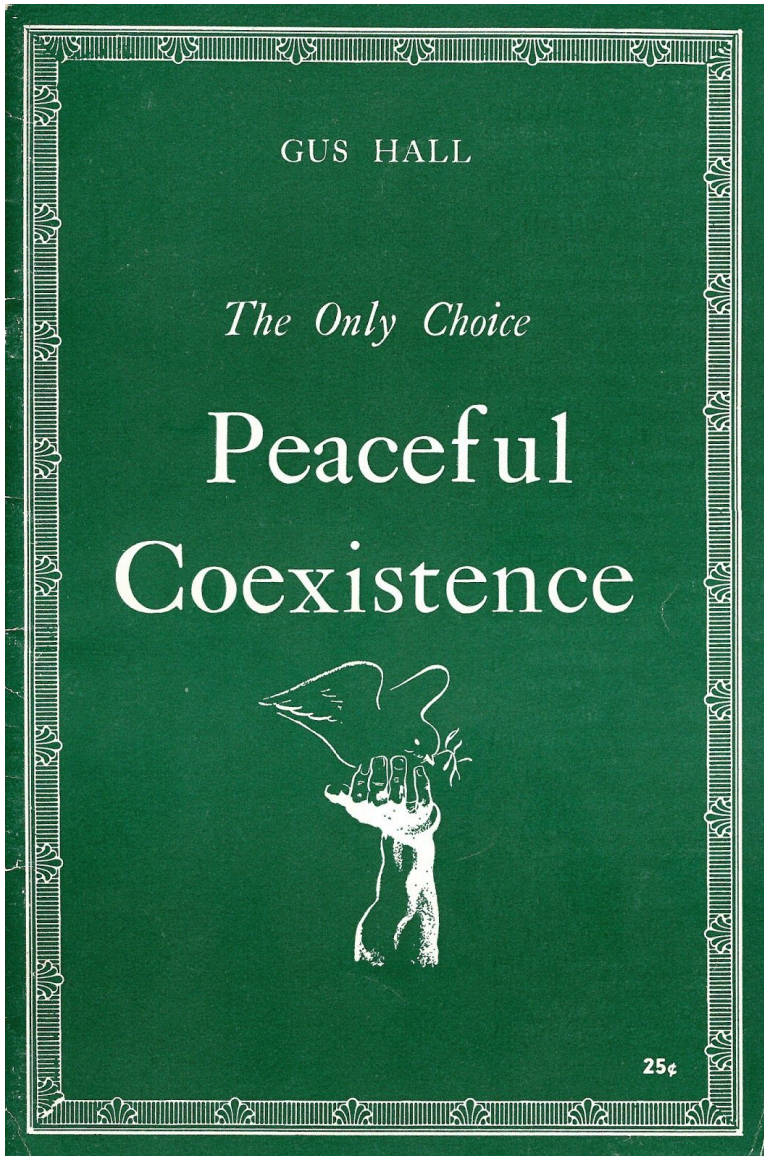


The Only Choice Peaceful Coexistence

by Gus Hall



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Dedication

We dedicate this to all Cadre who believe with their hearts, minds, and actions in a true New Outlook Revolution!

For one to be true, one must desire wholeheartedly, without reservation, to free themselves and their fellow workers from the bonds of class antagonisms. One who understands the foundations of Marxist-Leninist teachings, understands that their sole purpose in life is to crush capitalism.

We dedicate this reprint of an old classic in hopes that the truths expounded in this book and others will inspire you to take Communism to the next level, using the past expressions of scientific research into the nature of Marxism while adapting it to today's culture.

Remember, Marxist-Leninist ideals are scientific, so put on your "lab coat" do some research of old classics, and begin your new experiments for democratic-socialism.

We hope this book will inspire the reader to join the ranks of cadre working for a better tomorrow for all!

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By GUS HALL

Dr. Robert Hutchins said to a conference of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions meeting here in New York: "We believe that the rate of change in the modern world has produced a new predicament for man. Greater changes are coming in the future than any we have experienced. This Age of Change may be marked by violence and chaos or it may be an Age of Reason."

At this meeting the Research Center announced that it is going to spend millions of dollars each year for the next ten years to study the following questions:

- A. Can man in this new age control the surge of technology for the good of individual freedom and general welfare?
- B. Can man prevent total nuclear war which could destroy civilization?
- C. Can man provide a more abundant life for all without crippling losses of individual liberties?
- D. Can man open up the resources of mind and spirit that could raise human life to the highest level of its potential?

And it concludes with the old socialist soap-box slogan (without giving due credit), "We believe an Appeal to Reason may still be heard."

You may rightly ask, why do I open my remarks by quoting from the spokesman of this big business financed !research center?

Well, for a number of reasons, including:

First, because this conference was a reflection of the concern, and keen awareness by millions of our countrymen that we are truly in the Age of Change;

Secondly, because we can agree that it is an Age of Change; and because it is an age of reasoning and probing it can also be an Age of

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Reason.

This is the Age of Change because we are now travelling through the sharpest phase of the most revolutionary period of transition in human history. In the long march of progress by civilization, this is the first and only time that an economic and political system which has actually reached a position of world dominance, a system whose economic and political claws have reached into all corners of the world, is now being replaced by a new and far superior social order.

While the old system of capitalism dies hard and the new system of socialism has to fight hard, we Communists will attempt to remove all contradictions and road blocks so that this period can be both an Age of Change and an Age of Reason.

In our society, all forces who recognize this as the Age of Change will labor to make it also an Age of Reason. The forces in our country who deny that it is an Age of Change are also the forces which will set up roadblocks and promote chaos and violence. They would replace an Age of Change and Reason with an age where mankind crawls from modern achievement into the graveyard and wasteland of nuclear disaster.

AN ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE

As to the four-point ten year study, I would like to notify the Research Center that if they will hear us out early in the study, they will save millions of dollars. We can tell them that our answers to all their questions are in the affirmative.

We will prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that, yes, man can control the surge of technology for general welfare; yes, man can prevent total nuclear war; yes, man can provide abundant life; and yes, man can open up the resources of mind and raise human life to the highest levels. And we will prove that this is possible without the crippling of individual liberties. In fact, such liberties will be expanded in the process. In making our point, we will also, prove that man cannot reach these heights under the system of capitalism. But under socialism, the "traffic signals" for all these goals will be-"GO!"

We also say to the Research Center that we will join with them and all mankind in all "appeals to reason" which will prevent wars, end

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nuclear testing and colonialism, win for the people whatever is possible from the old system of capitalism. We recognize that these things can be achieved only against the will of the titans who control the capitalist system. But such achievements are the foundations, as well as the brick and mortar, of the House of Reason. The struggle is against those who brutally disregard reason.

ASSESS THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Thus, my remarks today are in the spirit of our continuing study and assessment of the processes which go into making this the Age of Change.

At the outset, it should be noted that the pace of the change continues to accelerate. Because of this, there seems to be no end to the ever new combinations of political phenomena, to the novel developments, and even to the surprises. The variations of development are infinite. And so, for this report the theme has been greatly expanded and the variations have been multiplied many' times.

The Clash of Ideas Among Marxists

Today, it is general knowledge that there are some very basic variations of theory and of interpretation of present-day activity that have come to the surface in the ranks of the world Marxist movement. This, too, is a reflection of the historic turning point, of the era of transition, of the Age of Change.

The present sharpness of this internal struggle is not inevitable. It must be fought out, but the debate must be kept within bounds. Yet, in a sense, it would be non-Marxist to expect Marxism to develop as if it in vacuum. As we have so often repeated, Marxism is a science, but Marxists are people; yes, people who are part of the struggles in society, people who are not unaffected by the ideological influences that whirl about them.

More than any other body of thought, Marxism rises from and has its roots in the activity and the upheavals of society. It develops and grows by the method of reflection-that is, by interpreting the contradictions and

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struggles in society on the basis of reality. Marxism reflects all movement; but it is especially a reflection of life's sharpest struggle during this age of change, the class struggle. Thus, the fact that there is a clash of ideas should alarm no one. That it has become too sharp and factional in the expressions of some Marxists is of serious concern to all partisans of progress and peace and to all champions of socialism.

The Science of the New Epoch

The Age of Change presents monumental tasks to the science of Marxism. Our science is now grappling with these problems very successfully. Marxism has the task of interpreting the process of development during this most crucial point of historic transition. And in that process, it develops and grows as the theory that effectively guides the policies and tactics of this new epoch.

Marxism-Leninism has met the challenge and has brilliantly achieved the objective which history has placed at its doorstep. But there are some who do not recognize or accept the new developments in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. They do not accept it as a living science.

There is a tendency in human nature to retreat to the old when something new and not yet fully understood, is encountered. So also, there are those who would keep this body of theoretical thought at the level it was some forty or fifty years ago.

It is a law of science that if one tries to interpret the processes of today's reality on the basis of a theory that has not continued to develop and been brought up to date, then one will come up with the wrong answers.

There is nothing wrong with the theory of internal combustion. It provided the basis for developing the gasoline motor. But that theory was not enough to develop modern jet motors. Jet motors resulted from the further development of the theories of combustion and those of other sciences- it required the further development of all these theories. There was a process of fusion of the new and the old. In that process, the old theory becomes changed and transformed into the new.

Thus, to develop Marxism-Leninism is not to downgrade or to nullify the contributions of Marx or Lenin. In fact, the further development of

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this science gives the teachings of Marx and Lenin a new lustre and a new, even deeper meaning. To develop a science is not to discard the old. On the other hand, to recite the words of Lenin in the abstract, without consideration of time and specific objective surroundings, to recite words without considering historical context is not to defend the science of Marxism-Leninism, but to destroy it.

