had a "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" scheme. The last several decades are replete with "Soul Cities," "African Republics" in the South, or just plain returning to Africa.

But you can not nickle and dime your way to freedom.

To win real economic and political power, Afro-Americans and the masses of working people of all races and religions in this country must tackle the ruling class—Big Business—head on. To end unemployment and hunger, monopoly corporations must be placed under public ownership, under the control of the people themselves. This requires nationalization of the big banks and basic industries; establishment of a six-hour-day with no cut in pay; and a guaranteed annual income for all. A people's program requires rebuilding the infrastructure of the cities, providing housings, schools and hospitals to meet social needs. This is possible through a drastic cut in the military budget and taxing corporate profits. It is winnable only through struggle. This program would create millions of jobs, and, with affirmative action, would boldly tackle the most urgent problems facing the Black community.

Farrakhan's positions, in essence, justify the present policies of Big Business and the Reagan Administration. Faced with structural changes in the economy and rapid scientific change, they are seeking to entrench a new racist division of labor, with Black workers restricted to the growing pool of unemployed and unskilled labor and excluded from access to education and skilled new jobs which are being created.

Farrakhan's "self-help" program takes monopoly capital off the hook. It tells the Afro-American worker at General Motors, for example, that the corporation is under no obligation to provide jobs, and neither is the federal government. This scheme just pumps the hands of these corporations.

Getting "lands where there are rich mineral resources" will require some handpumping as well—the hands of the oil corporations and the military-industrial complex. This mineral wealth no longer belongs to Native-Americans, the historical owners of the lands. The great bulk of it has long since been expropriated by the oil companies. The only way to get "a piece of this action" is in collusion with the enemies of the Native American people.

Farrakhan works hard to convince people that he is a "different kind of leader" who, he says, will be "more successful than all the other leaders who have come before me . . . including Malcolm X and Martin Luther King."

He is different. He is different in that it is not social issues which motivate him. To him the main question is Islam versus Judaism.

Farrakhan operates under conditions in which the military-industrial complex is extremely influential, at a time when monopoly capital is decaying, parasitical, aggressive and antihuman. It is only in the context of these conditions and times that Farrakhan can be explained.

Much has been said of the climate Farrakhan creates. Even Farrakhan acknowledges that he sometimes helps create the kind of atmosphere in which some forces took upon themselves the murder of Malcolm X. And as William Tatum stated in an editorial in the *Amsterdam*

News, behind the ones who pulled the trigger were the enemies of Blacks.

But, in fact, Farrakhan is only a bit actor in a scene which is set by the most reactionary sectors of Big Business, the ultra-reactionary elements grouped around the Reagan Administration. They need a particular kind of atmosphere to carry out policies which violate the interests of the majority of the people; they rely on violence, corruption, the most immoral and despicable behavior. Everything decent they oppose. They themselves are immoral and indecent.

They attack organizations and leaders that oppose their policies. They seek to destroy people's organizations, either by outright force or by disruption. This is the atmosphere created by the military-industrial complex. This accounts for the the present attack upon Afro-Americans. This is the atmosphere in which Farrakhan operates.

THE PHENOMENON OF THE BLACK ULTRA-RIGHT

Reaction requires a "new type" of Black leadership to carry its policies into the Black community, to undermine tried and tested leaders, to sow confusion and to build a base of support. It breeds and grooms such "leaders." Though gelded at birth, they are paraded about as some viable and healthy new stock to place your bet on. They, in essence, are the Trojan horse of Reaganism, opening the gates to reactionary policies in the Black community.

This accounts for the present growth of the Black ultra-Right, some of whom have received appointments in the Reagan Administration. They attack Black leaders and organizations and reject demands for equality. Farrakhan is the flip side of that coin. No matter how that coin lands, the Reaganites win.

During his recent tour, Farrakhan reserved his most vitriolic words for Afro-American leaders. He warns them, "you are through. We are sick of these silly Uncle Toms doing their mas-

ters' bidding." He exhorts his audiences to learn the lesson of South Africa, where "Blacks are killing the buffer, the privileged Negroes, in order to get the enemy."

Where Farrakhan goes he leaves the Black community divided and under attack. In New York, he did not denounce Koch, but David Dinkins, recently elected Black borough president of Manhattan. He took the same approach against Mayor Bradley in Los Angeles.

Consider what such activities could mean for Afro-American and progressive representation in the 1986 and 1987 elections. In the key industrial cities, unity in the Afro-American community and between this community and organized labor, other nationalities, the Jewish people, women, youth and seniors is critical for victory. A slight shift in votes could mean defeat in Chicago, California and many congressional districts where Blacks are running for office.

WHO IS SERVED BY ANTI-SEMITISM?

The making of the Farrakhan phenomenon is creating all kinds of strange bedfellows. Farrakhan is promoted by the very forces who demand that Blacks criticize him. The attacks on Farrakhan by unconcealed opponents of Afro-American equality serve to give him legitimacy in the Black community.

On the other hand, Farrakhan's anti-Semitism legitimizes the Zionists who piggyback on Reagan.

Furthermore, the Reaganites use Farrakhan in their attempt to put an end to affirmative action, proceeding under the fraudulent banner of "color blindness." They hold up Farrakhan as evidence that racism comes from the heart and mind, that it is neither Black nor white. In this way they cover up the system of special oppres-

sion and exploitation of Afro-Americans, the roots of which lie in the system of monopoly capitalist relations and which remains, despite the reforms which have been won, fundamentally intact.

It would be a dangerous mistake to deny or downplay Farrakhan's anti-Semitism. He seeks to turn the longings of Afro-Americans for equality against the Jewish people, thereby sabotaging the struggle for equality and besmirching the outstanding contributions which Afro-Americans have made to the history of our country.

The emotions he stirs up against the Jews, the ridiculing of their history and the slander of their contribution is matched only by the most reactionary forces. He has picked up the slanders of the Nazis to threaten the Jewish people. Jews, he says, faced with the wrath of God, "can't say 'never again' because when He puts you in the oven you will burn indeed."

Farrakhan does not instill national pride among Afro-American youth. He betrays it. National pride stems from the best traditions of a people. Among Afro-Americans, these traditions have been forged in the fires of struggle against oppression, including against the morality of the oppressor. This has molded a moral outlook which despises oppression, suffering, racism, exclusiveness and the belittling of the culture, contribution and heritage of other peoples. It links Afro-Americans to the freedom struggles of peoples throughout the world.

Farrakhan violates all the traditions and morals born of struggle. Hence his spurious schemes; hence his vilification of Afro-American leaders and his contempt for the Jewish people.

There is no part of the Farrakhan program that one can seriously agree with. If, now and again, something he says seems to express the real grievances of an oppressed people, that is only the necessary device of a demagogue. □

In Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of 'Huckleberry Finn'

PHILLIP BONOSKY

In Ernest Hemingway's *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), there appears the by-now-famous passage:

All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*. If you read it you must stop where N . . . Jim is stolen from the boys. That is the real end. The rest is just cheating. But it's the best book we've had. All American writing comes from that. There was nothing before. There had been nothing else as good since.

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, ostensibly a sequel to Twain's earlier *Tom Sawyer*, was published in 1885. Walt Whitman had already published his *Leaves of Grass* (1885), Henry David Thoreau his *Walden* (1854), Herman Melville his *Moby Dick* (1851)—to name just these, which are also rooted in the heart of American literature and influence American writing to this day.

