

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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In this issue:

USA: HEARTLAND OF IMPERIALISM

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IN THE HEARTLAND OF IMPERIALISM

- G. HALL 3** The foe does not succumb to slogans
- G. GREEN 10** The meaning of the U.S. elections
- H. WINSTON 19** Labor and the Negro people
- H. LUMER 26** The U.S. economy and the war in Vietnam
- G. MEYERS 34** Some aspects of the trade union movement
- 43** Theory and practice of building socialism
- J. KOZEL** IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PARTY
50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
- 52** The national-liberation movement today
- F. NASSAR** DEEPENING OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN JORDAN
AT THE CAIRO SEMINAR (Reviewing the discussion)
- 66** In the Communist and workers' parties
- U. COUSSEMENT** 17th CONGRESS OF BELGIAN COMMUNISTS
- 69** From the experience of the CP of Spain
- E. GARCIA** VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE IN THE FIGHT
FOR A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SPAIN
- S. ALVAREZ** THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN AND
THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT
- F. ANTON** THE PARTY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE
- J. DIZ** THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE SPANISH
UNIVERSITIES
PARTY NEWS IN BRIEF
- 87** The war in Vietnam
- J. PRAZSKY** A YEAR OF STRUGGLE AND OF VICTORIES
- 90** Reviews
- V. PESCHANSKY** A STUDY OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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The foe does not succumb to slogans

GUS HALL

A PROPENSITY toward wars of aggression is an inherent, inborn characteristic of imperialism. It is a further cancerous growth of the inherent characteristics of the capitalist system as such. To forget or to evade this basic truism would be a rejection of reality. On the other hand, to use this truth as the basis for fatalistic, irrevocable conclusions about the path of human events is a serious misreading of a fundamental truth.

Such a method of thought is mechanical. It approaches reality without seeing its many-sided living nature. It leads to inaction because what it sees is in fact not reality. It leads to a dead end because it allows no place for struggle. If all one can say is that imperialism is reactionary, is brutal and aggressive by its very inner nature, then movement and struggle have no meaning. Struggle and movement of the masses has meaning only if it can influence the course of events.

What is constant with regard to imperialism is its urge, its bent toward aggression. What is variable is the reality of the world in which this aggressive drive operates and its effects on specific sectors of imperialism. As is the case with all phenomena, after the truth has been pinpointed it must then be studied in the process of development and in its relationships with the surrounding circumstances. Only in this way is it possible to discover the inherent contradictions and weaknesses, and to turn them into instruments of struggle. Only in this sense can man become a factor influencing the course of development. This approach gives meaning to Marx's

thesis that the purpose of study is not merely to contemplate reality, but to change it.

The purpose of such a study of imperialism is to formulate a policy, a tactical line of struggle against it—not to change its inherent nature, but to build the forces opposing it, to compel it to retreat.

In such a study, imperialism appears neither as a paper tiger nor as a Frankenstein. It is a formidable foe of progress, but a foe progressively weakened, a foe fighting against the odds of direction of history, a foe that will retreat, will succumb to the full mobilization of the forces of anti-imperialism. Imperialism is not a "pushover," but neither is it an all-powerful, invincible force.

Any study of imperialism, if it is to serve the purpose of the struggle against it, must include a constant updating of the analysis of its inner contradictions, the rivalries and divisions within its ranks. It must always include a continuous current assessment of the forces of anti-imperialism and the changing relationship of the balance between the two forces. This is the knowledge required to wage a successful struggle against imperialism.

Unity in the ranks of anti-imperialism and the constant exposure of the demagoguery of imperialism—these, more than any other factors, are basic requirements for a successful struggle.

But both of these requirements are dependent on constantly gathering and updating assessments of the developments in and around imperialism. There is now a serious need for a constant exchange of the exper-

iences of struggle. There is a need for a constant dialogue on tactics and strategy between Communist parties and among the broader anti-imperialist forces of the world. Without this, a continuous process of study is not fully possible.

Without such a dialogue it is not possible to achieve full unity in the anti-imperialist ranks. Without it the exposure of imperialism will not be fully effective. Without it, full political mobilization of the forces of anti-imperialism is not possible. The setting of strategic goals is necessary. But strategic goals not backed up by an updated tactical line tend to limp and to wither.

The "new" in the field of political thought very often is a repetition of the old under new circumstances. The same ideas keep coming to the surface, each time under new circumstances. Each time, life and experience lead to their rejection, but sooner or later they appear once more. Such is the case with certain erroneous conceptions concerning the role of the state.

In 1872, when Frederick Engels was writing about the leading petty bourgeois anarchist of his day, Bakunin, he observed:

"... Bakunin maintains that it is the *state* which has created capital, that the capitalist has his capital *only by the grace of the state*. As, therefore, the *state* is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be done away with and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We, on the contrary, say: Do away with capital, the concentration of all means of production in the hands of the few, and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one."

Since that day scores of variations of the Bakunin theme have appeared and reappeared, and each time as a fresh, new idea. This idea emerges today, as it has in the past, as a roadblock to mass struggle, as a misleading detour sign on the roadway to mass action.

In almost all situations the error flows from a narrow and mechanical interpretation of the role of the state. In one way or another it starts with the assertion: The state is an instrument of the ruling class; from this it logically follows that it has no distinct existence of its own. In this mechanical concept there is a fusion of the two. It reduces the role of the state to a simple one-to-one relationship with the ruling class.

The damage in this concept is that it destroys initiative and confidence in mass struggle. For if to the correct proposition that imperialism is inherently reactionary and warlike we add the concept that the state has no existence apart from carrying out the dic-

tates of this warlike imperialism, where is there an opening for the intervention of mass struggles? Clearly, there is no opening in such a concept.

If to the correct proposition that in present-day capitalism there is a close inter-relationship between state and monopoly we add the concept that because of this the state becomes completely a passive servant of monopoly, where is there an opening for a meaningful mass intervention—meaningful in the sense of a struggle that can gain victories?

This mechanical, one-sided overdraw of a true fact leads to unreal conclusions. It leads to the conclusion that nothing can be done about imperialism, about its policies of war and aggression, about the evils of monopolies—that is, nothing short of a socialist revolution. But the situation is not ripe for a socialist revolution, so one shouts slogans about revolution which in such circumstances are simply a way of doing nothing. Marx and Engels, writing about sectarian socialism, said:

"... Isolated thinkers subject the social antagonisms to criticism and at the same time give a fantastic solution of them which the mass of the workers have only to accept as complete, to propagate and to put into practical operation. It is in the nature of these sects, which are founded on the initiative of individuals, that they keep themselves aloof and remote from every real activity, from politics, strikes, trade unions, in a word, from every collective movement. The mass of the proletariat always remains indifferent, even hostile, to their propaganda... In short, they represented the infancy of the proletarian movement just as astrology and alchemy represented the infancy of science."

Such a narrow concept of the role of the state rules out all democratic struggle because all advances in the sphere of democratic rights are at variance with the interests of the monopolies. Such a concept would rule out the struggle for civil rights, and in fact some of the present-day "petty-bourgeois radicals" seek to excuse their lack of support for the demands of the civil rights movement with radical-sounding statements that the demand for civil rights laws is not revolutionary enough and that victories in the fight for such laws are but frauds.

Such a concept is a denial of reality, for what struggle in a capitalist country does not include an effort to influence the role of the state? The struggles of the working class for social legislation, for laws protecting the legality of unions and the right to strike, for laws restricting the monopolies—all are ef-

forts to use the state for its own class ends. And one must add that these are struggles which are not without historic victories.

It is an undeniable fact that with the development of state monopoly capitalism, the struggles against monopoly lead to a progressive increase in activities in the political and legislative spheres. This places a higher priority on political movements and struggles, and while it in no way minimizes economic struggles, it does emphasize the closer relationship between the two.

In this stage of capitalist development the state becomes even more a servant of the monopoly groups. But this in itself creates new victims of monopoly oppression and by so doing creates new forces that join in the struggle to influence the actions of the state.

True, the state is an instrument of the dominant class. In present-day capitalism it is a tool of the monopoly groups. But this is not the full story. Beyond this role it has a certain relative independence. It is influenced also by other factors. It is influenced by contradictions in the ranks of monopoly, by situations when the interests of a particular monopoly group are in conflict with the interests of the class as a whole.

The situation in the USA with regard to the war in Vietnam is a classical example of this dilemma. The state is influenced by the mass political trends. Because of this it is forced at times to act contrary to the interests of some monopoly groups. And because of this, in spite of its over-all subservient role to monopoly capitalism, it can be influenced, it can be curbed, by mass political struggles.

That there are illusions about the state being above classes, illusions about the state being neutral, is no argument against the concept of struggling to influence its actions. The struggles for all reforms take place in the shadow of illusions. It is an argument for such struggles, not against them. The shadows of illusions disappear in the fires of struggle.

So, in the spirit of the exchange of experiences in struggle, some words on struggles and problems as they appear in the center of world imperialism are in order.

What is coming into ever sharper focus is that the catalyst that sparks all phenomena in the United States—political, economic, cultural, social, financial or ideological—is *the persistent policy of imperialist aggression and war.*

More than any other factor it now molds and shapes all external as well as internal policies. The policy of war now takes top priority. War measures are now the main factors molding our economy. We are in the

midst of a war-induced inflation, of runaway prices and rents. We have wartime taxes, war-disguised attacks on standards of social security, war-camouflaged attacks on civil rights and civil liberties, war-hysteria attacks on labor—on the right to strike.

It is this focal point of our reality that gives rise to political trends and moods. That U.S. capitalism follows a policy of imperialist aggression is not unique or new, however. What is new is the kind of world in which the U.S. policy of aggression is being pursued. It is this that has created some unique by-products.

In all past wars of this century in which the United States was a participant, the main burden was carried by other nations, by other peoples. By means of wars in which the burdens and the loot were one-sidedly distributed, the law of uneven development of different capitalist powers not only worked to change the relationship of forces between the victor and the vanquished, but was equally effective in changing the relationship of forces among allied capitalist states. Thus, in the past, U.S. capitalism has always been on the light end of war sacrifices but on the heavy end when the imperialist loot was redistributed.

For U.S. capitalism these past war periods have been moments of its greatest expansion—expansion of its productive facilities, markets, investments, sources of raw materials. They have been moments of its greatest opportunity.

Even during World War II, serving as the “arsenal of democracy” was above all else a very profitable business for U.S. capitalism. The Marshall Plan and all the government foreign aid programs that followed were geared to take full advantage of the new “moments of opportunity” created by the wars. They may have been “moments of patriotic glory” for some—but for U.S. capitalism they were always above all “moments of profitable opportunity.”

Thus, the fact that other nations, both antagonistic and friendly, were carrying the burdens of war—that they were militarily, economically and financially preoccupied with conflict—is the secret formula for the past advances of U.S. imperialism.

What is new, what is unique for U.S. imperialism is that this old formula based on the old world relationships is no longer working. The tables are being turned. This is the result of a serious miscalculation by U.S. imperialism—a miscalculation of the present stage of history, of the direction of events molding the 20th century.

For U.S. capitalism the moment of opportunity is turning into a period of extreme

isolation. In travelling around the world as I did last summer, one gets a feeling that Uncle Sam is developing a case of bad breath. Governments which have even ordinary dealings with the United States find it necessary to apologize to their own people. No big power has ever suffered such isolation.

In this dirty war it is the United States that must carry the burden. Now it is U.S. imperialism that is preoccupied with war production, war mobilization, war economy, war finances, war investments. And as a result the United States is in the midst of wartime inflation, wartime taxes, wartime shortages. Now it is the USA that is sinking ever deeper into the quagmire of a policy that cannot win.

General De Gaulle correctly sees this as a moment of opportunity for French capital. For Japan, exports directly related to the Vietnam war this year will total about two billion dollars. As the war has escalated, and as the U.S. has become more involved, the demands for concessions by the other powers at the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations have kept getting stiffer. The U.S. policy of aggression more than any other single factor aggravates and sharpens the contradictions between the imperialist powers.

Of course, the aggression against Vietnam does not compare in size to many other world conflicts, although the weekly bombings are equal in severity to Hitler's bombing of Britain and of the U.S. bombing of Japan, but because of the new factors, its domestic effects do compare.

Some of the unique by-products began to appear already during the Korean War. But their present development is at a much higher level. Let me briefly indicate some of them.

1. It was in periods of war and war-created relationships that the U.S. gathered the lion's share of the capitalist world's gold reserves. It was symbolic of the unequal burdens and one-sided distribution of the imperialist loot. Now gold is being withdrawn and the scale of withdrawal is related to U.S. war escalation and U.S. war involvement.

2. During past war periods, because of expanded foreign markets as well as the need for war production for domestic and foreign purposes, the U.S. experienced a shortage of industrial capacity. Now, partly because of automation and partly because of war-induced inflation, but also because of the new world relationships, an unprecedented wartime over-capacity is developing. The steel industry is operating at about 75 per cent of capacity. There is a cutback in production of automobiles, home appliances and housing.

3. During the past war periods the U.S.

balance of trade always turned "bullishly" favorable. Now we have a wartime trend in the opposite direction. In 1964 the surplus of exports over imports was \$6.9 billion. In 1965 it dropped to \$4.8 billion. And the decline continued in 1966.

4. The new situation forces the U.S. increasingly to import strategic materials to be used in its own war production, for its own use. These materials will not go into exportable items to offset the adverse trend in the balance of trade.

5. War-stimulated inflation has created a price situation that works to the advantage of the competitors of U.S. capitalism.

War production remains very profitable for the monopoly groups that are its main base. But it has not turned into a "moment of opportunity" for all sections of capitalism.

Because U.S. capitalism is finding it difficult to shift the burdens of the war onto the backs of other nations and peoples, it is forced to attempt to place them on the backs of the people of the USA. This explains why the domestic consequences of the escalation appeared so swiftly and dramatically. *Thus the new world relationships have changed the nature and the weight of the burden carried by our people.*

Why is it so important to understand these new features, these new relationships?

It not only helps us to understand the domestic effects of the war, including the speed of their appearance, but also provides a basis for estimating the magnitude of the war burdens to come.

Such an understanding explains the escalation itself as well as the inherent dangers in a policy that cannot win. It helps to explain the mass reactions of different sectors of our people to the war and its burdens.

It explains the mass unpopularity of the war.

It explains the division in the ranks of the capitalist class.

It explains the divisions in the U.S. Congress.

It explains why the war policy has become the key catalytic agent on the domestic scene.

Because of the special relationship the United States had to past wars and because they were "moments of profitable opportunity," the capitalist class remained united in support of the state's war policies. This is not the case today. Now there are serious reservations, doubts and opposition in the ranks of capital. There is serious questioning whether the escalation of the war against Viet-

nam is in the best interests of the U.S. capitalism.

This questioning must be seen in the context of a minimum of mass support for the war. It is now generally conceded by all that the majority of the people of the USA are opposed to the Johnson war policy. The greatest mass sentiment is for de-escalation—for a retreat.

These two factors together are creating new political problems. While it is a fact that the state reflects the over-all interests and dictates of the dominant class, it is not the complete story. In the USA the state reflects the dictates of the dominant monopoly groups. But here again this truism must not be the basis for dogmatic, surface, bookish conclusions. Under even ordinary circumstances the state, besides being an instrument of the dominant ruling groups, is to one degree or another influenced by other factors and is therefore to one degree or another at variance with such interests. But when there are divisions in the ranks of the ruling class and when there is great mass pressure, as is the case in the present-day USA, the influence on the state can become decisive.

These questions clearly surfaced and were the single most influential factor in the November 1966 general elections.

As we all know, elections are not "things" unto themselves. They do not create the issues, the trends or even the movements. But they are very important reflections of the trends and issues. They are an important referendum on how people are reacting, how they understand the problems presented by objective reality. They can serve as instruments for the further crystallization of forms of struggle, and as important moments of political education. Therefore our analysis should not be limited to counting votes.

True, many factors influenced the popular voting pattern in 1966. There were dominant as well as secondary influences. Some were momentary.

But in all of this the single most influential issue that has determined voting patterns and has molded trends and currents during the recent years, has been and remains the issue of war and peace—the policy of aggression against Vietnam—and with it all of the endless problems affecting the everyday lives of our people that are by-products of the imperialist war policy.

It was the determining issue in 1964. Goldwater's racist views and his reactionary positions on social welfare all had their effects. But it was Goldwater's open war stance and, in contrast, Johnson's demagogic stand for

peace that determined the size of the landslide.

If this were not so, how could one explain the phenomenal drop in Johnson's popularity? It was the main factor that influenced the voting pattern in the primary elections of 1966. The unprecedented votes for peace candidates in the primaries were a reflection of the mass sentiment against the war and of the unique problems of this war.

It was the single most influential issue in the November elections. A week before the elections, in a statewide opinion poll, 80 per cent of the Illinois electorate said peace was the main issue that would determine their votes. Senator Douglas took his stand for escalation and was defeated. Percy played demagogically with the war issue and was elected.

When we assess the consequences of the war, it is always necessary to include the fact that fear of the war's escalation into a world and even a nuclear war is one of the new factors that has made the issue of war so influential politically. Nuclear power has made war or peace a very personal, life-and-death issue for our people for the first time in our history. Two years ago the war was a vaguely remote conflict. Now it is a war with serious consequences for the everyday lives of our people. Its economic and social effects are in inverse ratio to where one stands on the economic ladder. The lower one stands, the heavier the burden, the more serious the effects. Whether it is a matter of taxes, prices, rents, anti-poverty funds, housing, cutbacks on road building and other construction—the hardships are with the poor. The victims are in the first place the Negro people, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans, the unemployed, the old folks, the working class as a whole.