Marxism-Leninism Will Triumph Over Dogmatism

The struggle against dogmatism is a struggle to preserve and develop Marxism-Leninism as a living science. It is a struggle for the growth of the science so that it can serve as a guide in solving the problems of this epoch and continue to serve the cause of the working class during the Age of Change.

Yes, the fight against dogmatism involves policies and tactics in the struggle for world peace, and against monopoly capital and imperialism. The unity of the world system of socialist nations and of the world Marxist movement is involved. But one must also keep in the forefront the fact that this is a defense of, and a struggle for, the totality of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

To put it even more sharply, this struggle must determine that Marxism-Leninism will continue as a living, flowing well-spring of fresh and stimulating ideas and concepts, which remain alive and ever-renewing as life itself. This struggle must determine that Marxism does not become fettered and shackled, a book of sterile, abstract phrases to be handed down through the ages, continually drying up, having less meaning to each new generation which faces life's problems and realities, and finally to be put on the shelf to collect dust along with the prophecies of Nostradamus, the medieval French astrologer, or with Poor Richard's Almanac and the sayings of our Colonial days.

Such is the nature of the struggle. But Marxism-Leninism will never join Poor Richard's Almanac!

The fact that Marxism is not an invention, but rises from and is a generalization of the accumulated experiences of man's activity, explains not only why there are differences, but it is also the key to an assurance

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and a justified confidence that these differences will be resolved. The very same processes of life which have given rise to Marxism will help to cure any mistaken concepts in its vital body of thought. This science is deeply anchored in objective reality and in the struggles of the working class and it will continue to grow and develop.

Our Participation on the Basis of Our Policies

As to our attitude to this world discussion, let it be clearly understood that we are not merely part of a disinterested audience, sitting on the sideline, weighing and listening to arguments and waiting to be convinced. We have a position on all major questions. Our present policy was set forth by our 17th National Convention. We have stated our position clearly and have stood by and will defend our views against all attacks.

We have our own team and home ballpark. We are not part of some other team. We are associates in the world of Marxism but we have our own team in the field.

It is not unimportant that our policies coincide with the overall outlook of the world Marxist movement. But, it is of the greatest importance that our policies are our own conclusions, are based on our own experiences and judgments, and are in the interests of our class and our nation.

We did not issue public statements concerning the specific disagreement until it became clear that our policies were being directly challenged. Our statement of January 9, 1963, was a defense of our policies. And to the extent that it is possible, we are going to conduct this discussion as a defense of the policies which our Party has developed. That is our responsibility to our class and to the American people. This is also part of our contribution to international working class solidarity, to the unity of the world Marxist movement and to the growth of the science of Marxism Leninism.

A LOOK AT TODAY'S REALITY

Let us now turn for a moment to specific objective reality- to the events and developments of the present turning point in world history. This calls for a continuing examination of what is happening to the central forces of the epoch. In doing this, we must examine if and how life is sustaining our basic theoretical and policy conclusions-this is a constant

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responsibility for Marxists.

The old saying that "things are never quite as they seem" is very applicable to present day developments. Superficial examination can be more misleading than ever-just as the thoughtless application of a profound observation and conclusion of the past to entirely different conditions today can be profoundly misleading.

For example, if we were to take President Kennedy's "State of the Union" message at its face value, we would be convinced that capitalism in general, and United States capitalism in particular, is moving on to new frontiers "with great vigor." However, the fact is that nothing has ever moved with such vigor for so long and yet remained so dead-still.

The Process of Socialist Strength and Capitalist Weakness

The old saying also applies in the competition between the two systems. Although the obvious surface changes in the relative positions of the two world systems are important, the less obvious internal processes taking place in both worlds have much greater significance.

The overall nature of these developments is that all of the internal processes in the capitalist world move and develop in a direction that can only lead to continued decline, weakness and decay. There is not even one process which is now a feature of capitalism, from which that system can draw strength for itself either for the present or for the future.

On the other hand, all the internal processes which are features of the system of socialism move in the direction that guarantees and spells out increasing growth and strength for the present and for the future.

Capitalism accumulates weakness and borrows on the future, while socialism accumulates strength now and builds for the future. Let us examine some of these inner processes.

It is not possible at the present time to assess fully the compounded and escalated growth and strength that is bound to How from the attention being focused on science, engineering and the role of scientists

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in the socialist world. Likewise, we should observe the continued very high rate of economic growth, the joint planning, the international division of labor, and the development of technology and automation in industrial production. Each of these internal processes point not simply to growth, but to rapid growth and accumulated and expanded resources for the future.

On the other hand, every process in the capitalist world leads to continued failure in meeting the needs of the people, and to further weaknesses in the system itself.

Not so long ago the capitalist world superficially appeared to be a united entity, neatly tied together with the strings of NATO, SEATO, CENTO, OAS and the Common Market. U. S. imperialism pretended that it had to be asked to become the leader of this "Grand Alliance." We, who have the use of Marxism knew, of course, that there were other inner processes at work, and that this "Alliance" under United States imperialism was not so "grand."

Now the neat package has exploded. Today, there are no two capitalist countries which agree on any single area of problems. The alliances are reeking with discord, and the leader of the "free world" is freely booted about. The remains of the British empire are being redistributed as so much booty in the negotiations between the United States and West German imperialism. Even the kissing agreement between the old pirates at the head of West German and French imperialism seems to be of short duration, with De Gaulle refusing to share the spoils with MacMillan.

Spokesmen for U.S. imperialism, with hurt and angry feelings, castigate De Gaulle for talking tough to his allies. Only two weeks earlier, these same spokesmen were hailing Kennedy for talking tough to our allies. Capitalist relations today are comparable to the German-Italian alliance during another grave moment in history. Hitler called it a "brutal friendship."

The Common Market now stands exposed. It was to have been an instrument of U. S. imperialism, with West German imperialism serving as a junior partner. But the junior partner took in other partners and now sees no advantage in continuing the junior status under the United States. The Common Market is now in the throes of a bitter struggle for power

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between France and West Germany, and more and more it is becoming an instrument against U.S. imperialism.

These shipwrecked alliances are a surprise only to those who do not see the inner processes that eat away at the foundations of capitalism and imperialism. A little over a year ago, there was much noise about the Alliance for Progress. It never got off the ground, but bogged down in the dirty mire of U.S. imperialism. As the inner processes create weakness within imperialism, so also do these processes lead to a continued march to victory for movements of national liberation.

A LOOK AT THE ECONOMIC ANATOMY OF OUR COUNTRY

The United States is the stronghold of capitalism. Since President Kennedy's "State of the Union" message is so evasive with regard to the status of our country, let us take a closer look at the inner processes within this bastion of capitalism.

Economic Growth Rate

Not long ago, the words "Economic Growth Rate" were hardly known. Now there is great concern about it, and the big business magazines are full of articles about this phenomenon. Business Week states: "The interrelated problems that have been afflicting the U.S. economy for half a decade are: slow growth, frequent recessions, chronic unemployment, excess capacity, inadequate profits, insufficient business investments and budgetary deficits." That sounds like the seven deadly plagues of capitalism, in the period of its general decay.

Since 1957, the rate of growth in our country has been about the same as the population growth. For the last ten years the rate has averaged about 1% above what the population growth has been. Cold war expenditures and unused industrial capacity are like soggy wet blankets choking all growth and even thoughts of growth.

The new factor now developing is that the rest of the capitalist world is joining the U.S.A. in the slow-growth-rate doghouse. The same inner decay is now showing up in Japan, France and West Germany. The

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growth rate in our country has been consistently below 8% while the growth rate in socialist countries is around 10%.

Deficit Living

Another of these processes is the steady increase of indebtedness. The Federal debt now exceeds \$800 billion and the yearly deficits now reach war-time figures. Consumer indebtedness is now 613' billion dollars. In 1929, the consumer indebtedness was 8% of spendable income. Now the consumer average indebtedness is 16% of spendable income. We are a nation of insolvent people, burdened with personal and governmental debts.

Taxes

President Kennedy's tax reduction proposals do not outline the proper steps that would lead to real solutions for these economic problems. And it is realistic to assume that Congress will further weaken Kennedy's proposals. The President correctly states that the working people have to spend about 94% of their income as they get it. Therefore, whatever tax cuts the people were to get would immediately become new buying power and help to stimulate new markets.

In discussing the tax cut we should keep in mind the following: there is no growth because there is over-industrial-capacity; there is over-capacity because there is under-consumption and the anarchy of capitalist production; there is under-consumption because the average income of our people is too low. This indicates where tax cuts should be made.

The tax on incomes of \$600 for a single person was initiated during World War II when there was also supposed to be a tax to limit incomes to \$25,000 a year. Before the war, all incomes below \$1,000 for a single person and \$2,500 for a married couple were exempted from taxation. The rich evade tax payments through loopholes, yet they get the big bonanzas in every tax reform, including the present proposals. Any tax reform which is directed at stimulating our economic growth would call for full exemptions for low income groups, and increased taxes on high incomes and corporations. It makes only capitalist sense to tax people who are now living at the officially recognized poverty levels.

Monopoly Power Grows

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The consolidation of monopoly control and ownership of all industry and finances results from weakness, and further undermines the foundation on which the future of capitalism rests. This process continues at a furious pace. The latest mergers include railroads, air transportation and banks.

Another sign of this narrowing down and consolidation can be seen in statistics. Thirty years ago only one percent of the adult population owned 60% of all corporate stocks. That figure indicated dangerous control by the few. Now one percent of the population owns close to 80% of all corporate stocks. There is no future strength for capitalism in this trend. With increased power in the hands of a few families, or financial dynasties, U.S. capitalism breeds its own incestuous inner deterioration.