But no matter. The point that Hemingway makes, consciously or unconsciously, has haunted American literary history ever since *Huckleberry Finn* first appeared in the middle of the Gilded Age and struck such a blow at class hypocrisy that even the laughter in which it was embedded did not manage to alleviate the sting.

The reason why bourgeois America has never been able to come to terms with this book, and less so with the author himself, is to be found in the following words which Mark Twain wrote in revulsion to the bloody American imperialist subjugation of the Philippine struggle for independence (1898-1900):

. . . our Christianity, which we have always been so proud of—not to say, vain of—is now nothing but a shell, a sham, a hypocrisy; that we have lost our ancient sympathy with oppressed peoples struggling for life and liberty; that when we are not coldly indifferent to such things we sneer at them, and that

the sneer is about the only expression the newspapers and nation deal in with regard to such things. (Quoted by Maxwell Geismar in *Mark Twain on the Damned Human Race*.)

Those words were not only applicable then; they remain contemporary, therefore dangerous. They are not the episodic expression of a man, the body of whose social judgements does not go to support them. *All* of Mark Twain's life had led to this summation of his beliefs, and without straining to force the artist into a mold incompatible with his natural inclinations, it is just and proper to say, based on the entire body of his work, that Mark Twain belongs inevitably to the revolutionary-democratic tradition in America, and in the world.

He remains contemporary, because opposition to American imperialism, and a belief in revolutionary democracy, to which American imperialism is opposed, is the burning issue of our times in many, mainly Third World, countries. Mark Twain's vitality rises directly out of the fact that he is rooted in a revolutionary belief in democracy. Furthermore, this revolutionary belief in democracy was the dominant expression, the heart of the ideology, of *all* major American writers of the nineteenth century. It was this belief that was at the center of the major literary tradition not only in America, but everywhere in the nineteenth century. And it is precisely this major literary tradition which is being steadily eroded and undermined by an army of critical *gauleiters* in the United States today, whose attempt to substitute a *minor* literary tendency, summed up in the evasions of "modernism," for the major American literary tradition, forms the essence of the struggle for a democratic literature in which Mark Twain still plays a vital role.

Malcolm Cowley, in his *After the Genteel Tradition* (1936), noted that all the great Ameri-

can writers before the turn of the century were influenced by, and tended to support, socialism as they understood it (in the words of Mark Twain's lifelong friend William Dean Howells—an "economic democracy"), or some form of populism in their opposition to the galloping monopolization of the natural resources of the country and the Robber Barons' plundering of its wealth. But it was Mark Twain who created the most searing classic indictment of capitalism in its wild and unbridled greed for plunder in his *Gilded Age* (with Charles Dudley Warner) published in 1874. Twain's description of the corruption of government and business—those twin heads with one body—is an almost literal rendition in fiction of Marx's famous description of the birth of capitalism as "oozing filth and blood from every pore."

If this book were first to be published today (with not too much changed in it), Mark Twain would be denounced as a "Stalinist Communist" by the cabal of overripe New Critics and *Partisan Review* bargain-basement Trotskyites on their way to lecture for a stiff fee at Columbia University or to publish their antidemocratic lucubrations under the guise of attacks on "Stalinism" at some respectable publishing house secretly funded by the CIA.

It is no accident that the bulk of Mark Twain's revolutionary writing had to wait for publication after his death, and even today not all of it has seen the light of print.

PUBLICATION OF *The Celebrated Jumping Frog* as a book, his first book, in 1867, made Mark Twain an overnight success and established him on the national scene as not only a humorist but a humorist of the American Frontier—crude, vulgar, unbuttoned, anything but a polite essayist in the refined tradition of the genteel New England writers, whom he would call, in another context, the "three deadbeats"—Emerson, Longfellow and Holmes.

His following books, *Innocents Abroad* (1869), *Roughing It* (1872) and *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), would extend his reputation as a humorist. His books reporting on his travels abroad among the hallowed ruins of Europe coincided

with the stereotype of the tourist American gawking at Europe's museum world and being overawed by it. But Twain departed from it with his uncorrupted child's-eye view of a European culture that had become overrefined and stilted, lacking the raw vitality of the America he knew, and which he expressed.

His reputation as a clown, and with two more of his books, *The Prince and the Pauper* and *Tom Sawyer*, and possibly *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, as a teller of boys' tales, was to pursue him throughout his life (and beyond). Nevertheless, it would serve as his passport (though a false one) into precincts that would have been otherwise closed to him. This most serious social critic in all of America's literature had to operate under the guise of a boy's storyteller and gents' smoking-parlor funnyman. He had to labor for a hearing on the same principle as did the jester in the king's court. The clown in cap and bells could blurt out improprieties (and receive at most a cuff on the ear) that would have put the courtier's head on the chopping block. Mark Twain's most potent truths were placed into the mouths of fools, outcasts, criminals, con men, business failures, slaves and—a boy who was a living scandal and outrage and irreducible enemy to all the "civilizing" influences of the genteel, white, lower-middle-class culture: Huckleberry Finn.

HERE WE MUST CONSIDER Twain's two "boy" heroes—Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. Tom Sawyer was destined to become the prototype of the all-American boy, sanctified in Boy Scout posters—good-natured; a prankster but not bad; a very imaginative, extremely resourceful, kind-hearted, essentially honest, normal boy; a book reader, but mainly of blood-and-thunder adventure stories, and not an intellectual; a nonconformist but not a rebel: in fact, every man's idealized concept of himself as a boy.

Nevertheless, there is more to be said about him. He will turn out to be the root prototype of that line of American adolescents who will develop from freckle-faced, open-hearted Tom Sawyer up through Booth Tarkington's funny-

awkward adolescent Penrod in *Seventeen* (1916), into Salinger's sensitive, outraged, frightened but still-caring Holden Caulfield in *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), into precipitate social decline with William Burrough's sado-masochist homosexual junkies (*Naked Lunch*, 1959), who nevertheless retain, in Burrough's words, that "sincere little boy look . . . right off the *Saturday Evening Post* cover with a string of bullheads" and who will kill for the thrill of it.

In their teens Tom Sawyer's modern de-classed descendants will learn to play at crime and rebellion (which merge in them). The serious business of life to Huckleberry Finn and Jim will be no more than sport to today's Tom Sawyers.

In this book, both Huckleberry Finn and the slave Jim are engaged in a real criminal act—the slave is escaping from his legal owner and the boy is helping the slave to break the law. They are both aware of how dangerous their actions are. Now, at a certain point, Tom Sawyer will join them, but for him the drama of the escape will be a game—a thrill. In this opposition of motive for committing what, in essence, was a revolutionary act, Mark Twain will make of Tom Sawyer the prototype of the middle-class *unserious rebel* who, for subjective reasons, will join in with the real rebels in a struggle, deadly serious to the real rebels, but which for *him* will only be sport—an adventure, a game.

The story of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is so well-known that no recapitulation of its plot is necessary. We know that the book ostensibly starts off where the previous *Tom Sawyer* broke off—both Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer had been made rich by the money they had found in the cave. With wealth, it was now incumbent on Huck to "settle down," to give up his vagrant ways, and to accept the life the Widow Douglas had mapped out for him, with "a home . . . and have him educated; and . . . she . . . would start him in business in a modest way."