The November elections were an important referendum of the mass sentiments on the war issue.

In assessing the mass trends in the 1966 elections, one must start with the deep disappointment, anger and sense of frustration arising from the Johnson betrayal of the mandate for peace of 1964. How to express the same sentiments in 1966 as they did in 1964—in view of the betrayal—became the dilemma for millions. Considering the limitations of choice in the 1966 picture, the voters did remarkably well.

The sentiments of the masses did not shift to the Right. On this most crucial point, the elections indicate the shift is in the direction of a broader and deeper concern and protest against the war policies. What had changed since 1964, and even since the primaries, was

not the mass trends but the possibilities of expressing those sentiments in the November elections. The alternatives became ever more blurred.

As has been the case so many times in our history, the voters were "boxed in." A clear-cut alternative was not present in most cases. But where even the slightest opportunity presented itself, the trend of opinion against the war expressed itself. In spite of the limitations, it became the single most influential factor in the elections.

Wherever there was the slightest choice, the vote was for an end to the escalation. The greatest single handicap for any candidate was a defense of the Johnson war policy.

The two speeches that swung more votes away from the Democrats than any other during the whole campaign were Johnson's speeches, after Manila, in Alaska and at the Washington airport. They were open war speeches. They deepened the apprehensions of the electorate. Johnson sounded more like Goldwater than at any time since he had taken office.

Let us examine certain specific election contests.

In the senatorial race between Brooke and Peabody in Massachusetts, the only important difference on issues was on the issue of the war. Peabody was for the Johnson policy of escalation. Brooks was for de-escalation and for negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Brooks is the first Negro American to be elected to the U.S. Senate.

In the senatorial contest in Oregon, the only difference between Hatfield and Duncan was on the war in Vietnam. The energies and funds of the Democratic Party, Johnson and the Meany forces were thrown into this campaign behind Duncan, but support of Johnson's war policy was too heavy a handicap for him to overcome.

The same is true of the races between McIntyre and Thyng in New Hampshire, Pell and Briggs in Rhode Island, Metcalf and Babcock in Montana. The one clear issue in these races was escalation or de-escalation. The people voted for de-escalation. The fact that voters were influenced to vote for candidates who used the peace issue demagogically does not in any way change the assessment of mass trends. The purpose of such an assessment is to be able to formulate tactics and policies of leadership, to raise the struggle to a higher plane by exposing the demagogic use of the issues of mass concern.

Of the newly elected Congressmen, those who differentiated themselves from Johnson in most cases won re-election, including such targets of the ultra-Right and pro-war forces

of the Democratic Party as Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, Fraser of Minnesota, Ottinger and Wolff of New York and Helstoski of New Jersey and many others.

The support for the Administration's war policy clearly was an important handicap for people like Douglas in Illinois, Williams in Michigan, Brown in California, O'Connor in New York, Duncan in Oregon and Shapp in Pennsylvania. They all lost the election.

The issue of support for the war policies by the leadership of the trade union movement became a dilemma in the elections. The effectiveness of the trade unions was drastically cut. Labor simply could not utilize the other issues as effectively as long as it was weighted down with its position on the war issue. To support Johnson's war policy while taking a position against the war-induced inflation, higher taxes, wage restraints, the Johnson-instigated anti-strike legislation, the scuttling of the fight against Section 14b of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, is a contradiction in positions. This contradiction the trade unions could not overcome in the elections, except where they took a stand against the war policy. This has resulted in a deep post-election debate within labor's ranks and the emergence of a series of peace expressions by labor leaders and the rank and file through peace conferences in Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh and other industrial centers.

There is a very important lesson in this when it is contrasted with the victories of the Negro candidates. The most successful Negro candidates were those who presented a unified opposition to the war and in the struggle for civil rights. This is the meaning of Julian Bond's history-making third election to the Georgia legislature, of Brooke's election, of the re-election of Adam Clayton Powell in New York. The record and the re-election of Congressman John Conyers of Michigan stands out in this regard. During the campaign he said the following: "The peace movement is clearly the advance wing of progressive America. . . . The only way we can achieve a really strong liberal coalition is for the members of the peace movement and the pre-dominantly Negro civil rights movement to join together to seek progressive legislation and policies."

When apprehensions, frustrations and opposition to the war and all of its consequences has become a mass phenomenon, you cannot build a movement of support for a candidate who sets himself in opposition to this mass trend.

In 1966, wherever it was tried, it failed. While much of the present struggle to influence the actions of the state takes place

through independent political activities within the orbit of the two-party system, the direction of this development is clear. It is towards ever greater independence, leading to the appearance of a mass political party not limited by the boundaries of the two-party system, which is the political apparatus for keeping the state in the service of monopoly capital. The problems and struggles in the wake of state monopoly capitalism are the midwives of such a people's party. Such a party is a political and ideological way station on the pathway to socialism.

The mass pressure for de-escalation, the divisions in the ranks of the ruling class, and the inability of the U.S. armed forces to crush the resistance of the people of Vietnam presents the U.S. monopoly state power with a serious dilemma. As the Presidential election of 1968 approaches, the pressure for a solution to the dilemma will become the hottest, the most crucial political factor in the USA. The pressure will be in two directions.

There is a growing sense of desperation in the Pentagon, and in the ranks of sections of monopoly capital and the forces of the ultra-Right. They are aware of what the political strategists of the ruling Democratic Party likewise recognize—that a continuation of the policy of escalation spells defeat for the candidates of their Party. They are in deadly fear that the pressure of the masses will bring about steps toward de-escalation and retreat. This is the nature of the current political struggle to influence the state.

These fears of the war forces raise to new heights the danger of further escalation. While the pressure of the masses is for de-escalation, the pressure of the war forces is for further escalation. Developments in either direction are possible.

Thus the propensity of imperialism toward wars of aggression does not close the door to victories against it. The totality of the present-day objective situation — starting with the growing power of the forces of anti-imperialism, and including the contradictions and the divisions within the world of imperialism and the many-sided developments in the United

States—can spell de-escalation and a defeat for U.S. imperialism. A total mobilization of the forces of anti-imperialism can force U.S. imperialism to retreat. The time for the idea of the right of self-determination of nations has arrived. This has unalterably set the direction for history. All the military power in the world cannot reverse this trend.

The policy of imperialist aggression can be defeated. But it must be met by the united forces of anti-imperialism. In this sense, the greatest single negative factor in the struggle against imperialism in general and against U.S. imperialism in particular is the divisive and disruptive role of the Mao grouping for the leadership of the Communist Party of China. No other single factor has given U.S. imperialism greater encouragement. The events in China are the dangerous culmination of policies of petty-bourgeois radicalism. It is a struggle between working-class policies of Marxism and the adventurist policies of shallow nationalism and petty-bourgeois radicalism. The appeal of Mao and Lin Piao is not to class consciousness or class instincts. It is not an appeal to socialist consciousness. It is an appeal to emotionalism, based on a cult, on shallow nationalism. The "cultural revolution" is a dangerous misuse of youthful inexperience. The petty-bourgeois thought of Mao is based on non-dialectical, mechanical misinterpretations of truths and of partial truths. It produces slogans that temporarily appeal to emotions. But policies based on such thoughts will become shipwrecked on the hard shoreline of reality.

The defeats for the policies of Mao and Lin Piao in the world arena and in China are the beginning of the new reality for China.

The world Communist movement must yet draw the lessons, must yet dissect out the roots, the concepts that lead to such a distorted path of development as is now the case with China.

It is hoped that this discussion about the errors which flow from drawing mechanical conclusions from abstract truths separated from their living surroundings will be helpful in this work.

The meaning of the U.S. elections

GIL GREEN

THE RESULTS OF THE November elections in the United States have been a subject of concern all over the world. People have asked: what do the Republican gains mean? They recall that it was the Republican Party that ran the neo-fascist warmonger, Barry Goldwater, as its presidential candidate in 1964. Yet two years later, in November 1966, it is the same party that scored a considerable victory. The Democrats lost and the Republicans gained 47 seats in the House of Representatives, three seats in the U.S. Senate and eight state governorships.

Are the American people embracing the viewpoint of the extreme Right? Have they endorsed the war in Vietnam and the policy of escalation? These are the questions asked.

It is the purpose of this article to shed some light on them. We shall try to analyze some of the political cross-currents at work in the United States, how they revealed themselves in and influenced the results of the November elections, and what they mean for the future.

I. THE ISSUE OF VIETNAM

In a country with an institutionalized two-party system such as the United States, which has no mass working class or people's party on the ballot, any considerable dissatisfaction with the party in power will express itself in a switch to the candidates of the other party. This took place in the November elections. The single most striking feature of the elections was the mass effort to cast a vote of no confidence in President Johnson and his administration.

No one challenges this interpretation of the vote, although every political group tries to read something different into it. Even President Johnson has an explanation. According to him, the widespread switch to the Republicans is just a normal mid-term swing from the party in power.

But there was more to the November vote than a switch from the "ins" to the "outs." Had it been merely that, it would have shown itself in a blind support for Republican candidates, irrespective of who they were or what they stood for. This happened, but certainly not in the majority of instances. On the whole, the people exercised considerable selectivity in whom they voted for and whom against.

Nor is Barry Goldwater telling the truth when he claims that the election results reveal a national tendency in support of his rabidly reactionary foreign and domestic policies. Had this been the trend, it would have shown itself in a voter selectivity favoring pro-Goldwater, ultra-Right candidates. Some of these were elected, but they were the exceptions, not the rule.

The people voted not merely against the "ins," but against the specific policies and course of the Johnson Administration. The issue which above all others determined the national outcome of the election was the war in Vietnam. This is so despite the bi-partisan attempt in most areas of the country to keep it from being openly aired. But in the ways that were open to the people and consistent with their level of understanding, they did express great unrest over the war and its effects and a fear of its possible consequen-

ces. The *New York Times*, on the Sunday following the elections, summed it up in these words: "There is a widespread dissatisfaction and uneasiness about the course and prospect of the Vietnam war." (Nov. 13, 1966.)

Proof that the majority of the people did not vote for the ultra-Right or in support of the war is to be seen in a concrete examination of the election returns and in a study of the national pattern that emerged.

First, with the major exceptions of California, Florida and Arizona, the Republican victories did not go to the Goldwater wing of that party. In the state of Oregon for example, the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, Mark Hatfield, won the election. He made criticism of the war his main plank and called for a course of de-escalation leading to peace, while his Democratic opponent jingoistically supported the war. The nation viewed this campaign as something of a national barometer of public sentiment on the Vietnam war.

In the state of Illinois, one of the key industrial states, the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, Charles Percy, also urged steps toward peace. His Democratic opponent, Senator Paul Douglas, stubbornly defended the war policies of the Johnson Administration. Upon election, Percy told a press conference that his stand for peace, more than any other issue, brought him the victory.

In the state of Massachusetts the most significant contest was also for the seat in the U.S. Senate. The big question was whether this state, with only two per cent of its population Negro, would elect a Negro to that high office. There had been no Negro in the U.S. Senate since the days of radical reconstruction following the American Civil War. Edward Brooke, a Negro, was the candidate of the Republican Party. He spoke out for peace in Vietnam, for an end to the bombings and for de-escalation. He was elected, thereby scoring an historic victory against racial prejudice.

Many other examples could be cited. Certainly these Republican candidates cannot be considered as Goldwater Republicans. When their number is added to the Republican victories in Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, New York and in other states, it is quite clear that the election resulted in a weakening of the Goldwater wing of the Republican Party.

It is also important to note that Democratic losses were greatest among those most closely identified with the Johnson war policies. We have already mentioned Illinois and Oregon. But what about California, where the Goldwater Republicans won their greatest

victory, electing Ronald Reagan, the movie actor, as governor of the state by landslide proportions? The fact is that Pat Brown, the Democratic incumbent, running for re-election, did not offer the electorate even the shadow of an alternative on the war issue. A year ago, at the direct request of the White House, Governor Brown set out to bring about the removal of the popular head of the California Democratic Club movement, Si Casady. The reason? Casady had courageously condemned the war in Vietnam and President Johnson. For this "crime," Brown demanded Casady's political head. Thus he succeeded in demoralizing the very organized forces without whom he could not hope to win the election. On other issues as well, Brown crawled before the combined pressure of Washington and the Goldwater ultra-Right.

In New York State, the Democratic candidate for governor also identified himself closely with the Johnson policies and went down to defeat. While remaining mum on the war issue during the campaign, he did, however, get Johnson to come into the state to campaign for him. His defeat, therefore, was a direct slap at the President himself.

Nelson Rockefeller won re-election as governor in New York state. He is a bitter foe of Goldwater in the Republican Party although by no means a friend of peace. He, too, thought it wisest to keep his mouth shut on the war issue during the campaign, yet Rockefeller's stand on foreign policy has been consistently reactionary. But in New York, as in other states, when the voters were confronted with opposing candidates who looked alike and spoke alike, they tended to single out for defeat those who reminded them most of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Further evidence of how the people feel about the war is the significant fact that few candidates dared to campaign as war hawks, that is, in favor of further escalations in the war. Where they did, they were nearly everywhere defeated.

Possibly the best indicator of public sentiment on the war are the results of the referendum conducted in Dearborn, Michigan. This is a working-class suburb of the great industrial auto city of Detroit. In this referendum on the war, 40.5 per cent of the voters favored immediate unconditional and complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. So large a percentage for unconditional immediate withdrawal indicates that a sizeable majority favor a policy aimed at de-escalation and direct negotiations with the Vietcong for an end to the war.

President Johnson's great loss of popular

support, as shown so clearly in the elections, has become the subject of wide public discussion. Recently, in an article in the magazine *Newsweek*, the most prominent of all U.S. political commentators, Walter Lippmann, analyzed the reasons for this unpopularity. He wrote in the issue of Jan. 2, 1967:

"This dramatic reversal of opinion reflects the fact that during his time as President, Mr. Johnson has changed places with the man he defeated so overwhelmingly in 1964. In that election Mr. Johnson got 61 per cent of the popular vote and Mr. Goldwater, 39 per cent. In the latest Harris poll only 43 per cent of the people approve of the President and 57 percent do not. Mr. Johnson has not fallen quite so low as Mr. Goldwater did. But he is well on the way."

Why this downfall? Lippmann continues:

"The reversal in popular standing is accompanied by, and is the consequence of the fact that Mr. Johnson is coming closer and closer to occupying the positions taken by Mr. Goldwater in 1964. He has escalated the war in Vietnam as he said he would not and Mr. Goldwater said he should . . . And at home because of the escalating war he has all but brought the so-called Great Society to a stop."

From the foregoing it is clear that in the context of the concrete reality confronting the people on November 8th, it was impossible to deliver a blow at Goldwaterism without also delivering one at Johnson. This is what complicated the picture and explains some of the inconsistencies and contradictions in the election results.

In stressing the Vietnam war issue as the decisive one, we do not overlook the important effect of others as well. The questions of inflation and rising living costs were big issues. They affected more people directly than any others. Yet they cannot be disconnected from the war and the swollen arms budget. While many people blamed "big government spending" in general for this situation, most people saw a relationship between the war and their pocketbooks. Some undoubtedly felt that it had meant more jobs, but the great majority recognized that the war had boosted prices and taxes and had lowered purchasing power. As for the tens of millions living in dire poverty—Johnson, the other day, said that their number had been "reduced" to 32 million (!) —it has meant the cruel hoax of being promised a war against poverty only to get a war against the impoverished—in Vietnam and at home.

II. THE ISSUE OF RACISM

It is true that this issue, only next to that of the war itself, had a profound effect on the election results. Once again, as in 1964, a massive effort was made to stampede the white voters, particularly the small homeowners, with appeals to racial prejudice. Also, as in 1964, the term "white backlash" was used to characterize this racial assault.

What is the meaning of this term? Those who use it charge that the Negro people have pressed too hard for their rights—have demanded "too much" and gone "too fast." This, they claim, has been the lash that has brought on the backlash.

This line of argument is not new. It makes the oppressed responsible for the violence used against them by their oppressors. It cynically makes the victim responsible for the assault of the rapist, for had she not resisted, rape would not have been necessary. It is like blaming the people of Vietnam for the napalm dropped upon them by American planes, for had they agreed to U.S. domination, there would be peace.

The Hitlerite strategy of the ultra-Right in using racial prejudice to stampede the white masses did not succeed in either 1964 or 1966. But it would be a mistake to underestimate it.

Some gains for greater Negro representation in elected office were made in the November election. For the first time a Negro was elected by popular vote to the U.S. Senate. There were also gains in Negro representation in state legislatures in the South and in northern states such as Michigan and Illinois. The young Negro hero, Julian Bond, who twice had been elected to the Georgia legislature, only to be refused his seat because of his outright condemnation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, was elected for the third consecutive time.

These gains represent progress, but they are infinitesimal when compared with the immensity of the task of winning equal representation for the Negro people. Comprising 12 per cent of the population, the Negro people have less than two per cent of the seats in the House of Representatives and only one out of a hundred seats in the U.S. Senate. Not a single one of the 50 states has even one Negro state official. While the picture is better in city councils and state legislatures, nowhere has the Negro won the posts in government that are his due. Nearly everywhere his representation is only token. As for his economic position in the country after twelve years of what has been called the "civil rights revolution," it is worse than at the outset for the great majority, with the

income gap between Negroes and whites widening yearly.

How racism is used in the ultra-Right bid for power can be seen by what took place in the city of New York over the issue of the Civilian Police Review Board. For years the police have manhandled Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the most shameful fashion. After a number of cold-blooded murders by the police, a cry arose for some kind of civilian control over police misdeeds. This led to the establishment of the Civilian Review Board. This Board had no direct power. All it could do was investigate complaints and recommend certain action to the head of the Police Department, to be either accepted or rejected by him.