State Monopoly Capitalism

The same must be said about the unprecedented growth of the state-monopoly capital sector. The fusion of monopoly capital and the state has created a new and overpowering economic force.

We use the term "state" here in a more fundamental sense. We have in mind the governmental national authority or "state power." In many ways it has become the dominant force that determines the course of industrial and financial affairs of our land. Without understanding this concept one cannot understand the full meaning of the ever-increasing budgets of the Federal government and the significance of Federal government contracts going to the biggest monopolies, thus strengthening their control over the economy.

State -monopoly capitalism in our country is taking its own peculiar path and distinct forms. It is using its power to curb the labor movement, destroy the rights of the people, place restrictions on public services, limit all social legislation, and take full command over our natural resources. An ever-narrowing grouping in monopoly circles seeks more and yet more powerful control over the policies of the country.

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However, direct state ownership or joint state and private ownership is not as big a factor in the development of state monopoly capitalism in the United States as it is in many European countries. But the huge military and space production combines financed by billions of Federal government dollars are practically state-monopoly capitalist operations. The increasing role of the state in monopoly capitalist development is dramatized in the following facts: In 1940 total government spending was 10% of the gross national product. In 1950 it rose to 21.5%; in 1955 to 24.8% and in 1963 it has reached 31.0%. In states like Kansas and California, of the overall business activity, including jobs, the government share is 30% and 25%, respectively. By and large, all of these government expenditures are siphoned through the large monopolies. The state is now the largest single purchaser and the biggest single source of fabulous profits for the big corporations.

Furthermore, the state is now the largest contributor and main source for capital expansion expenditures. This is done directly and indirectly by allowing tax exemption and tax rebates for capital investment and construction. The President has indicated that these government expenditures will increase at the rate of 8 to 10 billion dollars a year.

The huge research programs are also largely state monopoly enterprises. This is how the President placed the question: "The Federal Government is already the main source of financial support for research and development in the United States. Most funds now spent on research are channeled to private contracts."

And there are plans for more of the same. Thus, the President says, "I shall propose a number of measures to encourage civilian research and development and to make the by-products of military and space research easily accessible to civilian industry. The measures will include:

1. "Development of a Federal-State Engineering extension service;
2. "New means of facilitating the use by civilian industry of the results of Government-financed research;
3. "Selected support of industrial research and development and technical information services;
4. "Support of industry research associations;
5. "Adjustment of the income tax laws to give business firm an

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6. additional stimulus to invest in research equipment, and "Stimulus of university training of industrial research personnel."

This is a boastful public announcement of how the government gives complete support to private business. These projects are not for small business or for public institutions. This is government big business. There are complete government contracted corporations- corporations to administer these projects, profit from them, and control all other agencies in the field through their own power and through the power of the state.

There is also a fusion of state and monopoly capital when the government becomes the backer and guarantor of overseas private investments. The fact that the monopolists readily get the support of, and are encouraged by, the state, indicates not only the character of state monopoly capitalism, but a weakness of capitalism. The government is the co-signer for real estate developments; and price subsidies are given by the dozens to such capitalist and profit seeking ventures.

State monopoly capitalism has thus become institutionalized in the U.S.A. The Federal and state governments back the monopolies. Public funds collected by taxing the people are given to monopoly capital. The state is in the service of monopoly capital in every phase of political, social and economic life.

This takes place because capitalism cannot continue to function as of old. In fact, it cannot function as a strictly private venture; therefore the state comes in to save it. So the state serves the interests of capitalism and acts in the interests and for the protection of monopoly capital. This power of monopoly capital can only be curbed by a people's anti-monopoly movement and coalition acting in the interests of our people and nation.

State monopoly capitalist development is a final, but a futile attempt to save capitalism from its inevitable demise. The undeniable fact that American capitalism can no longer stay in business as a purely private venture and must now bring in the state as an ever increasing factor

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testifies to the need for a basic change.

The intervention in the economy by the state, and the fusion of the state with monopoly capitalism is not a process of creeping socialism. It is a step to save capitalism. What the apologists for capitalism try to hide is that precisely because it is necessary for the state to come in to save it, is in itself proof that capitalism has outlived its day and now continues only because of external artificial stimulants.

When the state is completely dominated by the monopolies, the state intervention will be for the monopolies at the expense of the people. The state must enter into the realm of our economic developments. But it must be made to do so in partnership with the people, to curb the power of the monopolies and not to add to their power. This kind of state intervention must be different in form and content from that of state-monopoly capitalist relations. As a first step it points to a need for the state to nationalize the industries it is now keeping in business through huge subsidies and grants. This would be a big saving for the taxpayer because it would eliminate the huge profits that now go into private coffers. There are huge profits in industries that are bankrupt but keep going only because of state support.

The industries that are state supported, public utilities, all defense industries, and industries that cannot or refuse to take into account the problems flowing from automation should be the first to be taken over as nationalized public enterprises. The trade unions and the public should be democratically represented in the management of these institutions. But this development also points to the need to have a state where the working class and the common people have the dominant influence. Such a state can then proceed to complete the shift from private ownership of the means of production to social ownership of the means of production. Then our economy can shift from the present dead-end private profit motive and move to the unlimited economic sweep of production for social gain as its only motive.

Actually, capitalism is only momentarily strengthened by the acts of the state in relation to the economy. But the fact that the state must and does intervene points up the weaknesses of capitalism and indicates the imperative need for a socialist solution to the contradictions which are inherent in capitalism. The intervention by the state on the basis of giving aid and strength to the monopolies has a note of futility

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which can be attributed to the failing weakness of capitalism as such.

Alexander Hamilton, the farsighted spokesman for capitalism in the Washington administration, already set forth the theory and the administrative framework which later becomes the basis for the kind of monopoly state capitalist development which is peculiar to the United States. The guiding principle he introduced was that government interference is desirable when it aids business, but it is intolerable and unsound if it helps agriculture or labor. The intertwining system of government and banking set up by Hamilton was a natural for the present day development of state monopoly capitalism.

SOCIALIST SECTOR HAS GROWING DOMINANCE

These are some of the developments in the capitalist sector of society during this new epoch.

Of course the balance in the relationship between capitalism and socialism continues to tip in favor of socialism. Furthermore, the processes within both the capitalist and the socialist systems are of such a nature that the transition toward socialism and the victories for socialism are continuing at a rapid pace.

A Boiling Point of Transition

All of these processes are only further proof that we are living in a new epoch. They further testify to the fact that the fundamental and primary source of all processes of this period is that class relations have reached the critical point of the period of transition from the world system of capitalism to the world system of socialism. And so we are at a turning point in history- a boiling point in the dialectical processes of progress. At all such "boiling points" a new quality makes its appearance. In a sense, the struggle between the two classes, between the two systems, has been a process of quantitative accumulation. This is a boiling point of that process, and so a new quality has entered the struggle. What is this qualitative change? It is the tipping of the scales in favor of the new forces arrayed around the world system of socialist nations. It is now this new force which largely determines the direction of

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human events.

This "turning point" also means that capitalism has reached a new-the third-stage of its general crisis and decay, while socialism has reached a new stage of growth and consolidation.

There are some who agree with this assessment, but argue that this is a temporary phenomenon. We can agree with them- it is transitory. What we cannot agree upon is the direction these processes will take. They say things will return to the old path; capitalism is suffering from a momentary relapse, but it will recover. We say such thoughts are only the wishful thinking of apologists for capitalism. Capitalism will still have its ups and downs, but these ups and downs will take place within the context of an overall historic downward direction. Capitalism will never recover its former position. It is in its period of stagnation and decline. All indicators point only to more of the same.

On February 18, 1963, James Reston of the New York Times wrote:

"Nevertheless, he is depressed. For he thought, even at the beginning of the year, that he was gaining on history, and now after only a few tumultuous weeks, history seems to be gaining on him."

Reston was writing about President Kennedy. But it applies to all spokesmen for capitalism. History not only "seems" to be gaining on capitalism-it is gaining, and fast.

The process that, more than any other, characterizes the 20th century, and also dramatizes history's gaining on capitalism, is the steady closing of the gap between capitalism and socialism. Until very lately socialism carried a great handicap into this competition. Socialism emerged in countries which capitalism had left at a very low industrial and technological level: these countries lacked factories, machine tools, transportation, housing, skills, and they inherited an agricultural system that was on a wooden-plow level.

Where to get the initial capital with which to build was a serious problem. Long term loans have been the key in such situations. But the rest of the world was capitalist, and for political reasons they closed all such doors.

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So the first socialist country was forced to start by feeding its people, rebuilding on the ruins of the first World War, the civil war, and the ruins left by the invading armies of Germany, France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. It had to build an arms production and accumulate the resources with which to build its industries, houses, hospitals and ,transportation. Because the capitalist world attempted to strangle this first socialist country, this was a "bootstrap" operation.

After less than 25 years, in another war and another devastation, the Soviet Union lost more people, factories, machines, farm animals, houses, cities, than all the other countries put together. Again socialism had to rebuild on the basis of its own resources.

That section of the capitalist world that did suffer from the war was able to get loans and help from the U.S.A. because U.S. capitalism not only suffered no losses, but had grown rich and fat from the war.

Capitalism has and is putting every possible obstacle in the path of socialism. There are restrictions to trade. The socialist countries cannot even buy industrial goods from our counh -y. But all this is of no avail- the gap continues to close.