Though this prospect of middle-class life, by all the standards of the day, should have been pleasing, it struck Huck Finn with horror. To him such a life was a negation of his

freedom. And though Mark Twain presents this "freedom" as the freedom of a social outcast, we need not read it that way. Huck Finn's horror of what amounted to a denial of his true self is so deep that when he revolts against it, he not only runs physically away from such a fate but he *kills himself* (pretends he is dead). In his escape from what he took to be a living death, he joined up with Jim, also escaping from slavery (even the same slaveowner—the Widow Douglas), and in his involvement with Jim's struggle to free himself, Huck Finn, to his surprise, realizes that both struggles have merged and in freeing Jim he also frees himself.

The most crucial moment in the drama of the making of the American conscience occurs in this "boy's book," and is brought about by precisely that same Mark Twain of whom Van Wyck Brooks could still cry well after Twain's death: "Irresponsible child that he is, he does not even ask himself whether he is doing right or wrong."

All the long way down the river, Huck Finn finds himself locked in a tremendous struggle, with the inner voice of his conscience accusing him of committing a crime, and even more, a sin (for the Church approved of slavery). His inner struggle is actually a transposition of the outer social struggle, still vital for the times. The moment when this 14-year-old, semiliterate, half-vagabond boy, tormented by his social oppressors in the form of his conscience, cries out: "*All right, then, I'll go to hell!*"—is the highest moral point that American literature had reached up until then. (Even Ahab's search for the white whale in *Moby Dick*, which is a search for evil as fate, does not compare with this. There is already modern ambiguity in Melville's tale that is alien to Twain.)

In that outcry is embodied not only a decision to violate the social and legal mores of the slaveowning South, but also of the *capitalism* of the times, for the slave Jim was *property*, worth \$800. It is the revelation of Jim's humanity, which Huck discovers in Jim's relations to him, and which Huck finds to be morally higher than any slaveowner's, that finally moves him to make his choice. As he contemplates turning

Jim in to his "rightful" owner, he finds himself overwhelmed by remorse when he remembers Jim's tenderness to him, his trust in him, his yearning for his sold-down-the-river wife and children, and he realizes that not only Jim's safety but his own humanity are at stake in Jim's freedom. It's as much to save himself as it is to save Jim that he finally confesses:

It was fifteen minutes before I could work myself up to go and humble myself to a n . . . ; but I done it, and I warn't ever sorry for it afterward, neither.

This, it must be remembered, was a white boy (perhaps 14 or 15 years old) speaking. As a white boy, no matter how disreputable, still he had power over a grown Black man, a slave.

Even in 1885, when the book first appeared, such a passage as the one just cited, and the whole episode of Huck wrestling with his conscience, was too far advanced for most white people to accept (and for some to accept to this day) on any terms but as the irrational expression of a social outlaw—a waif. It was hardly twenty years since the end of the Civil War, and the tens of thousands of former slaves were formally free but in reality still bound to the land—illiterate, still more a rural peasantry than the workers they would eventually become, still largely congregated in the South on the same plantations where they had only yesterday been slaves. Counterrevolution, the betrayal of Reconstruction, had stolen all the fruits of victory from them and outright KKK (and other) terror had stripped them of all civil and even human rights. In the South of 1885, Mark Twain's book was still subversive. In the North, it would have strained hypocrisy to the limit to attempt to pooh-pooh the book as nothing more than a boy's adventure story.

SO FAR SO GOOD. But it is true, as Hemingway asserts, that the book breaks down at the point where Jim is stolen from the boys. But the reader should not follow Hemingway's advice and stop there. In fact, the failure of the book to carry out its full revolutionary potential is as instructive as the successes of the earlier parts.

It is true that the book fails there and that

"the rest is cheating." But the reasons for the failure and the "cheating" lead us directly into the far more universal "cheating" that we now see almost epidemic in American and "Western" literature, where the writers are faced by the same moral dilemma, brought up to date, that Huckleberry Finn was. But where he chose the revolutionary way, they choose the way of Tom Sawyer—of the boy who is white, middle-class, unoppressed and socially approved of.

What is noticeable in this book (unlike in *Tom Sawyer* itself) is that every time Tom Sawyer is introduced on the scene a *falsehood* to the book comes in with him. In the beginning of the book he is still organizing his gang of boys to play at being pirates. But already the note is wrong. For Huck is no longer in the mood to *play*. He is facing a real personal crisis and needs a real solution to it which playing at pirates can not be. With the reappearance of his disreputable father and hemmed in by the Widow Douglas, his life had become serious.

The middle of the book is fine. It is taken up by the relationship between Jim and Huck, whom Jim often refers to tenderly as "honey" (thus putting into business a whole school of frenzied Freudians), but which is a genuine expression of his feeling for Huck and is a factor in Huck's transformation. This warm relationship becomes the fulcrum on which all the events of their picaresque journey—their *Pilgrim's Progress*—turns. The trip down the Mississippi is a trip not only of the discovery of small-town America but of *self-discovery*. Huck realizes, if only dimly, that in helping to free Jim he also simultaneously frees himself—carrying out Marx's famous dictum that "Labor can not emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." This applies not only to "Labor."

It is at this point that Tom Sawyer returns to the scene. Jim has been recaptured and is doomed to be sold down the river. Huck is desperate, but Tom has a plan to rescue him. It is an elaborate, "romantic" plan, taken out of a novel by Alexander Dumas. In his autocratic way, Tom overrules Huck and Jim's more realistic proposals—and the plan fails. Jim is recap-

tured. Tom Sawyer is shot in the leg.

But the fact that now emerges is crucial to understanding why this part of the book rings so false. For all the time Tom Sawyer was carrying out his elaborate (and dangerous) plan to rescue Jim, *he already knew that Jim was actually a free man*. Jim had been meanwhile freed by his owner, the Widow Douglas. He had no need to be rescued. But Tom set up a game—he played at the game with more than a touch of sadism, of—what it amounted to—committing a crime, effecting a revolutionary act, and thus mocking both.

It is important to go into this part of the book with care, for in it Mark Twain finds (or perhaps only stumbles on) the key to the essential *corruption* and *falsehood* of most of the “revolutionary” avant-garde writers and artists and activists today (New Left, Red Brigade, Weatherman, Symbionese Army, etc.) who irresponsibly play (if often dangerously) at what is serious work for the oppressed—their liberation.

When Tom is asked why he went on with his elaborate scheme for freeing the already freed, he says, “Why, I wanted the *adventure* [sic!] of it; and I’d ‘a’ waded neck-deep in blood to . . .” Here he’s interrupted, but if he had gone on it would have been to say something like “get the thrill, or for the fun of it.”

Hardly a half century later, Andre Gide, that upper-class admirer of Hitler and Petain, would also elaborate a theory for playing at crime—having the perverted landowner poaching on his own land alongside the poacher who poaches out of need (*The Immoralist*).

But this is not the direction in which Mark Twain went.

DESPITE THE FACT that it has endured a hundred years, there are still voices raised against *Huckleberry Finn* on the grounds that it is racist. As proof, these critics point to Mark Twain’s use of dialect, which they consider demeaning today,

and to the character of Jim who, in their eyes, is hardly more than an Uncle Tom.