But even this extremely weak effort to restrain police violence was not to the liking of the police or of reaction generally. These opposed the very principle involved, believing that sooner or later it would lead to civilian control over the police. This was greatly feared by many big business interests in the city.

By the joint cooperation of the police, sections of big business, politicians and the organized movements of the ultra-Right, a special referendum was placed on the New York City ballot to abolish the Review Board. A vicious campaign was conducted to confuse the people and to make them believe the safety of their women and children was at stake. This was interlaced with subtle, and not so subtle racist prejudice. The result was the defeat of the Review Board.

What happened in New York City on this issue indicates to what extremes the ultra-Right and racists will go and how dangerous racism can become even in a city with more than two million Negro and Puerto Rican people.

One of the main reasons why the ultra-Right felt it could get away with the racist assault at this time, is the shift that has taken place in the thinking of an important section of the bourgeoisie which formerly acted as a friend of the Negro freedom movement and tried thereby to keep it under its wing. This grouping supported the Jobs and Freedom March on Washington in 1963. At the time of the crisis in Selma, Alabama, in 1965, it urged a new right-to-vote law. It was then that President Johnson even ended a speech with the words of the freedom song, promising the Negro people that together, "we shall overcome."

But the new laws did not alter the plight of the Negro people materially. The terror in the South has continued. The living conditions of the great majority of the Negro

people, especially those in the ghettos and slums, have not improved, they have worsened. The main demand is no longer for new laws, but for transforming paper rights into real rights. And for this, small concessions and minor reforms are meaningless. Only radical measures can produce a radical change in the conditions of the Negro people in respect to employment, housing, education, health and the indignities that come from their status of inequality and powerlessness.

Two developments have particularly brought about the sudden cooling off of sections of liberal white opinion in their attitude toward the Negro liberation struggle. The first of these is the rash of Negro ghetto upheavals that have taken place in the past three years. Such violent outbreaks also occurred in the past, but only on rare occasions and when triggered by some abnormal provocation. What was abnormal only a few years ago has become normal today. This indicates to what extent the ghetto has become a permanently seething volcano of disillusionment and discontent.

The second development is linked to the first. It has to do with the rapid growth of radical consciousness within the most militant sections of the Negro freedom movement.

There is a growing recognition that the old forms of struggle and old slogans, demands and programs no longer suit new needs. The most advanced sectors of the Negro people's movement see the relationship of their struggle to the world around them. They have boldly affirmed their unity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression. They have taken their stand on the side of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. There is also a growing recognition that only a radical change in who holds and wields political and economic power can materially alter the lot of the Negro people. From this has arisen a certain politicalization of the movement and the search for new answers, alliances and forms of struggle that can effectuate change in power relationships.

This new, more radical mode of thinking is symbolized by the slogan "Black Power." The ruling class has consciously distorted the real meaning of this slogan so as to frighten white masses, whip up anti-Negro sentiment, and split the Negro movement itself by turning the more moderate and conservative Negro organizations against the more radical ones. The capitalist press has made the words "Black Power" synonymous with black racism. But this is a shameful distortion of its meaning. Stokely Carmichael, the young militant leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating

Committee, explained what he meant by Black Power in a statement issued last June. He said:

"Black power means that in Lowndes County, Alabama (80% Negro), for example, if a Negro is elected tax assessor, he will be able to tax equitably and channel funds for the building of better roads and schools serving Negroes. If elected sheriff, he can end police brutality. Where black people lack a majority, it means proper representation and sharing of control. On the state and national level, it means that black people can say to white authorities, 'We need X million dollars to fix our roads, and we have X million votes behind us.' Without power, they can only say 'Please—we need it.'

"The thrust of our program today is, therefore, political organizing to win that power. This will vary according to the situation in each community." Carmichael went on to say that "'Pro-black' has never meant 'anti-white' unless whites make it so."

While Carmichael was the first to use the slogan "Black Power" the concept did not originate with him. It has existed for many years and expresses the basic theoretical concept that the Negro "problem" in the United States arises from the oppression of the Negro people as a people and that as such they constitute an oppressed national minority. From this flows the sound conclusion that the Negro people cannot achieve their emancipation by certain individuals or groups being given greater rights, but only by the Negro people winning full equality for themselves as a people.

Thus, the crisis in race relations that has been the product of the centuries of Negro oppression has now assumed an even sharper form. A process of change is taking place within the Negro movement reflecting class differentiations within it. A process of change is also taking place within the thinking and movement of the white masses. This expresses itself in an increase in white supremacist prejudice and an irrational fear of the new militancy and demands of the Negro people. On the other hand, there is also a growing recognition on the part of many people that tokenism will no longer work. If the Negro is to be an ally for progressive change in the country, he can only be such when respected as an equal in every sense of that word.

In sections of the trade union movement, there is a greater awareness of what a white-black cleavage could mean to the whole working class. In some unions there is alarm at the large numbers of white workers that have been affected by prejudice and a growing

determination to check and reverse this trend so dangerous to the interests of the white workers themselves.

But a great deal will have to be done, among the white workers and the white masses generally, if the crisis in race relations is to be resolved in favor of a new level of black-white unity.

III. THE "NEW POLITICS" MOVEMENT

The radicalization taking place in sections of the Negro people's movement finds both a reflection and a counterpart in similar trends elsewhere. The existence of mass poverty and squalor in a land fabulously rich; the growing crisis of our cities; the pollution of our air and water; the shameful oppression of the Negro people; and, above all, the brutal, genocidal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam, have helped many people realize that the enemy to be fought is not on foreign soil but here at home.

Everything that has been done to either persuade the people or to intimidate them into support for the war has not brought the results of the past. There is mass revulsion over the so-called "credibility gap," a growing feeling that the government cannot be trusted, that it lies to the people about everything, that the truth has not been told about the Kennedy assassination, and that despite all the boasting about democracy, power actually resides in the hands of a few and not with the people.

We do not wish to imply that this is already a majority trend. But it is the thing that is new and developing in the country. It exists on different levels, side by side with misconceptions, confusions, illusions and prejudices. It is a trend among the student youth and intellectuals. It is seen in the new militancy with which the city poor are fighting for their right to a livelihood. It is expressing itself in a new restiveness within the labor movement that has already brought into being an open policy division in top leadership. In the political arena it takes the form of what has become known as the "New Politics."

The New Politics movement is only in its early stages of development. It is made up of peace and freedom forces working both inside and outside the two-party framework. What unites them is the realization that a new political force of the people must arise which is based on allegiance to principle, on representing the interests of the people against the present "power structure."

Toward this end stress is placed on the need for political independence. But the con-

cept of political independence is now given a new emphasis and quality different from that of the past. The labor movement, for example, has claimed right along that it is politically independent. By this it has meant that when it dislikes the candidates of one party it is free to pick and choose from those on the opposite slate. But the New Politics adherents speak of independence in a deeper sense—the need to build independent power bases from which, in time, to bring into being a new political alignment. In other words, to quote the new Draft Program of the Communist Party, to move over from “politics of pressure to politics of power.” That is, to begin to elect people to office whose allegiance is to the people and whose power comes from the people.

In the recent election this new trend expressed itself in an increase of independent candidates running in the primary elections of the old parties, especially the Democratic Party. A primary election nominates the candidates of each of the two parties and takes place a few months before election day. In the 1966 elections there were scores of independent peace candidates who challenged machine-picked candidates. In a number of districts such candidates won. In Georgia, Julian Bond, whom we have referred to previously, has been the candidate of the Democratic Party by virtue of his ability to win the primary nomination. In New York, California, New Jersey and other states, peace and freedom candidates running in the Democratic primaries received an exceptionally high percentage of the vote. In New York and California these candidates polled from 45 to 49 per cent of the vote.

This stresses the importance of the primary contest as a means of fighting for independent candidates who are not subservient to the big business-controlled and thoroughly corrupt party machines.

But the November elections also witnessed a larger number of candidates running on independent tickets than in many, many years. In New York State alone, for example, there were nine such candidates running in different congressional districts. One was the Marxist scholar and Communist Party leader, Dr. Herbert Aptheker. While none of these candidates won a large percentage of the total vote, it would be wrong to view these candidacies as insignificant. On the contrary, they represent a trend which is bound to increase as disillusionment in the two party system grows. The habit of only voting for candidates who can win and the argument “don’t throw your vote away” are hard to

overcome, but this thinking can never be changed if never challenged.

The third-ticket candidacies played an important role as catalysts compelling attention to the central issues of the day, particularly the war. In the districts where these candidates ran, tens of thousands of people were reached. In the single district in which the Communist, Herbert Aptheker ran, over ten thousand signatures were gathered to place his name on the ballot. This is the first time in nearly a decade that a Communist was able to get on the ballot in the state of New York. Comrade Aptheker received over 3,000 votes in this district and his campaign has laid the basis for future work as well as proving the possibility and need for more Communist candidates in future elections.

In the South, the candidates on independent tickets were more than catalysts. In Lowndes County, Alabama, the Black Panther movement, won 46% of the vote, although only 40% of the Negroes were registered to vote. This indicates the immense possibilities inherent in the movement of the Negro people to win political power for themselves in areas of black majority. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party received 30,000 votes for its candidate for U.S. Senate despite the fact that it only won the legal fight to be on the ballot two weeks before election day.

Nearly everywhere, and particularly in California, there was strong resistance among peace and New Politics advocates to a policy of supporting candidates who retreated before the pressure of the Administration and the far-Right. In the context of the concrete political situation in California, as described in the first part of this article, the question arises as to whether it would not have been better to run an independent candidate for Governor. Such a ticket could have exposed both Reagan, the candidate of the ultra-Right, and Brown, the Democrat. It could have compelled the latter to worry about his Left and not only his Right flank and given the more advanced political forces the opportunity of placing the real issues before the people.

This raises the whole question of the relationship between the movement for new politics, that is, the movement for *real* political independence, and the struggle to keep the most reactionary and fascist-minded groupings of capital from taking political power. In respect to this problem there are two tendencies within the emerging Left. On the one hand there is the view that no differences of a significant tactical kind exist within the ruling class that can be taken advantage of by the people. Some representatives of this

view even argue that it is better to have the worst reactionary forces in political power, for then it would be easier to unmask them.

There is an opposite view equally harmful. This sees the ultra-Right as if it were a separate super-class, instead of a political tendency within the ruling class itself. Such an outlook leads to dependence upon differences within the ruling class and to an exaggeration of their depth and nature. In turn it results in tailing behind liberal and moderate groupings of capital and in underestimating the need for and possibility of building an independent political movement.

As is always the case where two extremes exist side by side, one is the condition for the existence of the other. Neither, therefore, can be eliminated separately, but only both together.

Actually, a new kind of political strategy is beginning to emerge. This sees the need for a policy of independence as well as for a policy of coalition: not one versus the other, nor one without the other. This line of strategy calls for building independent bases of popular influence and strength in the form of independent political organizations and movements. With these the popular forces can enter into coalitions with liberal forces in a new kind of way, as equals, and on a give-and-take relationship. As long as the more progressive forces can always be taken for granted as people who have "nowhere else to go," so long will the liberals and moderates always bow to the pressure from the direction of the Right. History has borne out the truth that fascism comes to power not by its own strength alone, but as a consequence of vacillation and betrayal by liberals and moderates. A policy of independence is therefore imperative for two reasons: in the interest of defeating extreme reaction and in the interests of beginning to build a great movement for radical change.

The trend toward new politics is therefore one of great importance. It is still quite young and weak. It is far from united on strategy, tactics, or programmatic goals. Its main lack is a firm working-class base, for the labor movement is still wedded to the policy of political class collaboration. It pursues a policy not of real political independence but of buying "good" candidates with trade union financial contributions and the promise of workers' votes.

IV. POST-ELECTION PERSPECTIVES

The perspective after the election is one of sharpening struggle all along the line. The Johnson Administration is in deep trouble. It

can actually be said to be in a state of crisis. In the United States, differently than in most capitalist countries, the President is his own prime minister. He cannot be removed by Congress or forced into a new election. This means that the present Administration remains in office until the next presidential election in 1968. The 1966 elections are seen therefore as a prelude to those in 1968.

New dangers as well as new opportunities arise from this situation. The Administration will now be pressed to seek a "solution" to the Vietnam dilemma before the 1968 elections. In this lies the danger of even more reckless escalations in the vain hope of a "military solution." The bombing of Hanoi, the shipment of tens of thousands more troops to Vietnam, the large-scale invasion of the Mekong Delta, are all ominous signs of this desperation.

An opposite course of ending the bombing of North Vietnam, and of de-escalation leading to ultimate withdrawal, is the only logical alternative. This must be fought for and can be won, but we have no illusions that it will be easy to win. The Vietnam war is more than an error in Administration policy; it flows from the whole world position of U.S. imperialism and its determination to build a vast neo-colonial empire. Also, this administration is so committed to the present course that, for both objective and subjective reasons (and the latter also play their part), an opposite course is indeed hard to achieve with this Administration in power.

Yet this is by no means the whole picture. The Administration has tough sledding at home. The people are not behind the war, even when they sullenly or fatalistically accept it. Every step of further escalation means more inflation and higher prices and therefore new burdens on the living standards of the lower-paid workers, the millions living on welfare and social security, and those on fixed salaries and incomes. To check inflation requires more taxes and less deficit spending, but this means also reducing the incomes of the people. It can be taken for granted that the billionaire corporations are not the ones who will be made to pay for the war.

Thus, discontent is bound to rise. Great wage battles loom directly ahead, and any attempt to curb strikes by government action creates the danger for the Administration of arousing the open hostility of the organized workers. Sections of the labor movement have begun to speak out against the war in recent weeks, and only the illusion that Johnson is their friend on domestic questions has kept this labor opposition from becoming more vocal. Once the workers see a unity between

foreign and domestic policies, between the struggle for peace and the struggle for better living conditions, the present stream of labor criticism can become a mighty Mississippi of labor opposition.

Also, the Administration will be pressed more and more by open opposition within the Democratic Party and the new-found strength of the Republican Party. In the Democratic Party there is a growing sense of impending doom in respect to the party's chances of winning in 1968, as long as it continues to carry the millstone of the Vietnam war around its neck. There is more and more talk of seeking a new presidential candidate in place of Johnson, although it is extremely difficult to deny a President the renomination of his own party.

This pressure upon the Johnson Administration is very great because it must be remembered that each of the two major political parties is at one and the same time not only a party representing the interests of the ruling class as a whole but also a vote-getting combination with special interests of its own. How big a business election-winning has become in the United States can be seen when it is remembered that over \$250 million was spent to win the last presidential election. But this pressure upon the Administration to remove Vietnam as an issue before the 1968 elections is not only a pressure for ending the aggression. It is a pressure for removing Vietnam as an issue in the 1968 elections. Thus it is also a pressure that could lead to new escalations.

But there exists a conscious peace pressure for an end to the aggression both within and outside the Democratic Party. There is a growing feeling on the part of peace-minded people of the need for an independent third-ticket candidate for the presidency in the 1968 elections. The Communist Party supports this view.

In the Republican Party, too, a struggle over policy is taking place. The extreme Right wing, flushed with the California victory, will try to determine program and candidate. But the most likely development in the Republican Party is that it will not repeat its 1964 course. There are a number of reasons for this belief. The country is becoming more and more urban with each passing year. Thus, the former mass base of the Republican Party has become eroded, because this lay in the small towns and rural areas of the North and West. One of the factors in the Goldwater strategy of 1964 was the attempt to create a new majority for the Republican Party by joining with the racists in the South, using the race

issue to split the urban masses in the North, and using extreme anti-Communism and war-mongering to win the adherence of the anti-labor, anti-democratic and pro-war forces. This strategy lost. The recent Republican election victories, including the election of a Republican mayor in the traditionally great Democratic stronghold of New York, indicates to many in the Republican Party that its only hope of becoming a majority party again lies in challenging the Democratic Party in the cities and industrial states as the party best able to solve the crisis of our cities. This means appealing to the Negro people, to the city poor in general, and to the working class as a whole. That this course is not without its rewards for the Republicans can be seen by the results in this past election in New York, Michigan, Illinois, Massachusetts and other states.

Thus, while the extreme Right wing of the Republican Party, like the extreme Right wing within the Democratic Party, will continue to attack Johnson for not going far enough in his war effort, there will be those who will take the opposite course. This is the opinion of Walter Lippmann, in the article in *Newsweek* magazine previously quoted. Discussing 1968, Lippmann wrote:

"If the Republicans nominate a Right-wing war-hawk, the prospects of the Johnson Democrats would brighten considerably. But it is doubtful that the Republicans will risk the tangible rewards of winning the election in order to indulge in an ideological caper. The Democrats cannot count on much help from the folly of the Republicans. . . . Can the Democrats save themselves? They can save themselves by bringing the fighting to an end before the Presidential campaign really begins."

Thus the Johnson Administration will be pressed from many sides to end the war. In addition to domestic pressures, there is also the growing isolation of U.S. imperialism in the world. Its imperialist allies, who are also its rivals, are utilizing this to their own advantage. U.S. imperialism had hoped to build its neo-colonial empire by what American businessmen would call the "soft sell" method, that is, by pretending that it is the great democratic friend of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But the wanton, cruel nature of U.S. aggression in Vietnam is giving the lie to the image of U.S. imperialism as a great friend and benefactor. Napalm bombs rained upon villages in Vietnam have shown the real face and character of the American ruling class and the nature of the "American way of life." This too becomes a

factor to be reckoned with, even on the part of the supporters of the war. And the failure of the aggression is becoming more apparent with each passing day and is bound to deepen the differences over policy within the ruling class.