Socialism started the competition in 1917 with 3% of the world industrial production. In 1961 socialism produced 37% of the world's production. Since 1937 socialism has increased its production by 7½ times, while capitalism increased its share 2½ times. The most dramatic side of this competition is that between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Slowly, item by item, the relative positions between these two countries are changing. By 1960 the U.S.S.R. had overtaken the U.S.A. in production of iron ore, coal, coke, metal cutting machine tools, diesel locomotives, electric locomotives, passenger railway cars, tractors, harvester combines, prefabricated reinforced concrete, window glass, lumber, woolen fabrics, sugar, fish, wheat, barley, potatoes, sugar beet, flax-fibre, butter and wool. In the U.S.A. we have one physician for every 800 inhabitants. In the Soviet Union there is one physician for every 600 inhabitants. They now graduate many times more scientists and engineers than we do.

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And so the gap closes.

There is change in relative positions also in other areas. In the capitalist world the direction is for a restriction of democracy- as is so clearly evidenced by the McCarran Act and dozens of other repressive laws. In the socialist world the direction is constantly to broaden the base of people's democratic rule.

Here there is a struggle for medical aid and security for the aged. Under socialism this is an integral part of the basic rights incorporated into the constitution and the economic system itself. Under capitalism automation results in unemployment and insecurity. With socialism automation is a blessing that can only result in a shorter work day with a higher standard of living. Under capitalism the new generation faces the serious problem of no jobs. In socialism youth faces life in an ever expanding economy with unlimited opportunities.

Socialism has eliminated unemployment. In the capitalist world the permanent army of unemployment constantly grows.

Until socialism was able to build a solid foundation, it carried the handicap of all "bootstrap" operations. Now it moves into the competition to close the gap with a firm foundation.

For socialism the handicap was a temporary phenomenon. It has now overcome it. For capitalism the advantage was temporary and the handicap remains a growing one. The handicap for capitalism is that the direction of history is against it. The old gap will close-a new gap will open up as socialism overtakes and surpasses capitalism.

Socialism is winning this competition because it is a better system for today's reality. Capitalism is a system where a few greedy rich gobble up the natural resources of the good earth and the labor power of the great majority of mankind. They use the talents and skills of all only to enrich themselves. They take absolutely no responsibility for the welfare of society. There are no tears shed when a corporation lays off workers who have given their lives to enrich the stockholders. Capitalism is a dog-eat-dog system. There can be no planning. Socialism is a system based on the concept that mankind has climbed the ladder of civilization to the point where it can now, as a world community of free men, plan, own and manage, the economy, the new technology, and use the resources of

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mother Nature and the talents of man all with only one aim in mind-to make the life of each and every human being fully secure, meaning ful, creative and enjoyable .

If one does not give full weight to this basic assessment of the "age of change," then understandably one cannot draw the necessary policy or tactical conclusions for the period.

To understand the decisive nature of the qualitative change of this new objective reality means to acknowledge that it must of necessity affect all areas of struggle, that it will influence all the forces in the struggle, and, therefore, must be reflected in all questions of theory, policy and tactics. It simply cannot be any other way.

The historic achievement of the 17th Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. is in its correct analysis and development of policies based upon the processes of this "turning point." This is fully reflected in the resolutions which were adopted.

THE WORLD DISCUSSION ON BASIC POLICY QUESTIONS

I have already indicated the significance of the discussion on basic policy questions which is now going on. Before we dig deeper into the discussion, let us clear up some related issues.

We Will Discuss Basic Issues

Speaking at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, after emphasizing that "solid unity of the world Communist movement is the most important condition for our success in the struggle for peace and socialism throughout the world," also stated that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would consider it useful now to call a halt to polemics between Communist Parties, to stop criticizing other parties inside one's Party and allow some time for the passions to subside." He discussed and elaborated on this proposal.

We welcome these proposals. We would also be happy if the present level of the discussion were limited to the basic questions free

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of subjective and slanderous name-calling, such as the utterly irresponsible charge of "Munich" made against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

While we welcome every effort "to halt the polemics" and to cut down the debate, we find we cannot and should not cut down on the discussion of issues and policies in our country. When the editorial, "Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us," was published in the Washington Post and became a point of discussion by anti-Communist columnists throughout the country we could not remain silent. This was all the more true because the editorial assailed the policies of our Party. We cannot allow anybody to present a caricature of our Party policy to the American people. In our country there are small but irresponsible sects and groups who have gone all-out in their attempt to use this world discussion as a lever in their struggle against the Communist Party and its policies. They have set themselves up as the distributing agencies for all divisive material. They distort the discussion and use it in a completely irresponsible manner. These sects are anti-Communist and are not interested in supporting the Marxists of China, Albania or any other country; they are not interested in bringing about a new unity in the world Marxist movement. They are only interested in using the discussion for their own disruptive and anti-Communist purposes. We cannot permit the slanders of these groups to go unanswered.

Part of the Background

The differences are not only of recent origin. At all times, there was a serious effort to resolve the differences. This was the basis for the Declaration of the 12 Parties adopted at the Moscow Conference in 1957 and the 81-Party Statement adopted in 1960.

From 1956 to the present date, the Albanians have used every possible occasion to provoke public discussion. This pattern includes their behavior at, and immediately after, the 81-Party Conference. At one of their receptions here, the Albanians converted an informal exchange of greetings with some of our comrades into a two-hour denunciation of the Soviet Union, during which the Albanians became so slanderous and abusive that our comrades had to walk out on them. This took place a few months after publication of the 81-Party Statement.

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The dogmatists in the world debate have used their publications in many languages and every other means of correspondence, including interviews with respected writers on numerous radio programs, to aggravate those differences.

Anna Louise Strong has written a series of letters and articles directed at us in the United States as part of this campaign. Her latest letter makes the vicious charge that "the two K's" are plotting against Cuba. Her letters are another device for violating the norms of "inner family" discussion.

Bring an End to Slander

The October crisis in the Caribbean brought the slanderous charges to a new stage. The dogmatists distorted the events and charged the Soviet Union with a "Munich"- "the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism." And then they write, "A compromise of this sort only be regarded as one hundred percent appeasement, a Munich' pure and simple." This is irresponsible, calculated slander which can only divide the socialist forces and play into the hands imperialism. They further charge the Soviet Union with "merely exposing the hypocrisy of their own support for Cuban five demands." Such slander must be rejected.

To one error, they add another; to one slander, they add another. They put Comrade Togliatti in the same class with Kautsky and charge him with substituting revisionism for Marxism-Leninism, and with the betrayal of Communism. Their attacks have lost all sense of responsibility.

We can understand this process from our own experience in bitter factional struggles, when good, serious and honest comrades, who had been tested in many struggles in the past, would try to strengthen one mistake committed in a factional struggle by supporting their false position with yet another mistake. One error led only to another error, and soon the faction was placed above the Party. But the faction was based on a false and unprincipled line; and good comrades became more and more caught in the mire of the unprincipled behavior, became anti-Party in their behavior and anti-Marxist in ideology, and completely irresponsible in their relations to the working class and to the

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Party. Yes , we had to exercise patience and firmness, and at the same time had to correct the situation.

Halt the Peddling of Nonsense

In recent writings the dogmatists have accused the world Marxist movement of supporting imperialism, of going from class struggle to class collaboration, of being opposed to all national liberation revolutions, of supporting monopoly capitalism, of cowardice, of selling out to imperialism, and of becoming social-democrats. Such utter irresponsibility and disregard for the facts is certainly shocking.

We wholeheartedly advocate putting a stop to such discussion.

However, when it comes to issues, we are forced to fight for our policies in and around the party. We will continue discussing our policies which are under attack.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FACILITATES VICTORIES IN CLASS STRUGGLE

Possibly the greatest confusion is centered around the question: Is the concept of peaceful coexistence, of preventing war and nuclear disaster, compatible with or in contradiction to, does it change or nullify the Marxian concepts of the class struggle, imperialism, the struggle for national liberation, and the concept that socialism and communism will be the next stage of history?

The world Marxist movement proceeds from the premise that there is no contradiction here. The world Marxists, including ourselves, hold that the policy of peaceful coexistence is compatible with and facilitates the class struggle, the end of colonialism and the emergence of world socialism. We firmly believe that this is not only correct, but that any other policy in the context of the realities of this epoch can lead only to defeats and setbacks.

The world Marxist movement has developed policies and tactics based on an assessment of the balance of forces in the present-day world. These are policies and tactics of class struggle, of national liberation, and of the struggle for socialism in the period when the scales of history have tipped to the side of socialism and progress. These concepts do not negate or nullify the class struggle. They help the working class in this struggle.

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They remove roadblocks. They build confidence and the will to win among workers. They are the up-to-date blueprint for victory over capitalism. The builders of the Aswan Dam could not harness the waters of the Nile with the same blueprint or the same concepts as were available to the builders of the pyramids in old Egypt.

The policy of peaceful coexistence points out the door to the future and makes it unnecessary to break down an open door. It makes it possible for the working class to avoid the long march when a shortcut is available. It illuminates the new pathways and the new possibilities of victory. The policy of peaceful coexistence is the result of a changing objective world reality, of accumulated experiences of class struggle, of realism and of good common sense.

The Dogmatists Move from Criticism to Attack

On the other hand, the dogmatists view the policies of peaceful coexistence as being in contradiction to policies of class struggle, of national liberation, and the struggle for socialism. They argue that these policies have led the world Marxist movement into the swamp of opportunism, revisionism, and capitulation to capitalism and imperialism. It is very important to understand how and why they view this as a contradiction. Is it because they view world peace as an illusion and as an unattainable goal under capitalism? Or is it that they believe that progress against capitalism and imperialism is possible only by non-peaceful means?

Modern dogmatism has gone through an evolutionary process. It started with a denial of the possibility of preventing wars—at first limited wars, and now, more or less, all wars. It started with an emphasis on the remoteness of the chances of peaceful development; but it has now regressed to a point where no possibility for such development is seen. Thus, the position began with a seeming criticism or small difference, but has now reached a point of complete negation, of opposition to all policies developed since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956.