But dialect—often for satirical ends—was very widely used by writers in the nineteenth century, and for proof one need search no further than the Mr. Dooley books by Peter Finley Dunn, especially his *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War* (1898), in which the salty opinions of one Irish saloonkeeper are delivered in a thick Irish brogue far removed from lace-curtain Irish respectability. The Black poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar (1872-1906), who was generally acclaimed in that period, also used Black dialect in his poems, which celebrated the life of ordinary Blacks. Many others wrote entirely in dialect as well, which was accepted as a literary convention.

To expect a fourteen-year-old school dropout to speak in the King’s English is to expect too much. Huck used the language natural to a Southern small-town outcast and that language was not genteel. Nevertheless, he was a real rebel.

As for Jim, not only is his personality endearing, but his deeds mark him out to be a truly brave man, who refused to accept slavery. In his day, to break for freedom took enormous courage, and not only physical courage but a real understanding of what freedom, under the circumstances, would mean to him and other slaves. By his actions he fought against slavery as an institution, and that was revolutionary.

As for Mark Twain himself, his use of language, when he was speaking in his own person, was always sensitive and correct.

Mark Twain was pre-eminently a daylight writer. He was the most normal of American novelists. By this is not meant that he conformed to any statistical average, but that his response to the real social forces at work in his world was *normal*—that is, appropriate, that is, revolutionary. □

The Socialist Economy and Its Critics

D. VALOVOI

It has taken the socialist system only a few decades to demonstrate its advantages over capitalism. But the greater its successes, the fiercer has been the "holy crusade of hounding" the new system has been subjected to. Our opponents have been particularly lavish with their misrepresentations and outright slandering of its economy, the major area of competition between the two world systems.

Advocates of capitalism now declare that effective economic growth among the socialist nations is a thing of the past. What they do not mention, of course, is that the national income derived from its economic activity in the period from 1971 to 1983 has gone up by 82 per cent, industrial output by 98 per cent and the productivity of social labor by 61 per cent, while the respective figures for the USA in the same period were 42 per cent, 37 per cent and 22 per cent. In an article entitled "Sorting Out Myth and Reality," recently published in *Newsweek* magazine, Robert B. Cullen, who spent two and a half years as the magazine's bureau chief in Moscow, gives the following impression of the Soviet Union: "The 'crumbling economy' myth has an especially dangerous corollary . . . No Western crusade is going to bleed it [the Soviet Union] white or make it go away."

It is the measures being discussed in our own press and taken in order to improve the system of national economic management that have been seized upon most eagerly as the reason for the talk about a "crisis" in the USSR's economy. In fact, whenever any of the socialist nations step up the process of upgrading their production relations to meet the challenge of the steady growth of their productive forces, vociferous critics immediately announce there has been another "departure from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism." This what they also said at the time of the economic reforms of

the 1960s. And it is what they are doing again now that the socialist countries are engaged in the process of a further improvement of their system of economic management, taking into account both scientific and technological progress and the experience gained from it. *U.S. News and World Report* has outdone the rest of the American media in a recent series of articles about "The Marxist World—the Lure of Capitalism," a tall tale that would make Baron Munchausen burst with envy. They are full of news about how the "communist nations" are revising their Marxist economic principles, relinquishing the Marxist goal of universal equality, jettisoning the very basics of Marxism and espousing instead the methods of free enterprise.

THE PROFIT MOTIVE AND ITS ROLE UNDER BOTH SYSTEMS

It is profit that is the never-failing *leitmotif* of the anti-Communist chorus. A whole army of scientists and "specialists" of every stripe are busy cultivating the opinion, already polarized in the West, that profit is solely the brainchild of capitalism. Therefore it is "contrary to Marxist-Leninist economic theory" to derive profit from a "planned economy hostile to it." But in fact profit is known to be a monetary expression of surplus value and product, which emerged centuries before the discovery of America and already existed in various forms in slave-owning and feudal societies. As commodity and money relations developed, profit became the basic form of expressing the surplus product.

The need for surplus product in a communist society was scientifically detailed by Marx and further substantiated by Lenin. In his work *State and Revolution*, Lenin writes:

In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx goes into detail to disprove Lasalle's idea that under socialism

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the worker will receive the "undiminished" or "total" product of his labor. Marx shows that out of the sum total of the social labor of society, a reserve fund must be deducted, a fund for the expansion of production, a fund for the replacement of the wear-and-tear of machinery, and so on. Also deducted from the accumulated means of consumption must be a fund for administrative expenses, schools, hospitals, old people's homes, and so on. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 464.)

Therefore, such economic categories as "necessary" and "surplus" labor and product are indispensably present in all the handbooks of the political economy of socialism.

Marxist-Leninist classics have proved with conclusive evidence that the surplus product will exist under full communism as well, the only difference being that it will then be measured in terms of working time, just as will be the entire aggregate social product. Since commodity-money relations continue to exist under socialism, profit is an important form of surplus product. The organization of cost accounting and profitable operation of socialist enterprises was treated in Lenin's work, in his reviews of the opening process of building a socialist society in our country, as one of the most important objectives.

The role of profit as an indicator of the growing efficiency of production is constantly rising in the context of intensified economic activity. Therefore profit is a subject of great concern to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in relation to the process of upgrading the forms and methods of national economic management. But there is also an important difference of principle between capitalist profit and the profitable operation of socialist enterprises.

As is known, the process of production is organized in order to create consumer values, which are the actual means of subsistence. Consumer values form the material content of wealth, whatever its social form. However, the production of actual commodities interests a capitalist only to the extent that it is profitable. The immediate object of capitalist production, Marx wrote, is to produce not commodities but

surplus value, or profit in its advanced form; in other words, not a product, but a surplus product.

Without profit, capitalists risk bankruptcy. So for the sake of profit, they resort to all sorts of expedients—collusion to push up monopoly prices, bribes, even arson, the ruin of their rivals, spying and blackmail. "The official position of American business [and not exclusively American business, in fact—D.V.] is to secure maximum profits," the *Wall Street Journal*, the mouthpiece of American monopolies, announces bluntly. The object of socialist production, on the other hand, is the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of the working people within the limits of production at its current level. As early as 1902, Lenin, while drafting the first Party Program, called for it to spell out that the social revolution of the proletariat would replace private ownership by social ownership and introduce the planned organization of social production not merely "to satisfy the needs of all members of society, but with the further object of ensuring full well-being and free, all-around development for everyone. Ever since the victory of the Great October Revolution, this point has been the keynote of most Party and government documents. It was pointed out at the emergency Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee last March that the Party would unfailingly pursue the social policy it had worked out. "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the good of man"—this strategic tenet must convey greater and greater constructive substance.

Therefore, the immediate concern of production groups under socialism is indeed to produce consumer values. Profit is an important aspect, but it can not be the sole end of production, still less an end in itself.

THE MYTH OF TOTAL EGALITARIANISM

Another common argument used in support of allegations about a "revision" of

Marxist-Leninist economic principles and "deviations from the Marxist goal of universal equality" stems from the fact that the socialist countries are looking for new, more effective forms and methods of economic incentives. The chorus of "holy crusaders" is working hard to make it seem as though according to Marxist-Leninist economic theory there is supposed to be egalitarian distribution of material benefits in the communist world. "According to Marxism," these "experts" declare, "people can be made to work like soldiers or saints." And finally, the clincher: "The development of economic incentives means the renunciation of centralized planning."