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The Communist Party of the United States is optimistic over the possibilities for developing the struggle within the country against the war and for peace. In the very course of the war the Communist Party has made greater headway than in many, many years. The political climate in the country is not what it was during the Korean War and the decade of the '50s. Then the people were taken in by the big lie of anti-Communism. Anti-Communism is spread today, too, but no longer has the same effect upon the people. No longer is the great fear that of "Communist aggression." More and more people realize that the Soviet Union wants peace and not war. They recognize that there is no real threat to the security of the United States, for no one

threatens it militarily. There is a feeling of national guilt over Vietnam. Even many who support the war, do so because they say "what else can we do now that we're involved," and not because they think America is fighting a just war. Thus there is no moral fervor for the war, all of it is against the war.

This is tremendously important, for it has made it thus far impossible to silence the opposition. Nor can the Communist Party be isolated as during the '50s and the period of McCarthyism. The most militant forces fighting for peace and for the freedom of the Negro people realize that anti-Communism as an ideology must be met head on if the situation in the country is to be altered in any basic way. Therefore the right of the Communists to function openly and legally in the country is not something of concern only to the Communists but to all who seek a complete end to the cold war and a new course for the nation.

The period ahead will be a difficult one, but we have confidence that the struggle for peace will grow and that it will win.

Labor and the Negro people

HENRY M. WINSTON

SINCE 1964 A CERTAIN change has taken place in the national climate on the issue of Negro freedom. A section of the capitalist class which thought it could pacify the civil rights movement by embracing it and offering it minor concessions is now frightened at its inability to contain and control this struggle.

This section of capital recognizes that the war in Vietnam means less funds to combat poverty and ghetto blight, at a time when repeated ghetto outbursts speak eloquently of the urgent need for massive funds and radical reforms to change meaningfully the lot of the ghetto and slum poor.

There are also members of the Johnson Administration, supporters of his war policy, who likewise act in the interest of those who are opposed to the rapid advance of the struggle for Negro equality. They are afraid that the struggle against tokenism, against a gradualist policy will "go out of bounds," will develop and be transformed into a struggle all along the line for radical and fundamental changes relating to the position of Negroes in America.

It is this which explains the growing fear of a militant civil rights movement. It is this which explains the Johnson Administration's betrayal of the open occupancy bill, the about-face of the Supreme Court in the recent decision against mass picketing, and other similar facts. This new dangerous trend has been accelerated by the war in Vietnam.

One manifestation of this trend is Adam Clayton Powell's ouster from both the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee and his seat in the House, in which shameful actions many "liberals" — in Congress and elsewhere—played a disgraceful role. It is not an attack on Powell alone. It is an attack to prevent a change in Congress

from a situation where there are only six Negroes, to one in which there are (as there should be) 40 or 50 Negroes. This is warfare against any effort to correct the composition of the Congress of the United States. It is also warfare against Powell's leadership, as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, in the fight against anti-labor legislation. The Negro people and their leaders, fully aware of the meaning of this racist assault, have responded as one to launch an all-out fight for its defeat.

LABOR-NEGRO UNITY—THE KEY LINK

One of the key weapons in the hands of the ultra-Right in its drive against democracy in our country, which begins with the drive against the Negro people, is "white backlash." "White backlash" is a concept which conceals the role of the monopolists as well as the role of the ultra-Right. It is a concept intended to be a dagger in the heart of the democratic struggle. It is a justification, as Gus Hall rightly pointed out, for racism, because they say racism is only a reaction to the so-called extremes of the civil rights movement. It is a weapon of reaction and fascism in the United States.

These ultra-Right developments are not the only factors in this picture, however. There are also developing mass movements in opposition to this course, movements which embrace hundreds of thousands. This opposition is taking shape around different aspects of the struggle for equality. Some are concerned with the economic, others with the political, and still others with the social front.

The level of understanding of the totality of the problem and its relationship to the general struggle for democracy varies. Nonethe-

less all of these actions move in the direction of unity for equality, democracy and peace. This is to be seen in the new currents within the labor movement which are helping to strengthen the solidarity of Negro and white workers. And it is to be seen in the growing struggles for unity within the Negro community and for a strengthened alliance with the labor movement, and with this for a growing unity with white democratic Americans in general and with the peace movement in particular.

Things being as they are, the need for correct strategic and tactical leadership is of great concern and is being widely discussed at all levels of leadership within the Negro people's movement. This is an urgent matter indeed. Why? Because of the danger that the new and positive developments in the labor movement can be dissipated by a reactionary offensive aimed at splitting Negro and white workers, and by the growth, on the other hand, of nationalist separatist tendencies within the Negro people's movement which carry with them the concept of "no confidence" in the labor movement.

It would be fatal to conclude that new and militant developments in the struggle for Negro rights are possible only outside the labor movement. The problem of leadership is to find the road in militant struggle which can unite these mass currents, which can deliver powerful blows in the struggle for economic, political and social equality.

Only the organized millions will determine the fate of democracy and peace. Ignoring this would separate us from the masses precisely at that moment when the possibilities for making great social advances are greater than ever before. That is why the new developments must be seen in their totality, and first of all new developments in the ranks of organized labor.

What then is the starting point for tackling this basic problem of unity which is at the heart of the struggle for democracy in this country? It is the point of production. It is here that monopoly practices its divisive policies. It is here that monopoly's discriminatory practices against Negroes force them into unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. It is here that monopoly pays Negroes annually billions less than it pays to white workers for corresponding work. This represents a major source of superprofits derived from the Negro people as a whole. It is on the job that Negro labor is to be found working side by side with white labor, though the exploitation of the Negro is far greater.

The wage differential is used by monopoly

as a form of bribery of the white workers. The creation of lily-white and ghetto communities is monopoly's attempt to maintain and widen the divisions which began at the point of production and is designed to maintain the dominance of monopoly over both Negro and white.

The primary issue that is posed is to wipe out discrimination on the job and thus to win for the Negro workers the billions of dollars of which they are now being robbed. With this, the wage standards for both Negro and white could be raised to new and higher levels. What is evident is that the fight to put an end to the special exploitation of the Negro worker represents the interests of the working class as a whole. From this it follows that the labor movement must place high on its agenda the ending of inequality in the shops as well as in the community.

The challenge of A. Philip Randolph, a Vice-Chairman of the AFL-CIO, to George Meany on the issue of anti-Negro discrimination within the labor movement, was supported not only by Negro workers but also by a united Negro people. This unity was, in turn, supported by progressive white trade unionists, and was a dramatic and high point of the new developments which are growing in the labor movement.

Unfortunately, important demonstrative actions such as marches, sit-ins and the like tend more often than not to shove to the background events which flow from such confrontations as the above. Yet it must be said that it is precisely the latter developments that constitute an indispensable rallying point which when joined with the other movements can assure victory for full equality.

The Negro American Labor Council was a major stroke on the part of labor. This important organization headed by A. Philip Randolph can become a most powerful medium for waging the ideological struggle to show that the interests of the white workers and the strengthening of class solidarity demand a new and quickened consciousness of the need to put an end to the economic inequality forced on the Negro workers by monopoly. The Negro American Labor Council can play at the same time a most important role in the involvement of Negro workers in the leadership of the Negro people's movement. Acting thus, the Negro American Labor Council can help to develop a fighting alliance between labor and the Negro people in a common program which unites Negro and white workers against the common enemy in every field of endeavor. This formation represents something new. Developments are now taking place

which open up new possibilities for its growth. That is why leaders of the NALC are calling for the building of NALC committees in all unions.

Properly understood, the NALC must be regarded as one of the main forces for building unity within the labor movement and developing the alliance of labor and the Negro people in the fight for full equality.

Important headway has been made in bringing the meaning of the menace of racism to a larger mass of the rank and file. But one thing is still lacking. The arguments presented to the white workers smack too much of liberal white moralistic preachments and are not placed in sharp enough class and trade union self-interest terms. That is, the workers are not told bluntly enough that unless freedom for the Negro people is practised everywhere—in the community as well as in the shop—a sharp and dangerous collision may arise between the labor movement and the Negro people and be reflected in a cleavage in the ranks of labor itself. No union in mass industry today can exist without the support of the Negro people, both inside and outside the shop.

The November 1966 issue of the *American Federationist*, organ of the AFL-CIO, is devoted exclusively to the problems of the Negro worker. This is the first time in history that this labor journal has been devoted entirely to this subject.

Its editor, George Meany, is to the right of Johnson on the war in Vietnam. He is notorious for his anti-communism. Nonetheless Mr. Meany finds it necessary to speak up against discrimination. Obviously the struggle against inequality is in contradiction to a policy which supports a criminal and unjust war against the Vietnamese people and a policy based on anti-communism.

The fact that Mr. Meany raises this question at all is due to new developments among Negro and white workers to advance the struggle for equality on the job. It follows that advanced forces within the ranks of labor desiring to advance the struggle for equality can utilize such expressions to arouse the organized millions. An effective struggle in this sphere must, in turn, merge with and strengthen the struggles for a rejection of anti-communism and an end to the war in Vietnam.

In the editorial George Meany says among other things: "There is in America today a so-called white backlash. It is deplorable. It was born out of the ability of demagogues to capitalize upon rioting. It stems from un-

reasoning fear stimulated by the reckless cries of 'black power'."

In this statement Mr. Meany whitewashes the monopolists. He whitewashes the ultra-Right and places the responsibility for what he terms the "so-called white backlash" upon the struggle of the oppressed Negro people.

Clearly one must reject such a statement. But then there is a second one. Mr. Meany points up the fact that the AFL-CIO—labor—cannot turn its back upon the struggle for democracy. Neither can it turn its back upon poverty, ignorance and despair. I think that irrespective of how one interprets this observation, it is clear that the Left and advanced progressive forces within the trade union movement and in the shops must give proper consideration to this statement if they wish to give effective aid to the fight for equality in the shops.

At the same time, Mr. Meany argues that the root cause of all of America's domestic ills is poverty, ignorance and despair. Is this correct? Of course not. The cause of all our domestic ills, the cause of all our international problems is monopoly capitalism in this country. Mr. Meany's statement conceals the brutal hand of monopoly, the force responsible for the inequality between Negro and white.

The forces responsible for the criminal war against the people of Vietnam are likewise those of monopoly. The forces that will lay U.S. monopoly capitalism low are the organized millions, Negro and white, who are to be found in the plants of Ford and General Motors, in the steel mills of Gary and Pittsburgh, in the General Electric plants, and in basic industry generally. It is not possible, however, to develop a consistent struggle for democracy and for socialism unless one becomes concerned with the immediate problems of the working class—wages, hours, inequality, speed-up, problems flowing from automation, unemployment, anti-labor laws, and so on. It is therefore incumbent upon the New Left which is emerging outside of the labor movement and which mistakenly regards the labor movement as part of "the establishment" to understand the indispensability of the struggle for immediate demands if they wish to achieve socialism.

Failure to see this can only mean that the source of the special exploitation of the Negro worker at the point of production remains unchallenged. If this is not seen, then all talk about Negro equality is merely phrasemongering.

Success here depends upon how the fight for economic equality of the Negro worker is tackled on the job. This problem must be

solved by the labor movement, Negro and white.

NEGRO FREEDOM AND VIETNAM

Labor solidarity and the alliance of labor and the Negro people constitute the cornerstone of the struggle for democracy in the USA. The accomplishment of a qualitative improvement in the development of mass struggle against the Administration's war policies in Vietnam and against the ultra-Right is largely dependent upon an understanding of the primacy of this point. This is how our Party places the question. It is this approach which gives substance to the struggle for the solution of the special problems of the Negro people.

Two errors are made on this most important question. One is the notion in the labor movement that the problems of Negroes can be solved only when there is full employment for all. This kind of thinking overlooks the central fact that the widespread unemployment aggravated by automation and cybernation hits first and hardest at the Negro worker. An effective struggle for full employment has meaning only if there is a day-to-day fight against discrimination.

Second is the thinking among certain nationalist groupings in the Negro community which poses as primary the idea of self-sufficiency of the Negro community. Such a position overlooks the fact that the main mass of the Negro people work for a living in the industries and services outside the ghetto. While correctly fighting to bring about basic changes in the ghetto, this outlook fails to take into account the fact that the ghetto cannot economically fully absorb this mass of people, that is, give them employment. Moreover, the proponents of this view do not even place for action the need of a resolute struggle among Negro and white workers for a change in the economic status of the Negro workers in *all* areas of the economy. But it is crystal clear that to give meaning to the fight for economic change in the ghetto this struggle must be linked to the general fight for changing the economic status of the Negro people in the country as a whole.

In this connection, I should like to call attention to A "Freedom Budget" for All Americans—the result of the work of a conference organized by Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. This "Freedom Budget" proposes an expenditure by the Federal government of \$185 billion over the next 10 years to achieve "freedom from want." It concerns itself with such problems as aboli-

tion of poverty, guaranteed full employment, full production and high economic growth, adequate minimum wages, farm income parity, guaranteed incomes for all unable to work, a decent home for every American family, modern health services for all, full educational opportunity for all, up-dated social security and welfare programs, and equitable tax and monetary policies.

This is indeed an ambitious undertaking. Certainly the authors of this program can be under no illusion that such a great task can be achieved solely on the basis of an expenditure of \$185 billion in a period of 10 years. Nor should there be any illusion that even this sum will be granted out of the "benevolence" of the powers-that-be. Yet these authors have performed a real service in proving that federal expenditures on a meaningful level are both necessary and possible. We hasten to state, however, that wresting this sum from the federal government can have real meaning only if the tens of millions at the grass roots make such an objective their very own, so that it becomes a weapon of mass struggle against the war in Vietnam—against monopoly.

We should give support to this "Freedom Budget" despite the fact that we differ with many of the economic and political considerations advanced to substantiate it.

There are those that say it is possible to achieve such an objective even though there is war in Vietnam, that ways can be found to get the money without reducing the huge sums now spent for war. This line of thinking fails to project a struggle against the criminal war of aggression by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and could lead many to believe that a certain accommodation can be made with that war. It gives rise to the dangerous illusion that it is possible to have both guns and butter.

It must be said that with such an approach this "Freedom Budget" is not presented as an imperative need which, if placed correctly, can be developed and fought for as a part of the struggle to put an end to the war in Vietnam.

Then there are those who say that you can't do anything anyhow until the war is over. Here, too, no line of struggle against the war is projected. Rather it is a wait-and-see policy, a policy which says that the struggle to meet the economic needs of the people can wait until the war is ended.

These wrong views, unless rejected, can become a major deterrent to the development of the labor movement. There is also the

danger that the masses in their eagerness to secure much-needed economic reforms may be misled into supporting the most brutal and unjust war now being waged by U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam. In this regard, the role of our Party in helping to build a fighting movement of the millions assumes an importance greater than ever before.

FOR A NEGRO-LABOR ELECTORAL ALLIANCE

Last November's elections contain many rich experiences relating to the struggle for Negro rights. I listened to the election returns as they were coming in and heard the Democrat Mahoney who was running for governor in Maryland make a premature victory statement, before all the returns were in. The main plank in Mahoney's program had been racist. He made his appeal to the most backward sentiments of the white voters with the slogan, "Your home is your castle."

To counter this the United Steel workers conducted a massive campaign. The union issued brochures and leaflets, held meetings and made radio appearances, and it is to its everlasting credit that it played an independent role, broke relations with the Democratic machine, supported the Republican candidate Agnew and helped to defeat Mahoney. At the same time the Congress of Racial Equality and other organizations of the Negro people carried on a campaign against Mahoney. The result was that only one out of every 37 Negroes voted for Mahoney. Here we have a practical illustration of a developing alliance between labor and the Negro people on the electoral front.

The trade union movement is concerned first of all with economic problems affecting Negro and white workers. It is also concerned with political and social issues, as the Maryland example indicates. It fights for labor legislation which defends the vital interests of labor and the people and seeks the election of pro-labor and pro-democratic candidates. It cannot be said, however, that the labor movement fully understands and appreciates as yet the necessity of supporting the election of Negro candidates to city, state and federal offices. This deplorable situation is to be explained on the one hand by the white supremacist policies of the ruling circles but also, on the other hand, by the failure of labor actively to combat this form of racism and to take measures to change this situation. Labor's understanding of the kind of fight-back needed in the struggle

against the unholy alliance of the ultra-Right, the reactionary Republicans and the Dixiecrats will be measured by its actions on this question.

The congressional elections point up some positive experiences which must become general. The election of Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts to the U.S. Senate was a great achievement. The six incumbent Negro congressmen were re-elected. However, there was no increase in the number of Negroes in the House of Representatives.

In a number of states significant gains were made in the election of Negroes to state legislatures. But these are like a pebble in the ocean compared to what must be achieved. There are hundreds of thousands of public officials on all levels, elected and appointed, but how many are Negroes? The total figure of elected Negroes throughout the whole country is only 163! There are no popularly elected Negro mayors. There is not a single Negro governor in the country, not one lieutenant governor or attorney general.

There are at least 35-50 congressional areas where the Negro vote is decisive, but these areas are dominated by the political machines which dictate that they be represented by whites. The right of Negroes to be elected to public office should exist even in areas where they are not the decisive force. The election of Brooke in Massachusetts where Negroes constitute only two per cent of the voters is instructive.

The task that is put for the 1968 elections is to begin now to prepare for the participation of Negro candidates in the primaries and for their election to office in November. Our Party must help the labor movement understand that independent political action of Negro and white to achieve this objective is an urgent and indispensable part of the fight for democracy.