The method of struggle by the dogmatists has also gone through a similar process. At first, they started from a position of giving a

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one-sided emphasis while also stating the total concept. Now, they only assert and defend the one-sided concept. This method has made the one-sided emphasis into a full position, into a complete program or platform.

The dogmatic attack on the world Marxist movement has also had its evolutionary transition. It has regressed from criticism, discussion and hints of further differences, to open falsification and slander. The criticism has been turned into an attack.

Thus, in a basic sense, the present outlook of this modern dogmatism is that wars cannot be prevented and there is no peaceful possibility for progress. That is putting their position in the most simple and direct way.

The concept of peaceful coexistence has enriched Marxism because it has added new and additional avenues, possibilities and tactics for the class struggle. It has not nullified the class struggle, but has refreshed and raised its policies and tactics to correspond with the needs, the possibilities and the facts of the new reality.

Peaceful Coexistence Policy Enriches Marxism

Policies of peaceful coexistence have nothing in common with concepts of status-quo. The world is not going to stand still. In fact, struggles, upheavals, and mass movements are the trademarks of this-the age of transition and change.

Because no nation is going to continue to be exploited and oppressed by imperialist powers, colonialism is fast coming to an end. Because no people are going to remain in oppression because of race or nationality, racial oppression is coming to an end. Because the working class is not content to forever accept the status of a "have not" class, class oppression must come to an end. As a result of the struggles to eliminate all oppression and inequality, capitalism the system responsible for the oppression and exploitation will be discarded on the dung heap of history. There is no power that can halt these struggles. Victory over the evils of capitalism is in the cards.

In the period of the new epoch these struggles have not diminished. On the contrary, they have greatly accelerated, precisely because the new

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balance of world forces has given these movements a new confidence, a new strength.

The struggles for world peace and against the danger of nuclear war do not belong to one world while the struggles for progress and socialism belong to another world. These struggles are very closely linked and become intertwined. They are different currents of one human stream, flowing towards a socialist-communist world fraternity of all peoples.

On the other hand, the new balance of world forces has not made obsolete the need to give leadership to struggles around specific reforms. It has not eliminated the need for tactics as well as over-all policies. It has not changed the concept that struggles and movements reflect and develop as a result of contradictions and unsolved problems, as the people face them. It has not changed the basic and correct concept that policies and tactics must be based on the concrete objective reality of the moment.

Of course, it must be clear that the policy of peaceful coexistence applies to the relations between nations of different social and economic systems. In its application, it means peaceful competition and struggle. Our confidence is in the victory of the system of socialism in this struggle for the minds and support of workers and of all mankind.

The phrase "Peaceful Coexistence" does not apply to the internal relations between classes and groups, nor to the ideological struggle between them. It in no way curbs the militancy and the will of our class and the mass of people to struggle.

This does not negate the overall influence of the policy of peaceful coexistence in these struggles. As a matter of fact, the peace policy which guides relations between countries permits the more militant struggles on these very decisive internal problems of our society. There can be no status quo coexistence between classes, between the Negro American who is half-free and half-slave and the white Dixiecrat rulers and their policies of discrimination and segregation there can be no status quo coexistence between the oppressed and the oppressors. It is only the dogmatic caricature of the policies of peaceful coexistence that tries to give the

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impression that such a policy would mean a moratorium on the struggles of the people. The policies of peaceful coexistence are policies of struggle in the period of the new epoch.

Let us review recent events to see if world Marxism is correct in this concept of peaceful coexistence and what might have occurred if on the other hand, the leaders of the working class movement had followed the dogmatic path. What more vivid test is there than the October crisis in the Caribbean?

Cuba- A Decisive Victory For Peaceful Coexistence

In this crisis, all the elements, forces and policies encompassed in this study and discussion, confronted the stark realities of life. Here, the policy of peaceful coexistence met the test in the sharpest possible form. The question of the class struggle, the struggle to prevent a nuclear world war, the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation, the struggle for socialism all were at stake.

And what was the outcome of that crucial test? Nuclear war did not take place. Cuba was not invaded. And socialism was not desh·oyed. So, is it not clear that in life, peaceful coexistence is not in contradiction to these basic policies? In the Caribbean, the policy of peaceful coexistence became the policy of victory. That must be clear to everybody.

As to concessions and compromises, were there any? Yes, on both sides . But were any concessions made by the forces of socialism that in any way weakened, bargained away or damaged working class interests, the struggle against imperialism and the cause of world socialism? Only eyes blinded by dogmatism and factionalism could see this victory for the forces of progress in complete re verse.

This was a signal victory for the heroic people of Cuba, for the might of world socialism, and for the partisans of peace throughout the world. It was a victory for the forces that now determine the overall direction of history.

That victory gave to the mass of people of all lands new assurances and renewed confidence in the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. They saw the defeat of the nuclear war threat to all humanity. Workers in all countries were given a vital new experience and

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argument for the cause of socialism. In the Caribbean crisis the new determining role of the socialist sector in this new epoch of world history was put to a test and scored such a victory that a new quality has been added to political life upon which the workers and peoples of all countries can make further advances. Such a victory must not be thrown away into the garbage can of slander!!

And a Defeat for Dogmatism!

The voices of dogmatism are now in the embarrassing position of hailing the end results of a policy they denounced as a "Munich," as "appeasement" and a "sell-out." But there are no limits to "flexibility" when it comes to wiggling out of a dogmatic dilemma. In discussing the one and same development, they turn one way to accuse the Soviet Union of capitulation to U.S. imperialism, then turn the other way and hail this same development as a victory for the Cuban people. Of course it was a victory for the Cuban people. It was a victory for the leadership of Fidel Castro and his comrades. This does not contradict the fact that it was a victory for the policies of peace and anti-imperialism, and a victory for the forces of world socialism. Neither does it contradict the recognition of the important role of the Soviet Union in this struggle. This crucial test of the policy of peaceful coexistence in the crucible of life's reality has again proven that the policies of dogmatism are bankrupt and false.

If the negotiation and the settlement of the Caribbean crisis can be mislabelled as "appeasement" and "sell-out" while the net results are hailed as victories, then the settlement of every strike and the signing of labor contracts could be called "sell-out" and acts of class collaboration, while the results of such acts are hailed as victories. This dogmatic doubletalk is just as ridiculous in world affairs as it would be in trade union-management affairs. Dogmatists would label each treaty between countries of different social systems, including boundary agreements, as capitulation. They would equate diplomatic relations to appeasement. Such attitudes and expressions have nothing in common with Marxism - dogmatism becomes a substitute for Marxism in such practices.

To some of the forces who have tended to take a pseudo-leftist position and who have fought against our position-which takes note of the

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differences within the ranks of the spokesmen for U.S. capitalism- the Caribbean developments have become "unexplainable." How can the resolution of the Cuban crisis be understood if one holds on to a concept which says that U.S. imperialism is now for the use of nuclear weapons; that U.S. imperialism was and is for the invasion of Cuba by the armed forces of the United States; that it was not going to lift the naval blockade; that it has made no commitment not to invade; and that U.S. imperialism refuses to take note of the new relationship of world forces. The developments since and during the crisis become "unexplainable" only to those who do not accept the change in the world relationship of forces, and to those who pursue a policy based on the denial that there are differences within the ranks of U.S. capitalism. It becomes unexplainable if one insists that the new world relationships do not in any way affect or influence the forces of imperialism. Such dogmatic concepts will always lead to unexplainable dead ends.

To some of these same forces who were sold on the story of so called "sell-out" and "capitulation," the revelations by Administration spokesmen about Cuba's present defenses and the aid given by the Soviet Union to Cuba also now become unexplainable.

To avoid painting oneself into unnecessary corners, the following should be kept in mind:

The basic nature of imperialism has not changed; but the world has. And because it has changed, imperialism can no longer roam and plunder the world as the unchallenged ruler.

Yes, U.S. imperialism is aggressive, war-like and ruthless. Wherever there is the slightest opening for its greedy claws, it grabs. But there are a number of factors that make for divisions in the ranks of imperialism. These divisions have an influence on policy and tactics in such vital matters as nuclear war, invasion of Cuba, democracy and fascism. These divisions have their reverberations on the whole body politic of our land. They are reflected in the Kennedy Administration. Not to take note of these differences, and to assume that the entire Administration and all public spokesmen for American capitalism are part of the ultra-Right is to do a disservice to our class and people. This leads to hopelessness and a dead end. It is not correct nor is it realistic. In such an outlook there is no room for openings or for levers by which to mobilize sections of our

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people. This does not lead to struggle or movement.

We welcome the second thoughts by some of the forces within the Left on this matter. However, these second thoughts would be more meaningful if they were openly acknowledged as such, rather than protected with the guise that they are not at all second thoughts but rather new thoughts stemming from the appearance for the first time of differences within the ranks of U.S. capitalism.

Some Further Lessons on Tactics and Policy

While we are thinking about differences in outlook, let us keep in mind the very elementary but basic fact that policy, assessments, and tactics have only one purpose. The singular purpose is to guide, organize and lead people in struggle. This is so elementary that in the whirl of high-sounding politics it is often forgotten. If the assessment of policy and tactics do not serve this totally central objective, that assessment is either worthless or harmful.

People who are to be organized for struggle are not simply robots. They are real people existing in a real world and in a precise framework of class relations. They do not automatically respond to a magic wand of left-sounding phrases.

We must always keep in mind, again an elementary but hard fact of political life, that neither we nor anybody else can invent, produce, export or import, dictate by long distance or short distance, or bring about by abstract or artificial means, a socialist revolution or a revolution of national liberation. Revolutions are not "command performances."