True, payment according to one's work is not a communist principle. The main principle of communism is, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." However, one should look to the "scriptures" before preaching one's sermon. None other than Marx himself firmly criticized egalitarianism in the first stage of communist society and provided scientifically sound proof of the need to distribute material benefits at that stage according to the quantity and quality of work. "Equal rights here are still, in principle, bourgeois rights," he wrote. "The equality consists in the fact that measurements are made with an equal gauge—labor." Here Marx pointed out that right can never rise above the economic system and the cultural level of a society, but results from it.

Elaborating on the Marxist principles of distribution of material benefits under communism, Lenin wrote that the first phase of communism could not ensure true social justice and equality. "Differences—even unjust differences—in wealth will still persist; but the exploitation of man by man will have already become impossible," he wrote. Thus, he concluded, "in the first phase of a communist society (usually called socialism) bourgeois legality is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the level of economic revolution attained so far, i.e., only in relation to the means of production."

During the transition from "military communism" (which as we know was a forced mea-

sure resulting from historic conditions of that period) to the New Economic Policy, or NEP, the principle of distribution according to one's work became one of the fundamental principles of the socialist economic system. Summing up the experience of building a new society on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin wrote that socialism must be built "not directly and solely relying on enthusiasm but only aided by enthusiasm . . . and on the basis of self-interest." Moreover, his thesis that it would be a utopian dream to imagine one could "work for society without considering any norms of law" already in the first phase of communism holds true to this day.

During the early years of Soviet government, communes were set up where large private landed estates had once been. Organizers would introduce, on their own initiative, egalitarian distribution of profits according to the number of family members, including children, regardless of any count of able-bodied persons and their contribution to the common cause. Sincerely convinced that they could thus hasten the building of a new society, the communards did not understand that they were acting in violation of the science-based principles of communism. The experience of the socialist countries has since clearly demonstrated that the egalitarian principle of distribution is also alien to socialism.

Acceleration of scientific and technological progress requires a more profound application of the law of distribution according to the quantity and quality of work. It is perfectly natural therefore that the socialist countries, taking into account the specific conditions and individual distinctions each functions under, should be looking for new, more effective forms of individual and collective incentive. The Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU held in April 1985 proposed "working out concrete, effective measures to clear the system of distribution of egalitarianism, the awarding of unearned income, and whatever else runs counter to the economic norms and ethical concepts of our society [and] to make certain that the standard of living of every worker and every work

collective directly depends on the results of their labors."

THE SEARCH FOR SOCIALIST DOGMAS

And now a few words about "dogmas." To search for them in the socialist countries is a futile pursuit, primarily because the classics of scientific communism set out the essence of their doctrine with the utmost clarity, which rules out any ambiguous interpretations or reservations. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* states unequivocally: "The theory of communism may be summed up in a single sentence: abolition of private property." That is why the answer to the question of who owns the major, decisive means of production—the factories, plant, mines, railroads, and so on—and in what direction the whole process has been developing provides at the same time the answer to the question of whether or not a specific country is involved in the construction of a communist society.

Secondly, in their analysis of the laws governing the movement of the capitalist mode of production and of the objective necessity of replacing it with a more advanced system—a communist one—the classics of Marxism-Leninism outlined only the most general, basic principles and features of the new society. They noted more than once that their doctrine was not dogma but a guide to action. "We are not advocates of constant, continuous development and we do not intend to foist or dictate any rigid, definitive law on mankind," Frederick Engels declared. "As for preconceived opinions on the details of organizing the future society, one will not find even a hint of them in what we say or write. We will be perfectly satisfied if we simply manage to help hand over the means of production to society as a whole," he went on to say.

The classics did not leave any rigid directives for concrete forms or methods of management. In his speech at the First Congress of Economic Councils, the speech which dealt with

the organization of the new society, V.I. Lenin said that, "When we took power for the purpose of proceeding with socialist reorganization, we knew that private ownership of the means of production was historically doomed, that the exploiters would inevitably be expropriated, but we simply could not have known either the exact forms of the coming transformation or guessed the possible rate of development of the concrete reorganization." Or, as he graphically put it, while the bourgeoisie, when it came to power, "inherited a pretested vehicle, a prepaved road, and already well-tested, well-oiled tools," the proletariat, on taking power, "had nothing to rely on—no vehicle, no road, and absolutely no tools that had been tried out beforehand."

Hence the search for concrete forms and methods of managing the national economy began only after the triumph of the socialist revolution and the liquidation of private ownership of the means of production. At times everything was done by the only method possible—trial and error. There was a period, for instance, when the law of value was simply ignored in the Soviet economy. At times, too, prices had little relation to socially necessary expenditures. Wild things happened. The prices of some farm products were so low that they didn't even cover the cost of transportation to the procurement centers. Not until after the September 1953 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee did the situation really improve. Further significant work on refining the economic mechanism in agriculture was carried out following the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. All this is part of the normal process of creative work. But each time, such measures engendered in the West new waves of speculation about "dogmas," about the renunciation of Marxism. And each time, of course, they ended up bursting like soap bubbles.

A second, and rather massive, wave of supposed dogmas arises from counterposing the various methods of economic management adopted in the different socialist countries. These "dogma" collections are concocted on the basis of the following principle: If any forms or

methods of managing the national economy of a socialist country differ from those that exist in the Soviet Union, this is promptly broadcast as evidence of "divergence from traditional Marxist precepts." The "experts" are trying to create the impression that communism, allegedly, has to be built according to a single set pattern. For example, the search for more effective methods of managing the economy in some of the countries of the socialist community has been exploited as an "argument" for the assumption that these countries are "diverging from the traditional Marxist aim of universal equality." But the fact is that no one has ever formulated any such aim.

Right now, the economic-management systems of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are being carefully overhauled, with due account being taken of the specific conditions and achievements of each of them. At the same time, in the context of the great diversity of national specifics and traditions, which it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration in building socialism, practice has fully confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical idea that the construction of socialism must rest on a number of basic laws which are intrinsic to all countries that have chosen the road of building communism. As the experience of the development of the socialist system has shown, ignoring these laws can only produce adverse effects.

THE SEDUCTIVE APPEAL OF FREE ENTERPRISE

And now we finally come to the "irresistible temptations" of free enterprise. To set the record straight, it should be noted right from the start that genuine free enterprise, with its concomitant, the epoch of free competition, has long sunk into oblivion. Just as Lenin predicted, it has been replaced by the domination of the monopolies. In its pursuit of higher and higher profits, capital today reaches out abroad. As long as capitalism remains capitalism, sur-

plus capital in each particular country is used not to upgrade the living standards of its own masses, for this would result in falling profits for the capitalists, but to boost profits through the export of capital to less-developed countries.

Export of capital can be compared to pumping blood out of a human body. The greater the export of capital in the chase after superprofits, the more acute the problems of inflation and unemployment which have already acquired a chronic character.