THE "BLACK POWER" SLOGAN AND NEGRO UNITY

The slogan of "black power" articulated by Stokely Carmichael was an immediate response to the gunning down of James Meredith on the march to Jackson, Mississippi, under conditions in which he was left with no federal or state protection of any kind. But the slogan was swiftly extended to encompass the entire struggle for equality, though its full meaning was not immediately grasped by those who used it. There is nothing strange in this, however; in the course of struggle, slogans tend to emerge rough-cut and must then undergo a process of further refining and polishing.

Thus, the fight against Dixiecrat-Bourbon rule was conceived only in terms of areas of Negro majority but was generally applied. The approach to the problem in areas where Negroes are not a majority had yet to be formulated. Moreover, the urgent necessity of unity between Negro and white was not understood. The fact is that even now a proper formulation of this idea is still in the process of development.

Thus, for example, a recent meeting of SNCC voted on the question of the exclusion of whites from its deliberative bodies. The vote was as follows: 19 for exclusion; 18 against (in which group was to be found Stokely Carmichael); and 24 abstentions. Three tendencies are expressed here. The correct tendency is that which envisions the unity of Negro and white in the democratic struggle.

The slogan of "Black Power" has projected the Negro question in a new way. It is now being discussed everywhere. James Jackson in his pamphlet "The Meaning of Black Power" develops the attitude of Communists to this slogan. In our view, the essence of the concept of "black power" means that everywhere, without a single exception, the Negro people must win their full equality. In areas where they constitute a majority they must have the rights of a majority. This means that the Negro people have every right to elect their own officials to office. It means that where the Negro people are a minority they must also have equal rights—that is, the right to share in power, in leadership, the right to have black sons and daughters elected to any and all posts of leadership in accord with their capabilities, without any discrimination whatsoever. It means that in coalitions of whites and Negroes, the Negroes can never be treated as second class participants but must be treated as absolute equals, without whose consent no decisions are made.

This does not mean that black will go it alone and white will go it alone. It means that a new, more basic relationship must arise which takes into account the common interests of both. It means that in mass organizations and movements, including the trade union movement, the allegiance of Negro membership cannot be taken for granted on the part of the white members. It must be fought for and must constantly be rewon by combating every form of white supremacist views, and by making clear to the white workers that any backtracking on this fundamental question places their own union and class interests in jeopardy.

Several observations can be made about this slogan. The first is that it developed in

the fight for the most elementary democratic rights in the black belt of Mississippi. Like all people's slogans which develop in the heat of battle, it was given varying interpretations. What has happened is that its true meaning has been beclouded in heated debate, with much honest confusion and with much dishonest distortion.

The monopoly-controlled press is an example of the latter. These newspapers fully understood that this developing democratic mass movement was immediately directed toward winning political rights for the Negro majority. So they reasoned that if you have Negro mayors, city councilmen, attorney generals, lieutenant governors and governors, this could lead to bringing about great radical changes in all spheres. The fight for equality would be raised to a new and higher level. The commercial press sensationalized the slogan and presented it as being one of race against race. Here we have a major effort to sow doubt and confusion in the ranks of the masses of people.

There were also distortions of the slogan by the Negro nationalists. They interpreted this slogan of "black power" as being an expression of the growing independence of the Negro people's movement based on a "go it alone" policy. They concluded that an alliance between Negro and white in struggle for democracy in general and equal rights for the Negro people in particular is hopeless. But what has been happening in reality is that a struggle is developing among the Negro people not for separation from the democratic white masses, but for separation from the economic, political and social oppression imposed upon them by Wall Street and Southern Bourbon-Dixiecrat rule.

How to cut through the maze of confusion and bring clarity to the concept of black power, how to undertake every possible measure to strengthen the growing unity of the Negro people in their fight for first-class citizenship and to uphold the principles underlying this slogan—this is a major task of our Party.

The question of petty-bourgeois nationalism in the Negro community must also be considered. The ghetto is the product of enforced segregation imposed by capitalism. Nationalism accepts this state of affairs and uses it as a basis for the development of its program of self-sufficiency. This trend stems from the Negro bourgeoisie whose program is based upon the internal market of the ghetto. It is here that the separatist ideas grow. This is a minority tendency in the Negro movement.

At the same time there grows apace the

idea of national pride, and this must not be confused with petty-bourgeois nationalism. The growth of national pride is an expression of the new level of consciousness in the struggle against segregation which combines a recognition of the special problems of the ghetto with a recognition of the imperative necessity for unity between Negro and white. It follows that the growth of this tendency cannot but help to strengthen all efforts towards unity of the Negro people in struggle.

* * *

Comrade Gus Hall in his report to the National Committee laid stress on three levels of movements now taking place: movements for Negro-white unity within the labor movement and other mass organizations; independent movements which may develop outside of the established organizations but which create ties with them based on minimum programs; and advanced movements for unity which are based on programs with higher demands, and which must, of course, also seek to maintain the greatest possible contact with the mass organizations and movements. The work of our Party in support of these developments and in helping to guide

them can help to galvanize the millions at the grass roots.

What are we saying here? It is that democracy for all is possible only if it exists for the Negro. The reverse is also true. Democracy for the Negro is possible only if it exists for all. *A mandatory precondition for success in the struggle against reaction is unity between Negro and white.*

The fight for this unity and for Negro unity poses many complex problems. To cope with these, the building of the Communist Party is a matter of urgent necessity. For it is our Party which can help to bring the necessary ideological and political clarity to answer these many complex questions. That is why over the last 20 years the forces of reaction have attempted to destroy the Communist Party and isolate it from the struggles of the Negro masses. They know that the Negro people made their greatest advances precisely when the Communist Party had its greatest period of growth.

Today, moreover, successes being achieved in the fight for the legality of the Communist Party open up new opportunities for building it. And the building of the Communist Party is, in turn, the road to new victories of labor and the Negro people.

The U.S. economy and the war in Vietnam

HYMAN LUMER

THE ECONOMIC PICTURE in the United States today is one of pronounced imbalance and uncertainty. Mounting inflation on the one hand is accompanied by growing signs of economic slackening on the other. And side by side with dire warnings of the dangers of an "overheated" economy there are increasingly numerous forebodings of impending recession. This confused and seemingly contradictory state of affairs is primarily a consequence of the escalation of the brutal war of aggression in Vietnam.

In early 1961 the U.S. economy entered a prolonged period of uninterrupted expansion. Sparked by booms in auto production and investment in new plant and equipment, and with the added stimulus of large tax cuts starting in 1964, the gross national product during the years 1960-1964 grew at an average of 4.8 per cent a year, more than twice the average in the preceding five-year period. By the spring of 1965, however, signs of instability and decline began to accumulate, and predictions of a downturn by 1966 began to multiply.

A NEW SHOT IN THE ARM

It was at this juncture that a new stimulus was provided by the escalation of the war in Vietnam, which gave rise almost at once to a continuous and accelerating climb in military expenditures. Budget outlays for military purposes rose from \$50.2 billion in fiscal 1965 (the year ending June 30, 1965), to \$57.7 billion in 1966. One of the 1965 sum, \$1.1 billion was designated as additional expenses required by the Vietnam war; in 1966 this

grew to \$5.8 billion. For the current fiscal year, 1967, the budget allocation was \$60.5 billion, of which \$10.5 billion was designated as added expenses for Vietnam.

It is already obvious, however, that this budget estimate will be greatly exceeded. Thus, on October 19, 1966, the *Wall Street Journal* reported:

"In the quarter ended Sept. 30, the annual rate accelerated by \$4.2 billion to a \$61.3 billion pace. If estimates of \$3 billion to \$4 billion advances in coming quarters prove correct, outlays next spring should be strikingly close to the \$72 billion average pace of defense spending during World War II."

Current expectations for fiscal 1968, according to *U.S. News and World Report* (January 2, 1967), are that military spending will range from "73 to 77 billions, with 77 billions the real prospect." But with continued escalation on anything like the present scale, it is very likely that these estimates will again be considerably exceeded.

Indeed, the rate of escalation has been constantly outstripping expectations. In July 1965, plans called for some 250,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam by August 1966. But by November the number had already reached 345,000, and was scheduled to rise to 425,000 by May 1967. Military men, however, estimate that far greater numbers will be needed. Hanson W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* writer on military matters, states (November 12, 1966): "Their estimates of the number that will ultimately be needed vary from 600,000 to 750,000 men."

Such totals far surpass military involve-

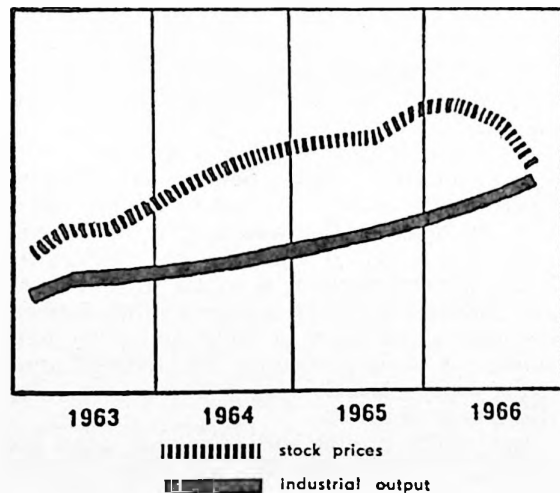
ment at the peak of the Korean War, and they certainly far outstrip anything anticipated at the outset of the escalation. The fact is that U.S. imperialism has become involved in a major war in Vietnam. And the costs will mount accordingly.

The actual cost of the war in Vietnam is much higher than the additional outlays designated in the budget figures, in the first place because much of the military material and equipment used has been taken from already existing stocks. The total cost has been kept a deep secret by the Johnson Administration, but various estimates have been made by other sources. William Bowen in an article in *Fortune* ("The Vietnam War: A Cost Accounting," April 1966) judges that with 400,000 troops in Vietnam "the cost of the war would run to \$21 billion a year—even more if bombing and tactical air support increased in proportion to the buildup on the ground." Other estimates range from \$1.5 billion to \$2.7 billion a month at current levels of military action. And of course, as existing stocks are depleted, the full cost of the war will increasingly need to be covered by added expenditures.

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE WAR

How is the escalation affecting the economy? Some contend that even though the current military expenditures are much higher than during the Korean War, their economic impact is bound to be markedly less since they comprise a considerably smaller share of the gross national product (some eight per cent compared to nearly 15 per cent at the height of the Korean conflict). But this ig-

DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT AND STOCK PRICES IN THE USA



nores the important offsetting fact that the present upsurge in military spending takes place within an economy operating at much closer to full capacity than at the time of the outbreak of the Korean War. Hence the impact has been proportionately large.

The immediate effect of the escalation was to give an added impulse to the rate of economic growth. From 1963 to 1964 the GNP rose 5.2 per cent; in 1965 and the first three quarters of 1966 it grew at a rate of nearly six per cent a year. Industrial production increased 6.4 per cent from 1963 to 1964, 8.4 per cent in the following year, and 9.6 per cent between August 1965 and August 1966. For the first time in many years the rate of economic growth in the U.S. exceeded that of any of the Western European countries.

The capital investment boom also took an added spurt. Spending for new plant and equipment rose 14.6 per cent in 1964 and 15.7 per cent in 1965. In 1966 the estimated increase is 16.5 per cent.

According to Federal Reserve Board figures, in 1965, for the first time in more than a decade, overall utilization of plant capacity exceeded the 90 per cent mark, and in each of the first three quarters of 1966 it averaged 91 per cent. In a number of industries, thanks chiefly to rapidly mounting war orders, demand has begun to push against the limits of capacity and shortages have appeared—notably in textiles and clothing, and in such primary metals as copper and aluminum.

In addition, the heightened boom in capital investment has created a tight situation in the machine-building industry. The backlog of unfilled orders for machinery and equipment rose 27 per cent in the year ending in August 1966 (*New York Times*, September 11, 1966), and has since grown even more rapidly. Unemployment in the industry has fallen below two per cent, with shortages of a number of types of skilled labor, and the work week has been averaging 44 hours—the highest in years.

Coinciding with these developments is the emergence, after years of persistent surpluses, of insufficient yields of key agricultural products, with the one exception of cotton. Because of an upsurge of foreign demand on top of a steady growth in domestic demand over the past several years, coupled with a somewhat reduced harvest in 1966, current production is considerably behind needs, and reserve stocks of wheat, corn, oats, soya beans and a number of other products are in the process of being exhausted. Prices have risen well above government support levels. To meet this exceptional situation, acreage restrictions are being eased for the first time

since World War II. Wheat acreage has already been raised 30 per cent, and even greater increases are in prospect for corn and other crops.

THE "OVERHEATED" ECONOMY

In general, the rising war expenditures have joined with other factors to create an inflationary situation in which combined military and civilian demand have begun to push against the ceiling of physical capacity of the economy. Indeed, the developments of the past years have pretty well exploded the Administration's contention that the U.S. can afford both "guns and butter." The economist Seymour Melman writes ("Great Society Priorities," *Commonweal*, August 5, 1966):

"The myth of the United States as an 'affluent society' is dead. The nation must now face the stern reality of the economic problem: making a choice about what comes first."

The inflationary impact of the war is expressed, first, in an extraordinary expansion of commercial bank loans and other forms of credit, giving rise to a growing scramble for funds and to skyrocketing interest rates. By mid-August of 1966 the rate on prime commercial loans (the minimum business lending rate on which all others are pegged) had jumped to six per cent, equalling the previous peak rate of 1929, and it has remained at that level since then.

The second manifestation is rising prices. The Labor Department's consumer price index, which increased at an average yearly rate of 1.3 per cent between 1960 and 1965, rose 3.7 per cent between October 1965 and October 1966. And this index, it is widely acknowledged, underestimates the actual rise in living costs. The increase has occurred chiefly in the cost of food and of services, especially medical care. Food prices, according to the official figures, have risen to close to six per cent during the past year.

The wholesale price index, which had remained steady for a number of years, began to go up in mid-1964 and has grown nearly seven per cent since then. The bulk of the rise has been in such commodities as farm products, processed foods and non-ferrous metals. And with continued escalation these increases are bound to grow to much more serious proportions.

WHO BENEFITS?

For big business, the escalation has unquestionably been a considerable source of enrichment. Lucrative contracts for war goods,

rising from \$27.4 billion in fiscal 1965 to probably well over 40 billion in the current fiscal year, have provided a fertile source of added profits, both directly and through the overall stimulus these outlays have given to the economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that corporate profits after taxes in the first three quarters of 1966 were nearly 11 per cent higher than in the corresponding portion of 1965. And in the second quarter of 1966, net corporate profits in manufacturing amounted to nearly 15 per cent on invested capital, the highest rate since the exceptional year of 1950.

Nor does the profitability of the war stem only from military purchases in the United States. There are rich pickings to be found, with the assistance of the federal government, in Vietnam itself. The Agency for International Development insures U.S. investors in South Vietnam up to 100 per cent against losses resulting from war, ~~insurrection, expropriation or currency inconvertibility, and up to 75 per cent against all other risks, including adverse business conditions.~~ In addition, huge sums in foreign "aid—some \$686 million in 1966—are being poured into South Vietnam to make it safe for U.S. investments. Thanks to such "assistance" and to unbelievably low wage scales coupled with forced labor, profits on these investments, according to *Newsweek* (January 21, 1966), have ranged between 20 and 30 per cent a year.

A special source of profit is a huge military construction program, to which about \$1 billion has been allocated so far. Of this total, some \$800 million worth of construction has been assigned to a civilian consortium of four construction companies. According to Hanson W. Baldwin (*New York Times*, April 10, 1966), the companies are guaranteed an assured return with little if any risk.

What is clear, however, is that the war against the Vietnamese people is not only intended to establish and expand the predatory interests of U.S. imperialism for the future, but is serving as a source of enrichment of the big corporations even now, while it is in progress. "Never before," notes *Newsweek* in the article referred to above, "have U.S. businessmen followed their troops to war on such a scale." It is for this that bombs are being indiscriminately dropped, that women and children are being napalmed, that deliberate mass destruction of crops and other food sources is being carried on, that ~~lives of American youth—largely Negro youth—are being ruthlessly sacrificed.~~

But while profits and dividends (and the salaries of top supervisory and executive per-

sonnel) continue to grow apace, the situation of the average worker has deteriorated.

In the years 1960-1965, when corporate profits after taxes rose nearly 67 per cent, factory workers' weekly take-home pay rose only about 21 per cent. Moreover, while the average annual rise in productivity during this period was 3.7 per cent, real compensation paid to all employees rose only 2.7 per cent a year ("The Profits Explosion and Inflation", *American Federationist*, September, 1966). Since the latter figure includes supervisors and executives it is clear that the increase in real income of production workers was even less.

To this relative decline in the position of the worker during the preceding years of economic expansion, the escalation has added an absolute decline. During the past year, even according to the biased government figures, real wages have declined. Victor Perlo (*The Worker*, December 11, 1966) estimates the drop in real take-home pay between September 1965 and September 1966 at two per cent. Thus, the "new" stimulus of rising military spending has served only to fatten monopoly profits still further at the workers' expense, to accentuate the decline in their share of the national product, and to sharpen still more the underlying contradiction between expanding production and restricted mass purchasing power.

The growing war economy has not resolved the problem of unemployment. In 1965 the officially estimated rate was 4.6 per cent and in 1965 it fell only to slightly below four per cent. These overall figures, moreover, conceal certain important aspects of the problem. Thus, while shortages of certain types of skilled labor have developed, unemployment among unskilled workers remains considerably above four per cent, and among teenage youth more than 12 per cent are without jobs. And it must be borne in mind that the official statistics grossly understate the true rate of unemployment.