Like strikes of workers and struggles for equality, all such movements arise from the native soil of contradictions and unsolved problems of each country. This fact does not in any way minimize the initiating, inspiring and organizing role of leadership, but rather gives the people and the movement a relationship to leadership. That leadership which would ignore the specific reality of the people seeking an answer to problems, would not last very long. Only that leadership which is closely tied to the people in a specific struggle can help make that struggle

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victorious.

Leaders of Marxist parties whose peoples have been victorious either over capitalism or over imperialism should not now be unmindful that their victory was possible only because of the actual unfolding of policies and tactics which reflected and were called for by a very specific set of circumstances. The working class and the people of each country are no different; they are also a product of their own experiences and their own traditions. They react to class problems and struggles based on their own conditions and understanding. In view of this fact, general exhortations with Left and revolutionary phrases can only serve to confuse and mislead some of the more advanced people.

Let us consider the question of policy as an instrument of leadership for people in motion and in struggle. Let us see what our policy would be if we were to accept the line now put forth by the dogmatists.

With such a policy, we would give up all united front relations in the peace movement. We would be denouncing as "bourgeois pacifists" the Quakers, the Student Peace Union, Women Strike for Peace, SANE, Turn Toward Peace, the Non-Violent War Resisters, and literally hundreds of other local peace organizations. We would even denounce the World Peace Council and the Accra Assembly on "World Without the Bomb" for creating "illusions about disarmament." We would charge the United Auto Workers, District 65 in New York, and others within the labor movement, with blatant hypocrisy.

Why would we do all this? Because even though they do not oppose the policies of U.S. imperialism, they participated in the struggle to prevent an invasion of Cuba; they call for an end to nuclear tests and the outlawing of nuclear war; they oppose war over Berlin and call for recognition of China and the establishment of normal trade relations; they call for the full acceptance of China in the United Nations, and they are for total disarmament. But, dogmatists say, they do not "openly attack U.S. imperialism as the gendarme of world reaction." Therefore, if we would not denounce them we would not be giving full support to that phrase in the 81-party statement which states that U.S. imperialism is such a "gendarme."

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Were we to follow the line of the dogmatists, we would have to denounce all disarmament talk as "building illusions." We would snarl into the face of the people who are now getting excited in happy anticipation of a nuclear test ban agreement. We would condemn these talks as "appeasement," as relying on the "false promises of imperialism."

We would give up our anti-monopoly line of struggle because this is "not attacking the capitalist system as a whole."

The dogmatists would have us give up our struggle against the danger of the ultra-Right and concentrate all our fire on the Kennedy Administration thereby giving the ultra-Right free rein. They would have us say that the ultra-Right is now in power and that "Kennedy is a worse fascist than Hitler."

They would insist that we forget about supporting the Negro liberation movements and struggles for equal rights and follow the policies of self-defeating adventurism and sectarianism.

If we were to accept their advice we would cut off all of our relations with trade union leaders despite the millions of workers they lead in strikes, "because they are agents of imperialism, advocates of the cold war, and sell-out artists."

We would limit our electoral work to Communist candidates who especially seek to run those candidates against liberal progressive candidates in order to destroy the illusions of the people in candidates who support or compromise with capitalism. There would be "no scabbing at the ballot box," and in this we would join with the Socialist Labor Party which has the longest record of dogmatic and sectarian policy in American politics and the least effective.

We would not raise the question of public ownership of industry because that is a "bourgeois demand in a capitalist society."

The dogmatists would have us attack such youth organizations as Advance, the Student Peace Union, the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, and all other such organizations because youth should be organized only in a revolutionary

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Marxist-Leninist youth organization such as a Young Communist League.

They would have us stop talking about possible peaceful roads to socialism. Instead we would say that what separates us from other Americans is that we believe in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and in the "smashing of the bourgeois state."

And so we have a picture of what things would be like if dogmatists dominated our Party.

They would have us abstractly calling for "militant revolutionary actions."

Under their leadership we would think up vile and slanderous names and charges to make against the leaders of labor and liberals in politics and public life, and on each Monday morning we would give our post-mortem on the activities of labor and the masses for the previous week.

WE REJECT DOGMATISM

All of this, of course, sounds ridiculous. It is. Yet that is the program and trap of the dogmatists who are always demanding to be heard.

We reject such nonsense because we participate in the class struggle and do not intend to let phrase mongers and dogmatists create barriers between our Party and the working class, and because we fully accept the Marxist position of the role of the working class in the struggle for socialism.

We reject such nonsense because we know that the only path to socialism is the path of struggle that starts at the point when the masses see their own self-interest. These struggles will correspond to the level of objective developments. We recognize that the process of objective developments and the experiences of the people in struggle will reach a point of qualitative change at the same time. We also recognize that such developments will awaken in the majority of the American people a desire to end capitalism and to place the country on the path to socialism.

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Dogmatism and pseudo-leftism has a special appeal to some people. It appeals to "formalists," to people who deal with "neat little systems" and to people who feel secure only behind rigid fences constructed from dogmas. It appeals to people to whom the struggles and the considerations of life have become "too much" and too involved. It appeals to people who like to play at "heroics." It appeals to people who do not have a oneness with the working class, who do not accept the discipline of that class, and who do not, in fact, understand the historic driving motive of the working class. Dogmatism appeals to windbags who cover up with shallow theories and who play upon moods, mostly moods of pessimism. They take pleasure in using bombast and enjoy coining new phrases that have nothing to do with life's realities.

Of such people, Frederick Engels once said, "This philistine is a drainpipe in which all the contradictions of philosophy, democracy and every description of phrase-mongering is mixed up in a monstrous manner." As for our immediate problems, we must say that it is not only necessary to reject the nonsense of the dogmatist, but we also must give to the working class and people of our country a program which embodies our outlook on immediate issues and which indicates the road which we see as our country's path to socialism. We must draw a picture of what socialism will mean for the working class and the people of our land. We can demonstrate that the great capacities of the means of production and the role of people and nation for peace in world affairs will be enhanced under socialism.

There is very little mileage in discussing political concepts in a vacuum. There is much to be gained if such discussions are related to our own specific problems of struggles and movement. In this sense there are many areas of activity that need constant probing and fresh thinking.

In NewMass Currents

Experience in many fields brings out the fact that a new array of spectacular mass- currents are developing which can affect the politics of our country. These mass currents are not always on the surface; but our own mass policy must be based on and serve to further develop these movements.

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Without detailed elaboration let us consider the conference of 500 religious leaders, from all parts of the country, and an additional 500 persons from the Chicago area, called to consider religion and problems of racial discrimination. This conference was called in the name of the major religious bodies of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths which have a membership of over 75 million Americans. It produced a declaration and a program of activities which can be a major element in the struggle to eliminate racism from American life. It declared in part: "Racism is our most serious domestic evil. We desire to eradicate it with all diligence and speed."

There is a new quality as well as quantity to the struggles and movements to end all forms of discrimination and inequality against Negro Americans. The mass struggles of the Negro people continue at a steady pace. These struggles have won some very impressive electoral victories in the last elections. This new quality is seen in the great militancy and determination which pervades the Negro people's movement for equality. And now it is seen in the new awareness and awakening amongst white Americans as shown in the very militant struggles of the youth and now in the ranks of the churches. This is, indeed, very encouraging.

The working class and the trade unions are face to face with the most difficult of all problems. Automation is replacing human hands at an alarming rate. The new machines increase speed-up to an inhuman pace. The gap between the size of the labor force and the number of jobs available, even during boom periods, is becoming ever wider. A new recession hovers on the horizon. Here is a very grave problem. But the big monopoly corporations, who are directly responsible for it, refuse to be diverted from their ugly quest for ever greater profits. They fight against unions, and the demand for a 35-hour-week. They introduce automation and increase speed-up without any concern for the human element.

This big corporation drive for ever higher profits through automation and speed-up has now reached a critical point. It is forcing the working class to raise sharply the question that human rights are above property or profit rights. The right to earn a decent living is more important than any other right.

This situation has produced new currents in the trade union movement. There are some very determined strikes. These strikes in a

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basic sense are struggles over the very elementary human right to earn a living for millions of workers. If the present trend continues we are soon going to be a nation of a few very rich, a small minority of the population working, a small part of the farmers farming, and the bulk of our people on relief, living in semi starvation on food stamp plans, pensions and unemployment insurance.

The working class must return to the basic concept that this country was never meant to be the private preserve of a few rich families. It was meant to provide life, liberty, and happiness to all. Our nation must be returned to the people who inhabit it.

There is a growing new generation of youth which has no possibility of being meaningfully employed.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council in a statement on February 21, 1963, on the Youth Employment Opportunities Bill, says, in part:

"In 1962, nearly 1 million youths 16 to 21 years old, who were in the market for jobs, were unable to find them. They represented nearly 25 percent of the total unemployed.

"In addition to these one million unemployed young people, several hundred thousand more youths were compelled to work part-time, because full-time employment was not available. Moreover, thousands more--indeed tens of thousands were not only out of school and out of work; they were also out of the labor force not even bothering to look for work because they had lost hope of finding jobs.

"This is truly a situation loaded with social dynamite, and one which time alone will not remedy. The number of new young workers entering the labor force is increasing steadily; by 1970, young people will be increasing the labor force at the rate of 3 million each year."

The doors of opportunity are almost completely closed to Negro youth and to Puerto Rican youth.

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Big business which controls our economy, picks out the very few it needs and completely refuses to take any responsibility for the millions left high and dry. They say it is not their responsibility. But is it not correct and logical that a system which cannot provide a livelihood for our people must be discarded and replaced by one that does?