Then what sort of "temptations" can really exist to lure us toward capitalism? Well, compared to earlier times, there are some "nice points" one might mention. For example, in the Middle Ages the homeless and jobless in England were branded and hanged. Under modern capitalism there is no danger of that. But the people are free to die of hunger or commit suicide. One of the great utopian socialists, Fourier, wrote, still at the dawn of capitalism: "The servants of capital keep talking about human rights, but they forget to establish the principle of the right to work, without which the gifts of capitalist civilization become useless or are nullified."

Speaking in the West German Bundestag, the leader of the Social Democratic parliamentary faction, H.J. Vogel, qualified the result of the recent meeting of the Big Seven in Bonn as a failure, adding: "The 35 million jobless in the seven major Western countries were by no means encouraged by the results of that meeting." Thirty five million! With even just one dependent per each gainfully employed, this means that as many as 70 million human beings have no regular means of subsistence. That amounts to a whole nation of "redundant" people! Is this what one calls tempting?

In the USA there is a special "Consultative Employers' Council" whose task it is "to implement the traditional role and right of corporations to secure maximum profits under any and all societal rules or conditions." This clearly shows that the last thing capitalists are concerned with is unemployment or inflation; all

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Program of the CPSU

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU

The following are excerpts from a new edition of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, now in preparation. This document will be a major aspect of the work of the upcoming 27th Congress of the CPSU (February 1986).

—Editors

TO SPEED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The ultimate goal of the CPSU is to build communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two consecutive phases of communist formation. There is no sharp dividing line between them; the development of socialism, ever fuller revelation of its possibilities and advantages, and consolidation of the general communist principles characteristic of it is what is meant by the actual advance of society to communism.

Communism is a classless social system, with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society. Under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress of science and technology; all the springs of social wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle, "From each according to his ability, from each according to his needs" will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people, a society in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labor for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

The material and technical foundation of communism presupposes the creation of productive forces which open up opportunities for full satisfaction of the reasonable requirements

of society and of the individual. All productive activities under communism will be based on the use of highly efficient technologies and technical facilities and a harmonious interaction of man and nature will be ensured.

At the highest phase of communism the directly social character of labor and production will become firmly established. Through complete elimination of the remnants of the old division of labor and essential social differences associated with it, the process of formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism signifies the transformation of the system of socialist self-government by the people, of socialist democracy, into the highest form of organization of society—communist public self-government. With the maturation of the necessary socio-economic and ideological preconditions and the involvement of all citizens in administration, the socialist state—given appropriate international conditions—will, as Lenin predicted, increasingly become a "transitional form from a state to a nonstate." The activities of state bodies will become nonpolitical in character and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

The inalienable feature of the communist mode of production is a high level of political consciousness, of social activity, of discipline and self-discipline of members of society, in which observance of uniform, generally accepted rules of communist conduct will become an inner need and habit of every person.

Communism is a social system under which the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not foresee in detail the features of complete communism. As society advances to communism and more experience is accumulated in building it, scientific notions of the highest phase of a new society will become more elaborate and concrete.

The growing of socialism into commu-

nism is determined by the objective laws of the development of society, laws which can not be disregarded. Any attempts to move ahead too fast and to introduce communist principles without taking into consideration the level of material and spiritual maturity of society are, as experience has shown, doomed to failure and may cause both economic and political losses.

At the same time the CPSU believes that there must be no delay in effecting the necessary transformations and solving new tasks. The Party takes into account the fact that, along with undeniable successes, the 1970s and 1980s saw certain unfavorable trends and difficulties in the country's development. To a great extent these were due to failure to assess promptly and appropriately changes in the economic situation and the need for profound transformations in all spheres of life, and to lack of persistence in carrying them out. This prevented fuller use of the potentialities and advantages of the socialist system and impeded onward movement.

The CPSU believes that under the present domestic and international conditions the all-round progress of Soviet society, its onward movement toward communism, can and must be ensured by accelerating the country's socio-economic development. This is the strategic line of the Party for qualitatively transforming all aspects of life in Soviet society: a radical renewal of its material and technical foundation on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, perfection of social relations, above all economic; profound changes in the content and nature of labor and in people's material and cultural conditions; and invigoration of the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions.

The Party links successful solution of the tasks set with an increased role of the human factor. Socialist society can not function effectively without finding new ways of developing the creative activity of the masses in all spheres of public life. The greater the scope of the historic goals, the more important is the interested, responsible, conscious and active participation of millions of people in achieving them.

Soviet society is to reach new heights on the basis of acceleration of its socio-economic

development. This means

- *In the economic sphere*—raising the national economy to a basically new scientific-technological level, gearing it towards intensive development, achieving the world's highest level in productivity of social labor, quality of output and efficiency of production; ensuring an optimum structure and balance for the integral national economic complex of the country; significantly raising the level of socialization of labor and production; drawing closer together the collective-farm and cooperative property and the property of the people as a whole, with the prospect of their merging in the future.

- *In the social sphere*—ensuring a qualitatively new level of people's well-being while consistently implementing the socialist principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; establishment of an essentially classless structure of society, gradual elimination of substantial differences in the socio-economic, cultural and living standards of town and countryside; ever more organic combination of physical and mental labor in production activities; further cohesion of the Soviet people as a social and international community; a high level of creative energy and initiative on the part of the masses.

- *In the political sphere*—the development of socialist self-government by the people through ever greater involvement of citizens in running state and public affairs, improvement of the activities of elective bodies of people's power, enhancement of the role of the trade unions, Komsomol and other mass organizations of the working people, and effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy.

- *In the sphere of cultural life*—the further consolidation of socialist ideology in the minds of Soviet people, full establishment of the moral principles of socialism, of the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, bringing the achievements of science and cultural values within the reach of the broadest masses of the population, and molding of a harmoniously developed man.

These transformations will bring about a qualitatively new state in Soviet society, "complete socialism," as Lenin referred to it, which

fully reveals the enormous advantages of the new system in all spheres of life. Thus a historic step will be made on the road to the highest phase of communism. The Party always correlates its policy, economic and social strategy, and the tasks of its organizational and ideological work with the communist perspective.

ECONOMIC STRATEGY OF THE PARTY

The task set by the Party to accelerate the social and economic development of the country calls for profound changes, primarily in the decisive sphere of human activity—the economy. A sharp turn is to be made towards the intensification of production and every enterprise and every sector is to be reoriented toward top-priority and utmost use of qualitative factors of economic growth. A transition must be ensured to an economy of supreme organization and efficiency, with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist production relations and a smoothly functioning economic mechanism. The country's production potential should double and be fundamentally and qualitatively renewed by the end of the year 2000.

These tasks are being tackled by the Party and the people under conditions of the further deepening of the scientific and technological revolution, which is exerting strong influence on all aspects of present-day production, on the entire system of social relations, on man and his environment, and is opening up new prospects for considerably boosting labor productivity and the progress of society as a whole.

The historical mission of socialism is to apply the achievements of science and the most advanced and efficient technology in the building of communism, and thus lay a solid material foundation for the realization of the principal program aims of the CPSU—the rapid growth of people's well-being, man's all-around development, and the strengthening of the economic and defense potential of our homeland.

Scientific and technological progress

The basic issue in the Party's economic strategy is the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. A new technical reconstruction of the national economy is to be carried out and the material and technical foundation of society thereby transformed.