Farmers, it is true, have enjoyed a rise in prices and income during the past year. From the second quarter of 1965 to the second quarter of 1966, net farm income rose 11 per cent. It is not the farmers, however, who are the chief beneficiaries of the recent increases in retail prices of bread, milk and other staple foods. The lion's share of these, according to a recent investigation by the Federal Trade Commission, has gone to the big processors and to retailers, especially the big chain supermarkets. Moreover, the benefits of the boom have gone mainly to the big farmers; the squeezing out of small farm operators

and the decline in the number of farms continue unabated.

"PROSPERITY" AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE

If the war has operated to the economic disadvantage of the working people generally, its effect on the Negro people has been doubly severe. During the years of economic expansion prior to the escalation, although the overall economic level of both white and Negro workers improved, the gap between the two was not lessened and in some important respects it was increased.

Particularly significant is the fact that during these years of "prosperity" the condition of the masses of Negro people living in the heart of the major urban ghettos deteriorated not only relatively but absolutely as well. Herman P. Miller of the U.S. Census Bureau cites the example of Watts:

"... the recent census in the Watts district of Los Angeles ... showed that the status of Negroes in that area has deteriorated in sharp contrast to the experience of the nation as a whole. In Watts and similar Negro neighborhoods around Los Angeles, family income has declined, the number of poor people has risen, housing has deteriorated, there has been no improvement in unemployment and no change in the job opportunities available to Negroes." ("The Job Gap," *New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 1966).

At its best, Miller points out, "the unemployment rate for Negroes at the height of prosperity is greater than the rate for whites during any of the last three recessions." And during the "prosperous" year of 1966, while the rate of joblessness among whites remained fairly steady, that among Negroes registered an increase. From seven per cent in April it rose to 8.2 per cent in August, and although it then declined it was still 7.4 per cent in November. The ratio of Negro unemployment to white, according to the official figures, increased during this period from 2:1 to 2.4:1. And within the large ghetto areas Negro unemployment is markedly higher than the national average, ranging from 12 per cent up.

"Among teen-agers," Miller notes, "there has been a growing disparity between the rates for whites and Negroes since the recession of 1957-58." Today, as against 12 per cent of the white youth, 27 per cent of the Negro youth are officially recorded as unemployed. The discrepancy is, of course, considerably greater in the heart of the ghettos. And it is increasing as time goes on.

Much more could be said, but it is clear

from even this limited description that the economic status of the mass of the Negro people in the ghettos, at best lagging increasingly behind that of the white workers, has materially worsened since the escalation of the war in Vietnam. This is coupled with the growing wave of racist actions and incitements unleashed in the atmosphere created by the waging of a racist war of annihilation against a colored people, and with the inordinately high proportion of Negroes sent to fight and be killed in that war. Does one need to look further for the roots of the upheavals in Watts and a score of other ghettos within the past year?

SIGNS OF ECONOMIC SLACKENING

The spurt in the economy induced by the escalation of the war became most pronounced in the last quarter of 1965 and the first quarter of 1966. But by the second quarter distinct signs of slackening became apparent in certain sectors of the economy, and since then, simultaneously with the further rise of military spending and continued inflation, the symptoms of decline have become more evident and more numerous. Chief among them are the following:

1. Auto production in 1966 fell about 6.5 per cent from the 1965 total. Sales declined from 9.3 million cars in 1965 to less than nine million in 1966. The drops were most pronounced in the second half of the year. The reasons given by the auto manufacturers include higher food prices, higher social security taxes, tightening of credit, the draft and other factors limiting the mass market, as well as the widely publicized charges of unsafe construction. In November General Motors announced production cuts totalling 8.1 per cent for December and January, and other

manufacturers followed suit. Layoffs have begun to spread. And it is predicted that in 1967 sales will drop further to about 8.5 million cars.

2. Housing construction has fallen off sharply. In the last half of 1966, housing starts were down nearly one-third from the corresponding period in 1965. Moreover, construction expenditures as a whole have been falling since March 1966. Conditions in the industry have been described as "an old-fashioned depression," with mounting bankruptcies among small builders and growing unemployment among construction workers. The basic cause of this drastic decline is tight money and the resultant severe shortage of mortgage credit. The drop is considered likely to continue so long as the scarcity of mortgage funds persists.

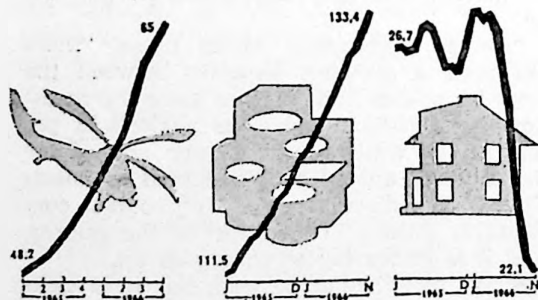
3. The growth in business inventories has been increasingly outpacing the rise in sales. In the first ten months of 1966, inventories increased by \$10.6 billion while sales rose only \$2.3 billion. This growth of the inventory-sales ratio foreshadows an impending reduction of inventories if demand continues to lag, leading to a consequent decline in industrial output.

4. A pronounced drop in stock prices has taken place. From February to October 1966, the Dow-Jones average of industrial stock prices fell more than 25 per cent. Since then there has been some recovery, but the market remains highly unstable and subject to further declines. The prolonged downtrend in stock prices has been attributed primarily to competition from the unusually attractive rates of interest available on bonds and other forms of investment, but more recently increasing weight has been given to economic uncertainties as a factor. With the exception of 1962, every such decline since World War II has heralded an approaching recession; there is growing opinion in financial circles that the present one may also be such an omen.

5. There are indications of a considerable slackening of the capital investment boom. In contrast to the phenomenal 16.5 per cent rise in outlays for new plant and equipment in 1966, estimates of the anticipated increase in 1967 range from three to five per cent. The most optimistic is the estimate of the Securities Exchange Commission and Commerce Department, which forecasts a rise of 7.9 per cent for the first half of 1967 over the first half of 1966. In some part, the expected drop is attributed to the suspension of certain tax credits on funds used for investment. But in the main it is ascribed to growing economic

MILITARY SPENDING, BUSINESS INVENTORIES AND HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

(thou. mln. dollars)



uncertainties and lagging demand, resulting in some decline in profits in the latter part of 1966.

To these signs of slackening may be added other, more recent, developments. During the past few months, orders for durable goods have fallen off. A decline in steel buying has set in, steel production has dropped, and layoffs have begun to mount. Manufacturers of household appliances have begun to curtail production and to lay off workers. As a consequence of these developments, industrial production has levelled off since August 1966.

It may be noted in passing that the inflation has had an adverse effect on the world status of the dollar, and that the balance of payments deficit and the outflow of gold continue to pose serious problems.

THE OUTLOOK FOR 1967

In the face of these accumulating signs of slowdown and decline, the Johnson Administration has continued to maintain a facile optimism. But in business and economic circles generally, these developments have led to an increasingly pessimistic outlook. Predictions of a slowdown in 1967 are widespread, and predictions of a recession are becoming more numerous.

At the same time, the seemingly paradoxical development of symptoms of decline in the midst of growing inflation has created widespread confusion and has given birth to a bewildering array of conflicting views and proposals. And the confidence of the Administration apostles of the "New Economics" in their ability to control the economy is being seriously shaken. "Throughout the Kennedy-Johnson era," says the *Wall Street Journal* (August 15, 1966), "they had been reasonably sure they could manage the economy away from either recession or inflation. Now some suspect the U.S. in months ahead will suffer an attack of both diseases at the same time—and they have no sure cure."

The present situation, however, is neither new nor paradoxical. In the words of the First National City Bank's *Monthly Economic Letter* (October 1966), "we appear to have a booming defense economy side by side with a slowing civilian economy." A similar situation, though not nearly so pronounced, developed during the Korean War. At that time, in the face of an overall upswing involving a big jump in arms outlays, there took place simultaneously a sharp drop in output of many consumer goods, especially consumer durables. The result was declining employment in these industries, culminating in a wave of layoffs late in 1951.

The roots of this phenomenon lie in the fact that the exactions of a growing war economy are met precisely by curtailing mass purchasing power through inflation and higher taxes. In an all-out war economy, the insatiable demand for war goods temporarily obliterates all else, but in a partial war economy such as the present one the production of civilian goods remains at a high level and symptoms of overproduction are not long in making their appearance. The limitations imposed by inflation express themselves also, as in the present instance, in a shortage of credit. The result is, sooner or later, a decline in various areas of civilian production.

These consequences can be overcome for a time by providing an added shot in the arm through a further rise in military expenditures. But in the end this will result only in the reappearance of the same symptoms in a more aggravated degree. Large-scale war spending may serve the needs of monopoly capital by destroying a large part of the national product in a manner highly profitable to it, but for the working people it is hardly the road to durable prosperity, as the present circumstances show.

What will happen in 1967 obviously depends in the first place on the course of the war. Further expansion of the war and a new spurt in military expenditures would tend to offset the signs of slackening, at least for a time, but would increase the inflationary pressures. On the other hand, levelling off or reduction of military aggression, and with this of military outlays, would tend to ease inflationary pressures but, in the absence of other measures, to render more acute the problem of economic downturn.

This does not mean, however, that the American people are confronted with a Hobson's choice between inflation and recession. On the contrary, what it does mean is that their welfare depends on struggle—struggle against being forced to bear the costs of the war, and above all struggle to bring it to an end and to use the vast sums now being spent on this slaughter for the people's benefit.

JOHNSON'S ECONOMIC POLICIES

The economic policies of the Johnson Administration, directed to the advantage of big business from the outset, are today designed both to prosecute the imperialist war and to combat the resultant inflation at the expense of the working people. In fact, one of the war's first casualties is the whole program of social welfare, severely limited as this was to begin with.

On this question, Johnson's hypocrisy pas-

ses belief. "This nation," he declared in his State of the Union message in January 1966, "is mighty enough . . . to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a Great Society here at home."

But even while he uttered these pious words and rebuked those who demanded more guns and less butter, his proposed budget for fiscal 1967, which allotted more than \$10 billion for the war in Vietnam, called for an increase of only \$600 million in all non-military expenditures. In the case of some 25 "Great Society" programs, for which Congress had already authorized \$3.9 billion (a sum which the Administration had called an irreducible minimum), the budget requests totalled only \$2.3 billion. In every instance the request was substantially less than the sum authorized. For the "war on poverty," whose pitifully inadequate appropriation was to have been raised from \$1.5 to \$3.0 billion, the budget request called for only \$1.75 billion, necessitating drastic retrenchment from plans already made for the coming year.

In December 1966, simultaneously with his announcement that he would ask for \$9-10 billion more for the war, Johnson also announced the cancellation or postponement of \$5.3 billion in federal expenditures for road-building and other construction and for certain social welfare programs. With this, says *The Progressive* (January 1967), what Johnson had called a "total commitment" to the war on poverty "has become a tragic retreat."

These cuts in social welfare expenditures (which Congress has done little to restore) are justified by the Administration on the grounds of the need to "fight inflation." On the same grounds, the Administration has sought to saddle the workers with the cost of the war by invoking its notorious "guideposts." These call for restricting wage increases to 3.2 per cent a year—supposedly the annual rate of increase in productivity. No such clearly defined criteria are established for prices, and no restrictions whatever are placed on profits. Obviously the real function of such "guideposts," based on the hoary fallacy that higher wages cause higher prices, is to hold wages down. And today, with the cost of living rising more than 3.5 per cent a year, their role is to reduce real wages.

Among the chief steps taken against inflation have been the actions of the Federal Reserve Board over the past year to tighten the money supply in order to limit the expansion of credit. Such actions have, of course, also had the effect of driving interest rates up still higher. On the one hand, this has provided a rich profit bonanza for the big banks. And it has not seriously limited the flow of capital

investment. In a period in which high profits are to be made, high interest rates are no deterrent to borrowing by the big corporations which, moreover, continue to have the readiest access to credit.

On the other hand, the tight money policy has operated to the disadvantage of the workers, small farmers and small businessmen. It is the small businessman and the farmer who find it more difficult and often too costly to borrow.

During 1966, there was considerable pressure from various sources for a substantial tax increase as a means of combating inflation. Some business circles pressed for a general boost in income taxes which would place a major part of the burden on the workers, on the grounds that it is supposedly the excessive purchasing power resulting from unduly high wage increases that must be siphoned off. On the other hand, the AFL-CIO called for a tax increase limited to corporate profits.

In terms of the precepts of the "New Economics" a tax increase in the inflationary conditions of 1966 would be the logical counterpart of the tax cuts of 1964 and 1965. And certainly, in view of the enormously increased profits and dividends being pocketed by giant corporations and wealthy individuals today, there is much to be said for greatly stepping up the tax rates on these.

But it is apparently also a precept that one does not raise taxes in an election year, and the Johnson Administration, after much laboring, finally came up with little more than a gesture. Congress passed an Administration bill suspending, for the period from October 10, 1966, to December 31, 1967, the seven per cent tax credit on outlays for machinery and other equipment, and certain accelerated depreciation allowances on commercial and industrial buildings. The suspension of these tax bonanzas is in itself by no means undesirable. However, it applies only to orders placed within the designated period, and since most commitments for delivery or construction within that period were made well before October 10, the suspension can have only a very limited effect. But it does pave the way for raising taxes on workers in 1967.

Toward the end of 1966, as the economic slackening became more pronounced, some slight easing of money and credit began to appear. With this, the pressure for a tax increase lessened, and fears were expressed that the resulting curtailment of purchasing power might well precipitate a recession. But Johnson's demand for large supplementary war appropriations has created the prospect of a \$7-8 billion budgetary deficit in fiscal

1967 and the possibilities of a deficit twice as great the following year if the anticipated levels of military spending materialize. Hence renewed pressures are developing to increase taxes to offset these deficits.

What is being projected, in characteristic fashion, is a six per cent "defense tax" to be added to the present tax on all incomes. Such a flat across-the-board increase, instead of taxing the swollen profits of the corporations, would place a disproportionate burden on the working people, and this on top of already declining real wages.

THE FIGHT AGAINST HIGH PRICES

Clearly, Administration policies are designed to make the working people bear the cost of the war of aggression in Vietnam through reduction of social welfare and public services and through higher prices, higher taxes and higher interest rates, while the flow of profits of the monopolies remains unimpeded. Indeed, it is for the sake of these profits that the war is being waged in the first place. But by the same token the working people are being impelled increasingly into active struggle against these policies. And a number of labor leaders who have not yet spoken out against the war itself, most notably President I. W. Abel of the United Steelworkers, have nevertheless come out strongly for a fight against all efforts to force the workers to pay for it.

Today the struggle centers on the problem of rising living costs, and the battles are developing on two major fronts. One is the growing wave of trade union struggles for higher wages. In contrast to previous years, in which job security and working conditions were the chief issues in contract negotiations, today wages are the most burning issue. It is wage demands which have been the basis of recent hard-fought strikes such as that of the airplane mechanics.

In 1967 contract negotiations of a number of big unions—among them the United Auto

Workers, the United Rubber Workers, and the Teamsters—are on the agenda. It is already clear that the central demand in every case will be higher wages and that wage increases of five per cent or more will be sought. It is plain that wage struggles of major proportions lie ahead.

A second front is the fight of housewives against rising food prices. This began with a four-line newspaper ad by a Denver housewife asking others to join her in the battle. She received 5,000 replies. Out of this grew an organization called Housewives for Lower Food Prices which has developed boycotts and picketing of major chain supermarkets. The movement spread to city after city, and became virtually nationwide. What is more, in a number of cases these organizations have succeeded in forcing significant price cuts. Here, too, struggles of growing scope and intensity are in the making.

The main battles lie ahead. The key struggle is that against the war itself. It is impossible to fight successfully for lower prices and taxes, for improved social welfare, for a real war on poverty, without also fighting for an end to the war and a drastic reduction of military expenditures.

It is in this framework that the fight must be waged for such measures as an excess profits tax and a special tax on war profits, for price controls, against restrictions on wages and for badly needed improvements in social welfare. Of central importance is the fight against the destructive effects of the war on the condition of the Negro people, which is in turn part of the basic struggle for jobs and housing, for an end to the grinding poverty and intolerable slum conditions of the Negro ghetto.

At the same time, as the economic struggles move forward, they all add to the consciousness of the need to end the war of aggression in Vietnam and advance the struggle for peace as the supreme need of the American people.

Some aspects of the trade union movement

GEORGE A. MEYERS

"OUR TRADE UNIONS have a long tradition of militancy and struggle. These struggles have reflected specific sets of problems, each characteristic of its own time. But now a new set of problems has taken the stage. The qualitative leap in industrial technology, together with the effects of the war economy— inflation, speedup, tax increases, the attacks and penetration of the ultra-Right, the shift of foreign investment to industrial production abroad and the resulting loss of jobs here— all these are forcing a fundamental re-examination of all labor-management relations, of labor's relation to political struggles, of labor's approach to alliances, to labor unity and to Negro-white working-class unity. It is forcing a re-examination of labor's relations to other victims of monopoly oppression. (Gus Hall, *For a Radical Change—the Communist View*, Report to the 18th National Convention, Communist Party USA).

A marked break with a prolonged period of relative passivity and retreat is now quite evident in the United States trade union movement.

The trade unions were forced into retreat soon after the end of World War II when the monopolies, unable satisfactorily to control a new surge of labor militancy, brought the federal government into play. In a flood of red-baiting, the Taft-Hartley Act was pushed through Congress in 1947. This device to restrict seriously the rights of the unions was supplemented by other state and federal laws and by anti-union "interpretations." The passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959 further hamstrung union activity by legislative

fiat. The class struggle continued, sometimes sharply, as symbolized by the 116-day strike of the United Steelworkers in 1959, but the unions were on the defensive.

A NEW MILITANCY

In 1963, a renewed militancy began to manifest itself, particularly in political struggles against the ultra-Right. Since that time, there has been a measurable increase in trade union activity on other fronts.