The steps taken by the government are feeble and stop-gap by nature. Here is a first rate problem-it requires a first rate solution. This situation has started very deep-going currents amongst the youth. If they are not shown solutions in a progressive direction, there is the danger some of them can be misled into ultra Right and fascist channels.

Another major development has been the series of conferences and seminars within the United Auto Workers on the issue of peace. Since the Cuban events, the union leadership and representative delegates have had one conference on the question of jobs and peace, and a seminar which emphasized the role of the United Nations in the struggle for peace.

Also significant are the development within the Catholic church. One of the goals as stated by the Ecumenical Council in Rome is "to keep up with the age we live in and to turn to the future." Those Catholics who had been looking forward to the Council with the expectation that it would be a Council of anti Communism "have been sadly disappointed," declared an authoritative Catholic writer. Yes, these are developments among Catholics and Protestants which indicate new and positive approaches to the policy of peaceful coexistence. They are in their own way reflecting the problems of this "age of change."

Dogmatism rejects and ignores such mass currents. In fact, they have contempt for those who work with such movements.

The science of Marxism-Leninism lets us see these developments, but more than that, it gives us a deep knowledge of economic and political processes so that we are able to sense these currents in advance, before they come to the surface. It shows us the necessity of being in the midst of these developments, and part of them, in order to advance the interests of the working class.

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In Electoral Activity

This also means that in the electoral arena we must get rid of all dogmatism and adopt much greater flexibility even though this may place us in sharp conflict with those of our friends who have been drifting into "Leftism" in election activity. This means that we recognize the fact that the masses of people are and will be functioning within the two-party system in the 1964 elections, and that their independent forms will be mainly within the Democratic party. Any work in the primaries and general elections requires attention now to all developments within the two major parties. That is where the peace candidates of 1964 will emerge and campaign for election. It is where the Negro and the labor candidates will function.

It must also be said that the peace candidates will make head way if they also include in their campaigns other issues which are vital to all Americans. Fortunately, some of the peace organizations are moving into political action with the objective of presenting serious candidates who can win and who will have much to contribute to American politics.

This approach does not minimize the role of the Left and the need for independent electoral work. It only adds to the necessity of giving more attention to the development of independent and left electoral formations.

The Left has a purpose only if it has "something to do." There is nothing for it to do unless there are "problems." There are very few "problems" unless there is a broader movement. This is especially true in electoral activity which encompasses the whole spectrum of the anti-monopoly sentiments and movements.

Our history shows that the only successful new mass popular parties were those which came into being as a result of a split in old parties. This fact must be borne in mind and we must give more attention to the way in which such a political upheaval might take place. First we must see that it can take place. In this new period many new forms are bound to develop. These forms and realignments are going to be direct responses to the movement and struggle of the people of our country.

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In fact, what is new is that the mass movements of the Negro Americans for full equality, the diverse movements for world peace, the explosive upheavals of the youth, the constant pressures for labor's independent political action, and the activities rising in the ranks of the minority communities of the Puerto Rican and Mexican American peoples-are all converging on the political stage in a most dramatic way. These mass movements are expanding and for the most part have their own independent electoral formations. But at this stage they are seeking ways of using the vehicle of the two-party system. The mass of Americans who are moving onto the political scene view the two-party system as a semi-governmental vehicle for electoral purposes. By and large, they are under the misapprehension that they can accomplish the full aims of their movements through one of the two parties as they now exist. What is a fact is that the old parties are not going to be able to fence themselves off from these new mass currents.

And so these developments present many serious dangers and "problems!" The politicians in the old parties, as usual, are going to demagogically attempt to use these currents. They will try to take them over, and try to steer them into "safe channels." There is a danger these movements will become watered down as they enter the arena of "bourgeois politics." These and many other "problems" will arise at this stage of electoral activities. But it seems to be an unavoidable stage, through which political development must go. So the question all the Left and progressive elements must answer is: should we ignore this process, and so permit our people to muddle through this experience without guidance or leadership, or should the advanced elements conduct their own independent Left activities, but as part of, and in close relationship to, these broad mass currents? It seems to us the answer is obvious. It is a difficult task. There are many pitfalls along this path, but the advanced elements cannot avoid this responsibility. It is the only outlook that can result in the growth of a meaningful Left current. Without such an outlook the Left will wallow in its own sectarian pseudo-left and stagnant pool.

It is the only outlook that can give meaning, in the future, to a people's party based on labor and the Negro people. That is another stage of this same broad development. But you cannot skip over the present stage any more than you can sit out the present stage in a Left isolation booth and expect to be in the leadership of the movement when it

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reaches the next stage.

For the advanced elements there is also a real danger that arises from the other direction. This is represented by people who see the work in the broad movements as the only electoral activity worth pursuing. Oh, they tip their political hats to the need for Left and independent activities, but in fact they reject it. They do so by overstating the difficulty and the problems in developing Left and independent formations. They take no initiative and give no leadership to this work. After months of procrastination, they will say that it is "too late to do anything" except to tail behind events. This is in fact a cover for rank opportunism. It is a cover for a policy of no struggle, of tailism. And no system of individual contacts can meaningfully replace or be a substitute for Left and independent formations. What is needed are movements, committees, alliances, and not "manipulators." The idea that if we wait long enough there will be a spontaneous development of Left formations must be exposed as opportunism.

It must be made clear to all, that there can be no meaningful Left if it does not conduct its activities in close relationship to the broader currents; and there can be no meaningful work in the broader movements unless this is combined with a real struggle for the development of independent and Left electoral formations, alliances and candidates.

NATIONALISM AND DOGMATISM

In the minds of many, the question of how and why dogmatism took root in the leadership of some parties is a difficult question. I don't think we have all of the explanations. Some say it is because different countries have varied backgrounds. There is no doubt that is part of the answer. But this cannot be the main reason.

Some of the press speak about "have and have not" parties. This is an attempt to give Marxism and the Socialist countries the same status as that of an imperialist country in relation to a colonial country. That is a complete distortion of facts. We will have to look for a deeper explanation.

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There are many other factors that can partially explain this development - there is the question of background and experiences, the relationship of one's own country in the world arena, specific domestic problems and developments, and the problem of not having all of the factual and political information about developments in crucial areas of the world. All of these can, to some extent, have an influence on one's assessment of objective reality.

But it seems that the above does not yet fully explain the sharpness of the disagreements.

I think that one of the weaknesses that has somewhat influenced the outlook of certain Mandst parties is the influence of narrow nationalism.

What is it that gives the relationship between socialist countries its unique quality?

What is it that gave the people of the Soviet Union whatever it was that made it possible for them to give and give, willingly and gladly, with a sense of dignity and comradeship? What was it that gave them pride in 'doing without,' thus being able to give to the new socialist countries many billions of dollars worth of materials?

What do the people of the Soviet Union and socialist countries feel that made them stand ready to die in Cuba?

What dominated the thinking of Communists in our country and those of other countries which prompted them to go to Spain to fight Franco fascism?

Yes, it is humanism, and the love for all mankind, but it is a humanism rooted in a working class ideology. It is a sense of class solidarity. It is proletarian internationalism.

There is no contradiction between the national interest of a country and proletarian internationalism. Thomas Jefferson in the days of the founding of our country, and Abraham Lincoln at a time of deep travail for our country, spoke in terms of internationalism while fighting for our national interests. However, it is only when this internationalism is expressed in the working class that it has its full meaning for the

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national interest. Proletarian internationalism and national interests merge and strengthen each other in the lands of socialism. Marxists must see and nurture both of these elements in the working class.

It seems that after certain Marxist parties became leaders of nations, the influences of narrow nationalism tended to weaken proletarian internationalism. These Marxist parties tended to see the rest of the world, including the socialist world, through the eyes of narrow nationalism.

Some covered this narrow nationalism with revisionism. Others covered it with dogmatism. But the outcome is a non-working class, non-Marxist ideology of nationalism. Narrow nationalism is the stunted offspring of the environment of only one's own nation.

Lenin was always very conscious of ideological influences . That is why he emphasized that in alliances, the working class and its ideology must be the dominant one. That is the guarantee against floundering and lack of perspective.

He clearly foresaw the difficulties that were to emerge in ,the building of socialism in areas where the working class was numerically small and did not have the benefit of the experience of long years of struggle. He foresaw the problems of fighting for a working class outlook, a working class ideology, in countries where the . working class had not developed.

In his speech to the second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East, he said: "You are now confronted with a task which has not previously faced Communists throughout the world while relying on general Communist theory and practice, you must, by applying them to particular conditions which do not exist in European countries, know how to apply this theory and practice in conditions when the vast mass of the people are the peasantry, when it is necessary to accomplish the task of the fight not against capital, but against survivals of the middle ages."

In some countries, the peasantry is the dominant factor. In such countries, the Marxist parties will have to be alert and on guard;

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otherwise, they can be swept along by the influences of nationalism. The Marxist parties of the imperialist countries must never, even for a moment, relax their vigilance. They must struggle against the constant pressure and influence of great-power chauvinism. This ideological influence on the people and, yes, on the working class of the imperialist countries is a most insidious enemy.

The 81-Party Statement did speak sharply against revisionism. This was necessary. It especially mentioned revisionism as it was reflected in the outlook of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

But it also stated that in some parties and at moments, dogmatic sectarianism can become the main danger. This was also very much to the point.

Political developments since this statement was written have not eliminated the need to struggle against both of these dangers. They have, however, raised the danger of dogmatism to a new level.

A correct assessment of the policies of one party cannot mean that it must remain so for all time. To insist on such a method is to deny the very nature of Marxism as a science. As this science reflects reality it tends to correct wrong conclusions. Life's struggles tend to correct erroneous concepts. What is the purpose of discussions or exchanges of opinions if one has the preconceived notion that it will not change anyone's thinking? So to dogmatically stick to a 1957 formulation, and to refuse to consider changes that have taken place, is again to deny the very life-like nature of the science of Marxism.