Of primary importance is rapid renewal of the production apparatus on an advanced technological basis, extensive introduction of the most advanced technological processes and flexible production lines that make it possible quickly to put out new products with maximum economic and social effect. Comprehensive mechanization in all sectors of production and nonproduction spheres is to be completed and a major step is to be taken in the automation of production, involving a transition to automatic shops and plants and automated control and design systems. Electrification, chemicalization, robotization and computerization of production will be effected and biotechnology used on an increasingly large scale.

The Party will facilitate in every way the further growth and effective use of the country's scientific and technical potential and the development of scientific research which opens up new opportunities for major, revolutionary changes in the intensification of the economy. The introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology in production, management, public services and everyday life must be ensured everywhere. Science will become in full measure a force directly involved in production.

A considerable increase in labor productivity is to be achieved on the basis of acceleration of scientific and technological progress, radical changes in machinery and technology and mobilization of all technical, organizational, economic and social factors. Without this, as V.I. Lenin taught, "the full transition to communism is impossible." Labor productivity is to be increased 130-150 per cent in the coming fifteen years as an important stage on the way to the highest productivity.

Reserves for growth in labor productivity must be used to the utmost at every amalgamation, every enterprise and every workplace. There must be active work to reduce the labor

intensity of products, to cut waste of working time, to introduce up-to-date equipment and technologies, strengthen order and discipline, improve standard-setting, apply broadly progressive forms of scientific organization of labor, raise production standards and make work collectives more stable.

Scientific and technological progress should be aimed at a radical improvement in the utilization of natural resources, raw and other materials, fuel and energy at all stages—from mining and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the output and use of end products. The rates of reduction of material intensity, metal intensity and power intensity of national income must be increased. Saving of resources will become the decisive source of meeting the growing requirements of the national economy in fuel, energy, raw and other materials.

All-around improvement in the technical level and quality of products will always be the center of the Party's economic policy. Soviet products should incorporate the latest achievements of scientific thought, meet the highest technical, economic, aesthetic and other consumer demands and be competitive on the world market. Improving product quality is the reliable way of more fully meeting the country's requirements in commodities and the population's growing demand for a variety of goods. Poor quality and rejects mean wasted material resources and labor. The Party will actively support efforts to maintain the reputation of the Soviet trademark. The quality of products should be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technological progress depends not only on an increase in the output of the latest technical facilities but also on better use of fixed assets, and an increase in the output of products per unit of equipment, per square meter of production space. The present downward trend in output-asset ratio is to be overcome and, in the long run, this ratio is to be increased.

Accelerated scientific and technological progress is making ever greater demands on the general and vocational education of working people. The line of improving the entire system of training personnel and raising its skills, of

keeping, on a planned basis, the number of workplaces consistent with manpower resources in all economic sectors and regions of the country is to be pursued.

The drive for all-around intensification and rationalization of production, for its highest efficiency through scientific and technological progress, is being organically combined, under the conditions of socialist economic planning, with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, with full employment and steady improvement of all aspects of life.

ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Established as a result of the Socialist Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat played the decisive role in creating the new society, and in the process it, too, underwent changes. With the abolition of the exploiter classes its function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually faded away and full scope was given to accomplishing its foremost, constructive tasks. Fulfilling its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat has evolved into a political organization of all working people, while the proletarian state has become a state of the whole people. It is the main tool for perfecting socialism in our country, while on the international scene it performs the functions of protecting socialist gains, strengthening the positions of world socialism, countering the aggressive policy of imperialist forces and developing peaceful cooperation with all nations.

The CPSU believes that at the present stage the strategic line of development of the political system of Soviet society consists of advancing Soviet democracy and increasingly promoting socialist self-government by the people on the basis of day-to-day, active and effective participation of working people, their collectives and organizations, in decision-making concerning the affairs of state and society.

The leading force in this process is the Party, the nucleus of the political system of So-

viety society. It exercises guidance over the work of all other parts of this system—the Soviet state, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the cooperatives and other public organizations reflecting the common and specific interests of all sections of the population, of all the nations and nationalities of the country. Acting within the framework of the Constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of state and public organizations and sees to it that each of them discharges its functions in full. In all its activities the Party sets an example of serving the interests of the people and observing the principles of socialist democracy.

The Party makes sure that the principles of socialist self-government by the people are consistently applied in the administration of society and the state, that is, that the work of administration is not only carried out in the interests of working people, but also becomes naturally, step by step, a direct concern of working people themselves, who, to use Lenin's words, know no authority except the authority of their own unity.

The Party will continue to work to ensure that the socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms of citizens are extended and enriched and that ever more favorable conditions and guarantees are created for their full exercise. Soviet citizens have every possibility to express and exercise their civic will and interests and enjoy all the benefits of socialism. Soviet citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of their constitutional duties. It is an immutable political principle of socialist society that there are no rights without duties and no duties without rights. The CPSU will continue its persistent efforts to make sure that every Soviet citizen is educated in a spirit of awareness of the indivisibility of his rights, freedoms and duties.

A matter of key importance for the Party's policy is to develop and strengthen the Soviet socialist state and increasingly reveal its democratic nature as a state of the whole people.

The CPSU makes constant efforts to improve in every way the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies—the political foundation of the USSR, the main element in socialist self-gov-

ernment by the people. The Party attaches great significance to perfecting the forms of the people's representation and the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system and to ensuring free, comprehensive discussion of the candidates' personal and professional qualities so that the most capable and respected people are elected to the Soviets. In order to improve the work of the Soviets and infuse fresh blood into them, in order that more millions of people will go through the school of running the state, the composition of deputies to the Soviets will be systematically renewed at elections.

The CPSU makes every effort to facilitate the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, of consistently perfecting legislation, effectively resolving the key problems of home and foreign policy, exercising vigorous guidance over the Soviets of People's Deputies and checking on the work done by the agencies under them. The role of local Soviets in ensuring comprehensive economic and social development of their respective regions, in implementing tasks of local significance and in coordinating and checking on the activities of organizations in their areas, will continue to grow.

All conditions should be created for the strict fulfillment of Lenin's instructions that the Soviets should be bodies that not only make decisions, but also help organize and check on their implementation. Soviets on all levels should apply ever more fully democratic principles of work, including collective, free and constructive self-criticism and criticism; the deputies' regular reporting back to their constituencies and their accountability to them to the extent of being recalled before the expiry of their term of office for having failed to justify the voters' confidence; control over the work done by executive and other agencies; and extensive involvement of citizens in administration.

The democratic process

The Party will unswervingly conduct a policy of democratizing administration, the process of working out and adopting decisions of state importance, which ensures selection of optimal solutions and the consideration and comparison

of different opinions and proposals put forward by work collectives at their meetings as well as by citizens at their places of residence. The more important draft laws and decisions will be submitted for countrywide discussion and put to a popular vote. The range of matters to be decided on only after discussion in work collectives, standing commissions of the Soviets and trade union, YCL and other public organizations, will broaden. The task is to continue to improve the system of summing up and fulfilling mandates given by electors to their candidates in elections and other suggestions and proposals from citizens and of studying public opinion, and to enable the people to be better informed about the decisions taken and the results of their implementation.