First came the upsurge in rank-and-file strikes at shop and factory levels, generated by an increase in company speed-up and a vast backlog of unsettled grievances. Attendance at union membership meetings began to increase, and rank and file interest in union affairs to grow. And this trend is continuing.

There is a new excitement about the possibilities of organizing the unorganized, and a serious groping for answers to the difficult problems brought on by automation and cybernation in the hands of Big Business.

The growing unity of action between the Negro freedom movement and the trade union movement, which reached a high point in the struggle against Goldwaterism in the 1964 elections, is beginning to spill over to the field of economic struggles. Labor is demonstrating a greater degree of sustained political action, with increased tendencies toward independence from the political machines of the two major parties.

It is true the Meany-Lovestone leadership in the AFL-CIO has given shameful endorse-

ment to the war policies of the Johnson Administration, and that the majority of the executive board has supported this position at least nominally. Some of this majority are influenced by national chauvinism and anti-communism; others by the opportunistic idea that it is good to have a "friend in the White House" on domestic issues; and still others are in fear of reprisals, for the Federal Government has many ways of putting pressure on the trade unions.

But there is another side of the picture. So far, trade union leaders are refusing to ask their members to sacrifice for the war. Where there is a slogan "guns and butter," the emphasis is on the "butter." From George Meany down, union leaders have unanimously condemned Johnson's efforts to impose limitations on wage increases, and strikes are taking place in the face of charges that they are "hurting the war effort."

President Johnson is forced to resort to anti-Labor laws, imposed settlements from the White House, and other forms of intimidation, in the face of the sharp struggles of the workers for wage increases to meet the spiralling cost of living, and their demands for the settlement of a vast accumulation of grievances, most of which stem from speed-up and the introduction of automated processes. These struggles throw labor into direct conflict with the war aims of the monopolies.

As new struggles develop, the labor movement finds that the giant monopolies that dominate American life have further consolidated their strength. Thousands of mergers have taken place in the past few years.

Government aid to Big Business is not confined to encouraging the growth of the monopolies through direct purchases, particularly in the military field, and through numerous tax concessions and other forms of subsidization. More and more, it is directly intervening in labor-management relations on the side of the corporations.

With the new upsurge, the labor movement is finding ways to surmount such obstacles as the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts. Now President Johnson finds it necessary to intervene directly in labor disputes, openly placing the strength and prestige of the administrative branch of the government behind the corporations. He tries to limit much-needed wage increases in the face of rising prices and exploding profits by imposing restrictive wage "guidelines." He has endeavored to dictate contract settlements detrimental to labor.

Such efforts were roughly upset when the rank and file of the Aircraft Machinists

Union, AFL-CIO, overwhelmingly rejected White House-dictated terms for a settlement. In great pique Johnson tried to pass legislation which would break the strike, through a behind-the-scenes maneuver in Congress. The strike was settled on terms more favorable to the workers, before final action on such legislation could be taken.

Company and union contracts involving millions of workers are expiring before the end of 1967. Early next spring, the United Auto Workers will begin negotiations for a new contract with the major auto manufacturers. Over 600,000 workers are directly affected. This union has negotiations pending with companies involving another 100,000 workers.

Contracts are also expiring in the construction industry, affecting well over 100,000 workers. The AFL-CIO Rubber Workers' Union is preparing to negotiate with the big tire manufacturers.

These contracts are expiring in a period of powerful rank-and-file pressure for substantial wage increases, better vacation pay, earlier retirement programs, and a growing concern over the effect of automation on job security and work standards.

Big Business is frantically seeking to add to its arsenal of anti-labor weapons. President Johnson has already publicly indicated he favors a new law to restrict the right to strike—a law imposing compulsory arbitration. Now a campaign is developing for passage of such legislation. Editorials are appearing in national newspapers and magazines, including *Life* and the "liberal" *New York Times*, urging Johnson to back up his threat with proposals to Congress. The labor movement appears to be well aware of this pending danger. Labor Day statements made last year by top union leaders stressed the need to preserve the right to strike as a basic freedom of American workers. Some bourgeois theoreticians are expressing the fear that the unions may refuse to obey such a law if it is passed.

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

Today there are over 60 million people in America drawing wages and salaries, excluding the armed forces.

It is estimated that about 55 million of these are workers eligible for union membership. There are now 16½ million organized workers in the trade union movement, of whom 13½ million are in the AFL-CIO.

The majority of AFL-CIO unions are organized along craft lines. The Carpenters Union,

with 700,000 members, is the largest craft union. Because of changes in technology and organizing techniques, some formerly all-craft unions have changed considerably in character. One such union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is now a mixed craft and industrial union with a membership of 626,000. Unions organized along industrial lines are largest in membership. The United Auto Workers has over 1½ million members, followed by the United Steelworkers with more than one million.

There are nearly three million organized workers in unions outside the AFL-CIO. The Teamsters Union, with 1½ million members, is the largest of these. Then there are the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Electrical Workers, the United Mine Workers, the West Coast Longshoremens (ILWU), the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers,* and several others. Their inclusion in a unified labor movement, through amicable agreement, would clearly strengthen all of organized labor.

For over ten years, the labor movement lost more members than it gained. The AFL-CIO reached a low of 12½ million members in 1963, even as the working class grew in numbers. Aside from failure to organize, layoffs due to automation and mechanization in the unionized industries were the major cause for this decline. For instance, since 1947, membership of the United Mine Workers has dropped from 650,000 to only a little over 100,000, the railway unions lost 60,000 members, and losses have been suffered also by unions in the printing trades and a number of other industries.

In the last three years, however, union membership has begun to climb. Between them AFL-CIO unions brought in over one million new members, one-third of whom joined in the first half of 1966. The International Union of Electrical Workers, which has long been in the doldrums, announced at its recent convention that it had organized 160 new plants in the last 16 months, 21 of them in the South. The independent Teamsters Union has substantially increased its membership in the past several years.

ORGANIZING THE POOR

Generations of militant struggles have won a relatively high standard of living for the majority of organized workers in the United States, but there are 35 million people in the

*The Independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union voted, in January of this year, to merge with the AFL-CIO Steelworkers. This merger brings into one union 80 per cent of the workers in the non-ferrous metal industry. The merger does not include the Canadian section of the Independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.—Ed.

country living in dire poverty. According to government statistics, another 35 million are teetering at its edge. The highly conservative figures of the U.S. Department of Labor say nearly four per cent of the work force is unemployed. (Many competent economists say the figure should be closer to eight per cent.) Negro workers are the hardest hit, due to racist discrimination; government figures admit that at least eight per cent of them are unemployed. But the majority of those living in poverty are the "working poor," who regularly work five, six and even seven days per week, but at wages too low to provide a decent livelihood.

A new spirit of unionism is beginning to show itself among these workers. A symbol of this ferment is the organizing drive among migratory farm workers. Under the auspices of the AFL-CIO, these grossly underpaid workers, forced to work under the most primitive conditions, are joining the newly formed Agricultural Workers Union in California, in Texas and along the East Coast. Low-paid workers in laundries, canneries, hospitals, the southern textile industry, and other highly unorganized fields, are beginning to respond to union drives in increasing numbers.

Many of the working poor are Negroes. As the civil rights movement advances to the struggle for economic rights, there is growing cooperation between the labor and freedom movements in the area of union organizing.

There has been a marked increase in the number of "white collar" workers in the United States, especially in the service trades, indicating an important shift in the composition of the working class. Company-inspired antagonisms between "white collar" and "blue collar" workers are beginning to recede, as both re-evaluate their relations to each other as workers. In their organizing efforts, the trade unions are getting an increasing response from teachers, government workers, office employees, and other professional and technical workers.

SOURCES OF UNREST

The major cause of labor unrest today is the rapidly rising cost of living directly attributable to the war in Vietnam. Higher prices, higher taxes and higher interest rates have seriously cut the purchasing power of workers.*

The cost of many food items has risen considerably in the last 12 months. House

*In the period December 1965-December 1966, real wages dropped by 1.6 per cent according to the U.S. Labor Department's consumer price index. This marks the first decline in real wages since 1960.—Ed.

rents and the price of clothing are greatly increased. The cost of medical care keeps on rising.

There has been a major shift of the tax structure since World War II. The main burden of taxation has been increasingly placed on those least able to pay by raising the income tax payments of low-paid workers and the share of the total paid by them, and by a greatly expanded use of the sales tax. (In the poverty-stricken areas of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, people pay taxes on purchases of six cents or more.)

Almost all American workers buy homes, cars, refrigerators, furniture, and many other items on the installment plan. This stretches payment over a period of years, with considerable interest on the unpaid balance added to the cost. These interest rates have recently increased by one-third.

Anger at the high cost of living is aggravated by knowledge of the fact that corporate profits are soaring unchecked. According to official data, corporate profits after tax deductions increased by more than eight per cent during 1966 alone.

Another fundamental factor behind the new upsurge is the growing threat of automation and other technological advances in the hands of Big Business. Still in its infancy, automation has already eliminated millions of jobs, and threatens the security and living standards of the entire working class.

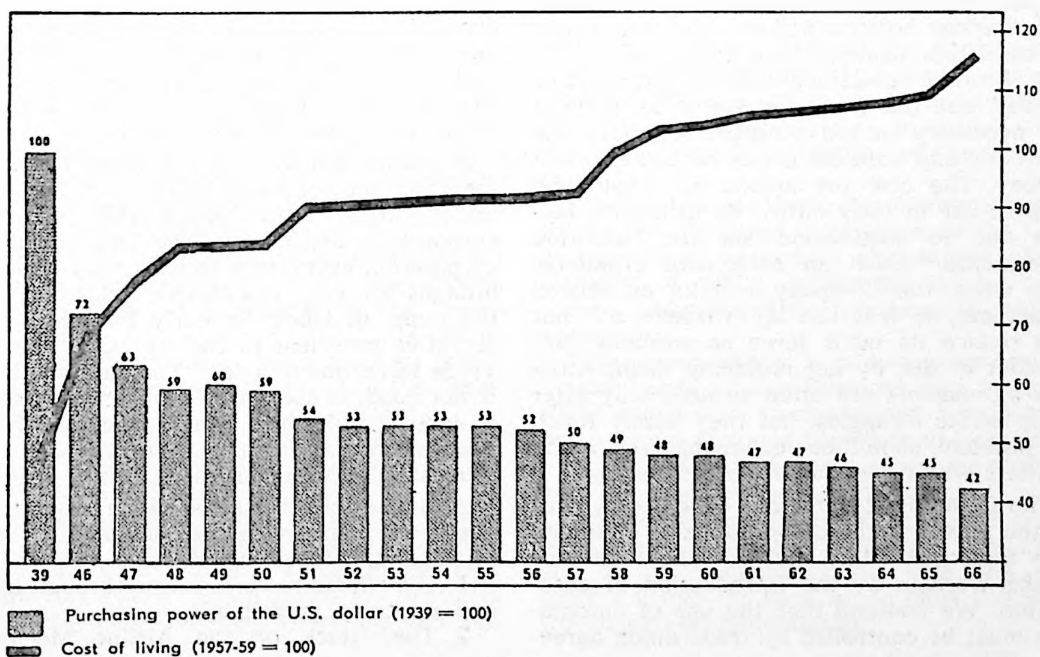
Five out of six coal miners have been eliminated, yet, coal production is soon expected to set new records. In the auto industry, since 1947, 6½ per cent more workers are producing 132 per cent more cars and trucks, and so on. Both relatively and absolutely, automation has reduced the number of jobs in practically all basic industries, even as production soars. It is also making strides in clerical and other fields employing white collar workers.

Early corporation efforts to depict automation as creating a new class of "pushbutton workers" have been demolished as workers are speeded up even more to keep up with the new machinery. The rate of industrial accidents has increased alarmingly.

For years, companies which had worn out their machinery and gotten the best years out of the lives of their workers have been pulling up stakes and fleeing to other areas, renegeing on union agreements that provided insurance and pension plans, and other benefits for older workers. The southern states, where tax concessions, an anti-labor atmosphere, and low paid workers provide added inducements, have been notorious havens for these "runaway plants."

Now automation has brought this practice to a new level. As new plants are needed to house modern automated equipment, 30 of the 50 states are permitting the use of "industrial bond financing" to encourage "plant

INFLATION IN USA



migration," a new term for the runaway shop. Working in collusion with a corporation, municipal governments float tax-free bond issues allegedly for local improvements. The money raised is then used to build a modern plant according to a particular company's specifications, which the company then leases from the municipal government at very low terms, according to a prearranged agreement.

This practice is a classic example of the brutal callousness of Big Business toward older workers whom they have exploited for years at great profit. It is an unwritten law of the corporations never to hire a worker over 40 years of age. "Our insurance company won't let us," is the usual evasion. When plants flee an area, they doom thousands of such "unemployables" to live out their lives in poverty, even though most have become skilled workers.

When the Borg-Warner plant in Muskegan, Michigan, suddenly moved to a brand new plant in Greenwood, Arkansas, which had been quietly built through industrial bond financing, it left behind 1,400 workers with an average of 15 years service per worker with the company. Some 900 were over 40 years of age.

Communists were among the first to raise the demand for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay as a partial answer to the layoffs induced by automation and other technological changes. The trade union movement adopted the demand for the shorter work week two years ago.

The U.S. monopolies and both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations have adamantly opposed this demand, and the labor movement has not yet gained sufficient strength or worked out the proper strategy to conduct the necessary united struggles on both the economic and political fronts required to win victory. The best the unions have come up with so far in their efforts to deal with layoffs due to automation are the "attrition agreements." Such an agreement stipulates that when the company installs automated equipment, it will not lay workers off, but will reduce its labor force as workers quit, transfer or die, by not replacing them. Attrition agreements are often secured only after sharp strike struggles, but they barely touch the problem, as millions of unemployed young workers who never had a job can testify.

The Communist Party has called for a curb on the power of the corporations to eliminate jobs indiscriminately and cut the standards of the workers by the introduction of automation. We contend that the use of automation must be controlled by trade union agree-

ment and Federal legislation in the interests of all.

The new wave of militancy in the labor movement is directed at this moment primarily to the immediate problem of higher wages, but there also is a rising demand that the unions have more to say about the installation of automation and other technological changes in the interest of protecting job security and wage standards. Automation under the control of Big Business is forcing the American trade unionists and their leaders to begin looking beyond the narrow bounds of reformist solutions to this problem.

LABOR AND THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

Following the 1964 presidential elections, organized labor entertained justifiably high hopes of securing some minimum legislative reforms directly affecting its own interests. During the campaign labor had raised the demand for repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits individual states to enact laws obstructing union organization. It also raised the demand for an increase in the federal minimum wage rate from \$1.25 to \$2.00 per hour, and double time for overtime to force the corporations to hire more workers.

But the Johnson Administration made its post-election alliances with reactionaries on the Right, in search of support for its policy of escalation in Vietnam. Johnson has given only the most cynical lip service to labor's demands. Section 14B remains on the law books; the call for overtime penalties is forgotten; and only a badly watered down version of the proposal for a \$2.00 minimum wage was passed by Congress.

Johnson's betrayal of his commitments to the labor movement, coupled with his determined efforts to curb wages while permitting corporation profits and the income of top corporation executives to shoot sky-high, has brought growing resentment against him in the ranks of labor. Recently Paul Hall, conservative president of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trade Department, said: "This administration is not good. It doesn't do what it says it will. Lyndon B. Johnson's word is not worth two cents as far as Maritime is concerned. I don't think it (the Administration) can be trusted."

A number of other trade union leaders have expressed displeasure with Johnson for some or all of the following reasons:

1. His efforts to curb wages through unfair and arbitrary guidelines.
2. The attack on the Airline Mechanics

strike and his behind-the-scenes efforts to break it.

3. His failure to work actively for repeal of Section 14B and his foot-dragging on efforts to secure other labor-sponsored legislation.

4. His speech in favor of a compulsory arbitration law, which many are convinced he will try to slip through Congress at the first opportunity.

The inability of the trade union movement to influence Congress and the Johnson Administration on matters directly affecting labor, and the serious problems it has with many officeholders it supported at state and local levels, has caused many workers to question labor's role in politics. An increasing number are beginning to conclude there has been too much reliance on candidates dominated by the political machines.

George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, has revived the old chestnut of "reward your friends and punish your enemies" in response to criticism for insufficient political independence on the part of the labor movement. This discredited philosophy of bygone days, which tied labor to the coat-tails of the two major parties, can only lead to political passivity rather than to meaningful political action.

However, there are signs of a growth of political independence on the part of the trade unions though not yet of a break with the two-party system. More union leaders are emphasizing the need of year-around political activity. It is now a labor truism that "what you win at the bargaining table can be lost in the voting booth."

A return to mass lobbying for better labor legislation is beginning to replace the ineffective "man-to-man" talks between labor lobbyists and politicians that became the style in recent years. There are consistent drives to have all workers register and become eligible to vote. More candidates directly responsible to labor are running for office.

Labor political groups independent of the machines are beginning to take shape, though usually within the framework of the Democratic Party. An alliance of the trade unions in the South with the Negro freedom movement is developing, directed against the Dixiecrats holding state and federal offices.

NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

Fundamental to a strong trade union movement in the United States is unity between Negro and white workers. Today, 80 per cent of America's 20 million Negroes are members of working-class families. There are two mil-

lion Negro union members, and the number is rising. And a firm alliance between the Negro freedom movement and the labor movement is a necessary prerequisite to the advance of either of these vital democratic forces.

The first major breakthrough of Negro-white working-class unity came in the 1930's. Without it, the industrial workers in the steel, auto and other basic industries could never have been organized.