UNITY ON BASIS OF MARXISM-LENINISM

It is important that we conduct this discussion with full confidence that the differences in the world Marxist movement will be healed. It is possible that if the world Marxists had conducted the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism in this spirit, the results would have been better for that party and for the whole world movement.

At the same time, we must say that in our own ranks we can not have that kind of liberalism which destroys policy and makes our Party ineffective. Our Party cadre are called upon to support our

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Party's policy.

Much of the confusion which existed in and around the Left has lifted. A greater clarity has developed especially because the masses have appreciated the prevention of thermonuclear war over Cuba, and because Americans, for the first time, really felt the breath of the nuclear threat. The peace policy of the socialist lands, as expressed in the policy of peaceful coexistence, provided a background.

We are confident that experience and life will force many to take a second look at some mistakes which are at the root of the present discussion. All will realize the damage done by dogmatism, as well as revisionism, to the world Marxist movement and to the struggle for peace and socialism.

We are confident that unity will be restored on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and that it will be greeted, not only by us, who are partisan, but also by all anti-imperialists, including those who disagree with us on other issues.

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The struggle to preserve world peace and to prevent a nuclear war, remains the most crucial of all issues. It is the central problem no matter from what vantage point one looks at the question. It has become most crucial from the viewpoint of making it possible to continue the progressive march of civilization without having to take "time out" to crawl back from generations of nuclear deformity and bestiality. It is necessary to the struggle to preserve and to extend democracy. In peace, the socialist world and the newly liberated independent nations are a powerful influence in the struggle to end all forms of discrimination against Negro Americans. Peace is needed to end the cold war and all the burdens that flow from it. It is needed to achieve wage increases, tax cuts, and the 35-hour week. The struggle for peace is essential to win the struggle against imperialism. The struggle against colonialism and the struggle for world peace are currents of the same progressive stream.

How can any serious mind separate the struggle for world peace from the struggle to build and consolidate the world system of

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socialist nations?

The struggle for world peace is the struggle to give the peoples of the world an opportunity to take advantage of the new balance of world forces to move on to the path of socialist construction. It is a law of leadership of this epoch that any force that does not fight to preserve world peace and to prevent a nuclear catastrophe does not carry the moral prestige or the right to lead in the fight for a better world- to end colonialism, class oppression, for progress, or for socialism.

While the conclusion of the world Marxist movement on the non-inevitability of war in the present epoch is based on the present world relation of forces and this determines the actual possibility of a successful struggle for peaceful coexistence, the struggle against war is not a new stance for Communists.

In 1936 the hero of the Leipzig trials, the world Communist leader, Georgi Dimitroff, wrote:

"In addition to the openly reactionary leaders who disrupt the unity of action of the international proletariat in defense of peace there are also "Left" phrase-mongers who propagate fatalistic views to the effect that war is inevitable and the maintenance of peace impossible. Since the fundamental cause of war is capitalism, then, they say, so long as the latter exists, it is impossible to avoid war, and it is hopeless and useless to fight for the maintenance of peace. Such people are out-and-out doctrinaires, if not simply imposters. They see everywhere around them the raging forces of war, but they do not at all notice the mighty factors for peace.

"Phrase Mongering doctrinaires depict matters as if the question of war and peace depends only on the capitalist governments. Yes, this would be the case if the mass of the people were simply pawns in the hands of the governments and did not fight to maintain peace in spite of their governments. But that is just the point; it is radically wrong to regard the mass of the people as puppets in the hands of the government.

"The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for, the victory of socialism throughout the world!"

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These are Marxist conclusions based on the objective realities of 1936. The forces of imperialism were then the dominant element in human affairs. But the new rising force of socialism in the Soviet Union was building and consolidating its positions. The people in the colonial countries were going through the skirmishes, preliminary to the flood-tide against imperialism. The working class in the capitalist countries was on the upward swing of struggles. The ideas of socialism were taking deep roots in many parts of the world. All these movements were closely linked to and moved along with the mass upheavals in the struggle for world peace and against fascism.

The struggles for independence and for socialism received great strength from the movements for peace and against fascism.

The shift in the world balance of forces was only developing then. But it was already reflected in Marxist concepts. Since then, and especially ,after the second world war, the scales have tipped. Now socialism serves over one billion people. The anti-imperialist revolutions have swept the colonial world. The working class in the capitalist world has become organized and has grown in political stature. There is a powerful peace movement in all parts of the world. It is this new force that now, more and more, dominates the direction of human events. Because of this shift, Marxism states: "it will take struggle and effort:, but war is not now inevitable."

Because World War II did take place, were the efforts of the Communists to prevent it a mistake? One has only to reflect on the growth of the world system of socialist countries, the defeats to imperialism in the colonial world, and the historic growth of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries to get one's answer.

Before World War II the shift in the relationship of world forces had not yet developed to the point where it was able to block the world rise of fascism and war. But the struggle against these evil forces contributed much ,t o make the present balance of forces possible.

Unfortunately there are still some in the world Marxist movement who even today deny that war can be avoided on the ground that "whether or not the imperialists will unleash a war is not determined by us. We are

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not the chiefs of staff to the imperialists." This is where dogmatism and doctrinairism leads to.

Marxism as a science studies and reflects objective reality. Objective reality has changed. Marxism gives a clear explanation of these changes. Marxism provides the unifying overall framework that makes it possible to understand the upheavals and eruptions that characterize this period. Marxism provides the outlook, the policies and the best possible tactics for the class struggle of this epoch.

We are convinced that the test of life will prove the Marxist outlook is correct. If, in the process of this test, we will find out that we have erred to one degree or another, we will openly and frankly study the errors and make corrections. This is how all sciences grow.

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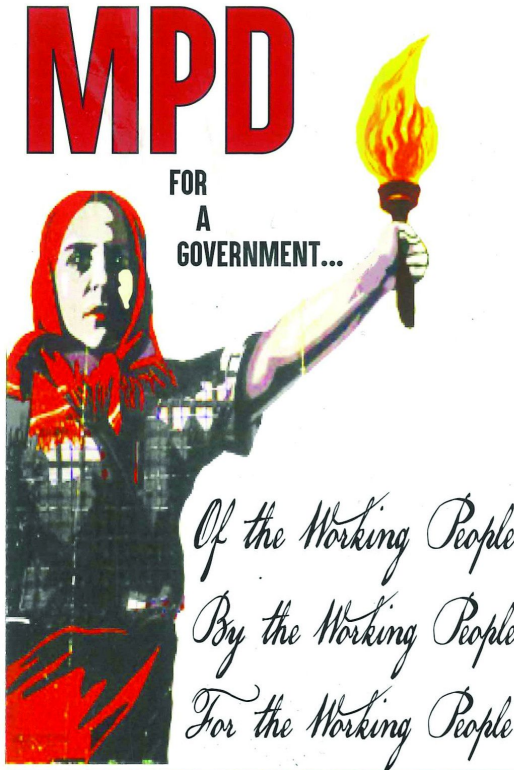
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To provide a people's response to state sponsored terrorism and violence in our communities.

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To fight corruption

To demand accountability and transparency from our elected representatives.

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To establish people's councils in every community with authority to enforce laws that protect the people from abuse of authority.

www.movement4peoplesdemocracy.org



Our Mission

The aim of all Friends of the Soviet People is international cooperation in building socialism and solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces of the world who are struggling against U.S. Imperialism - the main enemy of humanity.

Our History

U.S. Friends of the Soviet People is the successor to the National Council of American - Soviet Friendship (NCASF) Started in 1918 as “Hands Off Russia” Committees.

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Labor Today is published by the **Labor United for Class Struggle (LUCS)**, a nationwide caucus of union and non-represented workers. Our mission is to unite the working class to fight against the power of transnational capital. Currently only 11% of the U.S. workforce is organized into unions. Most of these workers are employed in the public sector, and are legally denied the right to strike. The most militant of these workers are the postal workers employed by the U.S. Postal Service. For this reason, they are under attack. However, they are not the only ones.

The attacks on the public sector and its workforce are part of a larger plan developed years ago by Milton Friedman and the University of Chicago School of Business. The plan is referred to as neoliberalism and its main feature is austerity. Reducing the number of federal, state, and municipal employees and cutting pensions and Social Security are the first part of the plan which President Ronald Reagan called "starving the beast". Under this plan, all government services are virtually eliminated with the exception of the military, and the Executive, Judicial, and Legislative Branches of government. This is also called Social Darwinism, or survival of the fittest.

Our mission with **Labor Today** and the LUCS caucus is to unite all of Labor, to give them a voice regardless of industry or type of work without regard to status: union or unrepresented. We provide assistance to the Walmart workers, the Fight for \$15 and a union and other efforts. We are transnational and we support the mission and policies of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

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The **League of Young Communists USA** is the Communist Youth Organization of the Party of Communists USA.

The Party of Communists USA traces its roots from dropped clubs of the Communist Party USA. Members of the New York Transport Workers Union club, the Arts & Entertainment CPUSA club, the Staten Island club, the Buffalo NY club, the Los Angeles club and various comrades scattered around the country, such as in California, Hawaii, Illinois, Minnesota and Texas, were the original founders of the Party of Communists USA. The PCUSA and the LYCUSA are dedicated to upholding Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, internationalism and Socialism-Communism. Our focus is on class struggle, workers' rights, and creating the conditions for a socialist revolution. The PCUSA established the League of Young Communists USA as the successor to the Young Communist League of the CPUSA, which was officially disbanded in 2015. The YCL had been in existence for almost one hundred years.

<http://www.leagueofyoungcommunistsusa.org>