The CPSU attaches much significance to improving the performance of the state apparatus and other administrative bodies. The Soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It should be highly competent and efficient. It is necessary to work for a streamlining of the administrative machinery, a reduction of costs and elimination of redundant jobs, persistently to eradicate manifestations of red tape, formalism, departmentalism and parochialism and get rid of incompetent and inert officials without delay. Careless work, abuse of office, careerism, and striving for personal enrichment, nepotism and favoritism should be relentlessly rooted out and severely punished.

The Party considers it necessary to abide undeviatingly by the principle of accountability of the staff of state bodies and extend, when advisable, the system of filling vacancies through election or competition. The work of the state machinery at all levels should be consistently carried out on a collective basis with the chief official at each level remaining personally responsible for the work done by his department; and officials should be judged objectively by their practical work and there should be effective control over the actual fulfillment of the decisions taken.

The CPSU will actively help to raise the efficiency of the work of People's Control. It regards the participation of working people in People's Control bodies as an important way of

increasing their political maturity and heightening their activity in protecting public interests, and of fostering a statesmanlike approach to matters and a careful attitude to public property.

It has been and remains a matter of unrelenting concern to the Party to strengthen the legal foundation of the life of the state and society, ensure strict observance of socialist law and order, and improve the work of the people's courts and other judicial bodies, the agencies of the Procurator's Office and militia. State bodies are obliged to do everything necessary to ensure the safety and good condition of socialist property, protect the personal property of citizens, their honor and dignity, wage an unrelenting struggle against crime, prevent offenses of any kind and remove the causes that provoke them.

The Party and national defense

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards defense of the socialist homeland, a strengthening of the country's defenses and the ensuring of state security, as one of the most important functions of the Soviet state of the whole people.

From the standpoint of the country's internal conditions, our society does not need an army. But as long as there exists the danger of imperialist aggression, military conflicts and various provocations, it is vital to pay unflinching attention to enhancing the defense capacity of the USSR and strengthening its security. The Armed Forces and the state security bodies should display high vigilance and be always ready to cut short imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies and rout any aggressor.

The leadership exercised by the Communist Party over the country's military development and the Armed Forces is the basis for strengthening the defenses of the socialist homeland. It is under the Party's guidance that the country's policy in the field of defense and security and Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and geared to ensuring protection against an outside attack, are worked out and implemented.

The CPSU will continue to make constant efforts to ensure that the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces is a firm union of military prowess, ideological staunchness, a high level of organization and discipline of officers and men, loyalty to their patriotic and internationalist duty, and high technical standards.

The CPSU considers it necessary in the future as well to increase its organizing and directing influence on the Armed Forces' activities, strengthen the principle of one-man leadership, broaden the role and influence of the political bodies and Party organizations of the Army and the Navy and make sure that the Armed Forces' vital links with the people will become still stronger. Every Communist, every Soviet citizen, should do everything possible to maintain the country's defense capacity at an adequate level. Defense of the socialist homeland and military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces are an honorable and sacred duty of Soviet citizens.

The Party attaches foremost importance to enhancing the role of public organizations, which are important component parts of the system of socialist self-government by the people.

The Party and the unions

The CPSU regards it as its task to promote the continued growth of the prestige and influence of the trade unions, which are the most broadly-based organizations of the working people, a school of administration, a school of economic management and a school of communism. The trade unions are to consistently discharge their main functions: to do everything possible to help increase public wealth, improve the people's working and everyday-life conditions and recreation facilities, protect the working people's rights and interests, be constantly involved in the communist education of the masses and draw them into the management of production and affairs of society, and strengthen conscious labor discipline.

Trade union organizations should take a more active part in promoting socialist self-government by the people, in solving the fundamental questions of the development of the

state, economy and culture, interact more closely with the Soviets and other organizations of working people, raise the standards of the socialist emulation movement and the campaign to disseminate advanced experience and promote its wider application, develop social forms of control over observance of the principles of social justice and help work collectives exercise the powers vested in them.

The Party and the youth

The CPSU justly regards the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, a socio-political organization with a membership of many millions, as its faithful helpmate and dependable reserve. The Party will continue to increase the YCL's role in the education of the younger generation and the practical implementation of the tasks of speeding up the country's social and economic development. Exercising guidance over the YCL, the CPSU pays special attention to strengthening its ranks organizationally and politically and enhancing the independent character of the youth league. The YCL should persistently promote the labor and social activity of young people, instill in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and high political and moral standards, and help them become aware of their historical responsibility for the future of socialism and the world.

The Party seeks to improve the work of the cooperatives—collective farms, consumer and home-building cooperatives and other cooperative organizations and associations, regarding them as an important form of socialist self-government and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will facilitate a further heightening of the activity of the unions of workers in the arts, science and technology, cultural and educational, sport, defense and other voluntary societies, people's social activity bodies. In fulfilling their functions, these organizations are to make an ever greater contribution to furthering the Party's policy and work for the all-around expression and satisfaction of the interests of the working people united in them, and for enhancing the Soviet people's civic initiative and sense of responsibility. □

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they are after is profit.

Here is another description of the "temptations" capitalism has to offer, given by the chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Medina: "As it grows richer, the USA is making less and less use of its wealth. Inflation and rising taxes devour the real wage increases of the industrial workers and the ethnic minorities. Our wealth has not prevented us from sliding down into fifteenth place in the world for literacy and tenth place for infant mortality. And the unemployed are truly in dire strait."

In the socialist countries, the popular standards of well-being are constantly on the rise. After his last year's visit to the Soviet Union, the prominent American economist, J. Galbraith, wrote in the *New Yorker* magazine—having first made the reservation that he is no supporter of the Soviet system—that the Soviet economy has achieved enormous material progress in recent years, and that this is confirmed both by statistics and the general picture of life in the USSR; that there is no idle class in the country; that the success of the system is explained by the fact that, in contrast to Western industrial economies, the Soviet model fully uti-

lizes its own labor resources. The same idea was voiced by Senator C. Metayes. "It is perfectly obvious," he has said, "that over the ten years since my last trip to the USSR the living standards throughout the country have risen by a considerable margin."

Very simply, what all this means is that the fervent attempts of our ill-wishers to show that, due to mishaps in the development of the socialist countries' economies, these countries are today trying to turn to the capitalist methods of economic management have no basis in reality. As was noted at last year's economic summit, socialism is now about to tackle the most complex national and international problems. As a result of their people's selfless work and thanks to their close interaction, the socialist countries have overcome many difficulties and have to their credit outstanding accomplishments in economics, culture, education and health protection, in promoting the equality and friendship of all nations and in creating favorable conditions for the all-around development of the individual. It is this that confirms the vitality of their system and its advantages over capitalism. □

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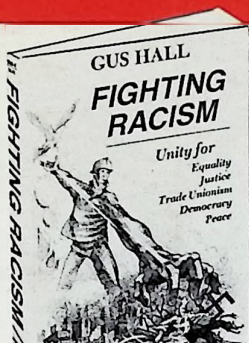
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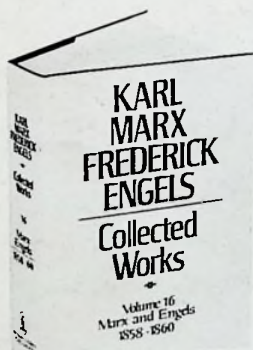
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