With the growth of the Negro freedom movement in the 1960s and the new stirrings among the trade unions today, there has been an increase in mutually beneficial actions by these two great progressive forces on both the political and economic fronts. The trade union movement has firmly supported all legislative efforts designed to guarantee Negro citizens their full constitutional rights. Negro organizations have supported labor's political program in congress.

The labor movement has affirmed its intention of ridding itself of shameful practices of discrimination. But unfortunately, when it comes to carrying this out, gradualism and tokenism take over. The deadly poison of white supremacy affects all too many white trade unionists, leaders and members alike.

Many craft unions, particularly among the building trades, with their membership restriction policies, are guilty of either barring Negroes altogether, or shunting them into segregated local unions, even though both those practices are now a violation of official union policy. Apprenticeship training programs for Negroes and other minorities have produced pitifully poor results, further hampered by a lack of jobs. Negro trade unionists find considerable difficulty in advancing to positions of leadership, even in unions where they are a significant section of the membership.

The Draft Trade Union Resolution presented to the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party warned of the danger of the ideology of white supremacy to the trade unions, and pointed to their need to struggle against it:

"White supremacy is a dangerous weapon in the hands of Big Business and its ultra-Right supporters. Unchallenged, it is a time-bomb in the ranks of the trade unions. Along with red-baiting, it is the cornerstone of every anti-union edifice.

"In its own self-interest, the labor movement must ruthlessly root this malignancy out of its leadership, and take the fight against it into the local union halls and white working-class communities."

LABOR AND WORLD MONOPOLY

Conscious anti-labor elements and confused "liberals" frequently try to equate "Big Labor" and "Big Business" as equally harmful to the nation's well-being, "bequeathing" to the labor movement many powers it has never had and blurring the dominant position of monopoly capitalism.

The United Auto Workers, with its 1½ million members, is the largest union in the AFL-CIO. It has a handsome national office in Detroit, some fine district offices and local union halls, and 35 million dollars in its strike fund. Much is made in the public press of this "goliath." But let us take a look at General Motors, which is only one of the many corporations with which it has to contend.

General Motors has 735,000 men and women working for it in the USA and abroad. In 1965 its net profit, after paying all costs of production, taxes and the huge salaries of its executives, was 2.1 billion dollars. This sum was more than the yearly revenue of 48 of the 50 states. Its gross income from sales amounted to 20 billion dollars, which was more than the gross national product of all except the ten wealthiest nations of the world.

The current international expansion of such giant monopolies as General Motors indicates a new, rapidly developing situation. U.S. imperialism is no longer content with seeking control of the oil, minerals, lumber and other raw materials in the semi-colonial countries of the world. With the American economy unable to absorb all the tremendous profits available for reinvestment, the U.S. monopolies are spending large sums to build modern, automated plants in such countries as Japan, West Germany, Australia, South Africa and others, as they seek to capture more markets and accumulate even higher profits.

These international monopolies under U.S. domination are also using their investments to threaten the standards of the American workers, and to retard the progress of workers in other capitalist countries. They see a golden opportunity to pit workers in the various nations against each other.

General Electric Corporation has at least 99 plants in 31 countries. Constantly in search of new union-busting techniques, it frequently takes newspaper advertisements to warn its workers of "foreign competition." But the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, in a recent brochure, presented GE as "competing with itself in the world market . . . This is the foreign competition that threatens GE workers and GE jobs in the United States."

The extent of investment abroad by U.S. monopolies is dramatized especially by the big auto manufacturers. General Motors has auto manufacturing plants in 24 countries, Chrysler in 33 countries, and Ford in 34 countries. Production abroad accounts for 28.2 per cent of G.M.'s output, 39.9 per cent of Chrysler's and 54 per cent of Ford's. Of the more than 12 million cars and trucks produced in the capitalist countries outside the United States and Canada, 58 per cent were manufactured in plants owned by these three giants.

The United Auto Workers deals with 78 major corporations that have plants in 64 countries. It is trying to set up World Auto Councils under the International Metal Workers Federation, whose purpose will be to launch a struggle in other "free world" nations to improve the wages, working conditions and job security of auto workers in these countries, in cooperation with American auto workers.

"The present problem for UAW," according to a top spokesman of that union, "is that it must deal with worldwide corporations that can shift operations at will across international boundary lines."

"Foreign flagships," owned by American shipowners, avoid paying U.S. union wages by flying the flag of Liberia, Panama, or some other country with which a deal has been made with the blessings of the U.S. government. These ships have long provided a bitter example of "runaway shops" on an international scale.

Approximately 10 million dollars per day is now being invested by U.S. capital in plants and equipment abroad. This growing thrust of the American monopolies in the non-socialist sector of the world is providing new opportunities and new demands for a growth of a healthy international working-class solidarity. Such solidarity is needed, however, not only among workers in the capitalist and semi-colonial countries, but with trade unions in the socialist nations as well. Curbing the monopolist monsters is in the interest of workers everywhere.

The developing unity is seriously hindered, however, by the paranoid anti-communism of the Meany-Lovestone type of leadership in the AFL-CIO. This combination has betrayed the interests of workers in all countries by its subservience to the reactionary foreign policies of U.S. imperialism. Over 25% of the AFL-CIO budget is spent on what Meany calls "exporting democracy abroad" but is actually nothing more than a cover-up for CIA manipulations against democratic forces in

other countries and has nothing to do with the programs of organized labor. Meany has used his power as president of the AFL-CIO to hinder any exchange between U.S. trade unionists and those in the socialist countries.

It is easy to see why many trade unionists in other countries are cautious in approaching this problem. However, the need of a healthy cooperation between U.S. trade unionists and their brothers abroad is becoming only too obvious. The sterile policies of the Meany-Lovestone leadership are more and more being challenged and isolated, not only in other capitalist countries but in the United States as well.

LABOR AND VIETNAM

The Communist Party of the United States has thoroughly condemned the support given by the Meany-Lovestone leadership in the AFL-CIO to the foreign policies of the Johnson Administration, particularly to the criminal war in Vietnam.

This war is a gold mine for Big Business at the expense of the living standards of the American people. The young men, Negro and White, being drafted and sent to Vietnam are from the families of working people. It has been well labeled "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight," as far as American workers are concerned.

It is a shameful sight to see U.S. trade union leaders lined up with the most reactionary elements in America in support of a war that is killing tens of thousands of heroic Vietnamese people and many young American soldiers, and threatening a worldwide war of nuclear proportions—and this under the Hitlerian banner of "anti-Communism."

The mighty efforts of Meany and his supporters to keep the lid on the peace sentiments welling up in the labor movement are being increasingly challenged. The trade union division of SANE (a peace organization) in a statement condemning their policy said that despite the apparent unanimity in the AFL-CIO executive council there "is clearly no such unanimity among the millions of organized workers and their elected leaders."

Sharply emphasizing this lack of unanimity is the position taken by Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers' Union and a Vice-President of the AFL-CIO. Reuther has branded the statement of the AFL-CIO executive council on the Vietnam war, adopted in August 1966, as being "intemperate, hysterical, jingoistic and unworthy of the policy statement of a free labor movement." He said that if he had been present at the

meeting he "would have opposed this statement and voted against it." Reuther absented himself also from the November 1966 meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council called at his request to review the Vietnam statement. He did so because he considered it hopeless to try to change the hawklike stand of Meany and his foreign policy advisor, Lovestone.

Reuther's statements reflect the changing mood in the labor movement.*

In Negro and white working-class communities there is outspoken opposition as more and more workers' sons are drafted and sent to war. Courageous labor leaders who have consistently spoken out for peace are being joined by larger sections of the trade union movement, and trade union peace groups have begun to arise with more workers participating in demonstrations for peace.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

While some U.S. trade union leaders have espoused socialist ideas, American labor unions have historically been reformist. The unions fought many bitter and heroic battles not to challenge the capitalist system but to improve "wages, hours and other conditions of employment" within its framework.

George Meany expressed the present level of the political development of most trade union leaders and members in his Labor Day message which said: "The union has no desire to take over the enterprise from management. The union does not want to abolish profits and dividends. The union is seeking only what the workers believe is their fair share . . ."

But the inability of American capitalism to solve the many problems facing the country is growing, and is being aggravated by the rapid spread of automation. Like workers everywhere, the American workers will respond in struggle with a growth of class consciousness, which will be reflected in their trade unions.

The Communist Party recognizes the trade union movement as a vital instrument of the working class in its struggles against the monopolies, and strives to give it fullest support. The Party rejects any blanket condemnation of trade union leadership, and combats all tendencies toward the concept that "social democracy," rather than monopoly capitalism, is the main enemy. It seeks to confine all

* On February 3, Walter Reuther, on the instructions of the Auto Workers' Union, resigned from the executive council of the AFL-CIO. All other UAW officers holding AFL-CIO posts resigned these posts as well.—Ed.

differences within the framework of working-class unity, and not permit them to degenerate into harmful, negative criticism.

The concluding section of the Draft Trade Union Resolution to the 18th National Convention defines the Party's position on these questions in these words:

"Our major differences with the trade union movement are ideological in nature. While we support the day-to-day struggles of the labor movement, and the reforms it seeks, we advance the idea of socialism as offering the only permanent solution to the never-ending problems facing workers under capitalism. We see the class struggle between workers

and their exploiters as a permanent feature of capitalism, and gauge our programs accordingly.

"Regardless of differences, ideological or tactical, we Communists are firmly committed to the support of the trade union movement and its struggles for labor's needs. We consider it indispensable to the well-being of the working people of the entire nation.

". . . Every Communist is expected to work to the best of his ability to help build and strengthen the trade union movement, and to support its economic and political demands to advance the best interests of the working class and the nation."

Ideological and political unity of the Party

JAROSLAV KOZEL

OSTRAVA REGION, the heart of Czechoslovakia's heavy industry, is now returning to the nation the huge investments ploughed into its development—and with interest to boot. Annual investments into this area have run to 6,000-7,000 million crowns (16-20 per cent of all state investments), with some 4,000 million channelled to industry.

"Repay the country with interest!" is the watchword of the region's Communists. To do so calls for high productivity of labor, greater returns from the labor invested, a high level of quality output and services adequate to the needs of the public. But to implement this watchword, to achieve a situation where all people consider themselves duty bound to live up to it, is not a simple matter. The sweeping scale of development in our region and the large sums assigned to it over the years have given rise to a rather widespread feeling that there is no limit to the possibilities open to socialism.

Correcting the misconceptions is one of the prerequisites of economic advance in the new conditions of today. The fact that the people are not satisfied with the present state of the economy is a commendable thing because it impels people to take a bigger hand in tackling the complex social problems. The Regional Committee of the Party has made its position clear by declaring that the "feeling of gratification would be greater and that of dissatisfaction less if all were dissatisfied primarily with our own performance and if the dissatisfaction found expression in concrete actions aimed at a better showing."

This presupposes both conscious action on the part of the people and redoubled effort to satisfy all their requirements and justified demands. In this way socialist humanism is given concrete embodiment in concern for improving the conditions of the people and promoting their all-round development.

The nature and overall direction of our acti-

vities are determined by the guidelines laid down by the Thirteenth Congress of our Party. The Party holds that in the economy the possibilities for extensive development have been exhausted and it is essential to go over to intensive development. This is being done simultaneously with the introduction of the new system of management and planning, which calls for corresponding economic concepts and a progressive approach to the solution of economic concepts and a progressive approach to the solution of economic tasks:

—in the social and political spheres, the orientation is on promoting socialist democracy in the context of the new class and socio-political relationships marked by the further development and mutual rapprochement of the classes and strata of socialist society. Class struggle between antagonistic forces has ceased to be the basic driving force of social development in the country. New stimuli promoting the activity and initiative of all social groups have been created;

—in the ideological sphere, the need is felt for the theoretical elaboration of questions relating to continued progress in all areas of social life.

The Party's activities, the sum total of its political, ideological, organizational and other work, are aimed at cementing its ideological and political unity and heightening its vitality. Only a united and effectively working party can guide the fulfilment of the tasks of the day.

The 205,258 Party members in the North Moravian region belong to 4,796 local branches, the latter guided by 10 district committees. In our political life, however, as was revealed by a critical survey of the ideological unity and activities of our regional organization conducted by some 1,500 activists, functionaries and social science researchers, we are confronted with a number of problems.

Not all our members, not to speak of non-Party people, are able at once to grasp the new

tasks or consistently to work to carry them out. This is due to a number of reasons: the complexities of the international and home situation, the current difficulties in the international Communist movement, and the dissemination of incorrect views and even ideology hostile to socialism.

A number of subjective factors also make themselves felt in this connection, for instance, the degree of acquaintance with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the political and practical experience of the members, and the level and efficacy of ideological and political education. Moreover, such circumstances should be taken into account as the constant influx of people into the region, the solution of problems pertaining to national relationships (besides Czechs and Slovaks, the population of the region includes Poles, Hungarians, Germans and Gypsies), the influence of the church and religious sects, Social Democratic traditions and survivals of petty-bourgeois views and habits.

Clearly, the ideological and political unity of the Party is not a static quality established once and for all. It involves a constant process of Marxist cognition, a "maturing" of ideas and opinions, evolution of the positions of individual members, branches and the Party as a whole. At times of major change things are put to countless tests. Conflicts inevitably arise between the old and the new, the creative and the dogmatic, and not only in people's thinking but also in their practical activities.

Consequently, political unity is a process of incessant development in the course of which the Party's activities undergo constant change in keeping with the objective political requirements.

CREATIVE OR MECHANICAL UNITY?

In the period of transition to Communism it is an objective necessity that the subjective factor should exert a purposeful influence on the process of development. Without such influence, on the basis of the spontaneous operation of the objective forces alone, it is impossible, as the experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties shows, to reach communism or even its first phase—socialism.

The Party, the highest form of revolutionary working-class organization, acts as a center cognizing the reality around us and hence is able to foresee and chart the further socialist progress of society. But the leading role of the Party is not exercised automatically as the result of the blind operation of the objective laws of social development. Nor is it a matter of our own volition. The Party's leading role has to be consolidated by constant work among the people, by winning their recognition of this role. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that it is reproduced and renewed in keeping with the progress from one rung of social development to another.

The Party is able to play the role of the van-

guard only on one condition: it must systematically consolidate and deepen the unity of its ranks. This unity cannot be brought about by orders from above, however much we might want to do so. Unity takes shape in every cell of the living organism of the Party in conformity with its environment and under the influence of this environment, in accordance with the requirements of progress.

The basic prerequisites and features of unity reside primarily in the ideological positions of the Party and also in its organizational standards, in ensuring adherence to the Leninist norms of Party life. Among these preconditions the central place is occupied by the ideological factor.

The Communist Party is above all an ideological and political organization, and its ideological unity represents in concentrated form the substance and the aim of the Communist movement. The ideological factor in the final analysis exerts the decisive influence also on the organization, forms and principles of inner-Party life.

We are now at the threshold of a period in which we will be called upon to carry out the extremely complex tasks set forth in the decisions of our Thirteenth Congress. In view of this it is imperative to have clarity as to the implications of ideological unity today. Limited though we are by the level of our knowledge to date, we are in a position to set forth on this question a viewpoint verified in practice.

The ideological unity of the Party is a matter of identity of views on the basic problems relating to the development of the world, society and man, on the fundamental issues and principles of the Party's program and policy. Founded on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, this unity finds expression in the ideological and political steadfastness of the members, their efforts to create the conditions essential for social progress, their high sense of responsibility for ensuring these conditions, Communist dedication to everything new and progressive, readiness to search for the new and to fight for its affirmation in practical life, a high degree of activity in labor and social life, tireless, purposeful work among the people generally, unwavering irreconcilability to everything harmful and hostile to the Communist movement. *The decisive yardstick of ideological unity is the attitude of the Party member to life, his activity, as well as the activity of the branch or Party committee, concretely to meet the needs of society.*

Ideological unity is a historically conditioned phenomenon. It reflects the level of consciousness and the trends of social progress at the given stage of development. Underlying the crystallization of unity is the assimilation of the substance of Marxism-Leninism, its creative development, dissemination, and application in practice. But the process is in no way automatic; it does not release us of responsibility. On the contrary, it is a matter of considered, organized effort on the part of the

Party and its bodies to combat both liberalism, which weakens Party unity, and conservatism and dogmatic views.

This process, in turn, should help to carry out the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress. In other words, *our interpretation of the process of building unity is an active one—unity is cemented on the basis of conscious effort to promote joint action.* Proceeding from the Leninist thesis that the leading role of the Party is determined by the correctness of its policy and its links with the masses, we underscore the need to put the political activities of the Party on a scientific footing and thereby strengthen its political influence among the people generally.*

The second most important principle, as we see it, is systematic educational and organizational work among the people generally. To this end it is imperative to overcome the sectarian approach of some Party members to political mass work.

In this connection thought should be given to the dialectical relationship between the conscious and the spontaneous, i.e., the correlation of spontaneity and organization in the practical work of the Party organizations.

Social processes are not always set in motion by conscious activity. Many of them are spontaneous. The main trend of development is revealed in the interaction of concurrent processes. The Party, through its own activities and also through state and public organizations and institutions, exerts every effort to find for these processes such an overall framework and such organizational forms as would make Party and state activities as fruitful as possible.

Seeking to impart a conscious and organized nature to the social processes the Party constantly takes cognizance of the activities and experience of people. It studies the nature of social phenomena and processes, does not invent social phenomena but generalizes them, revealing the trends which are progressive and in harmony with the socialist tendency. In this sense it may be said that consciousness and organization stem from spontaneity as well. The Party should give free rein to those spontaneously engendered social phenomena which are progressive in nature and impart to them the element of consciousness.

While stressing the importance of consciousness and organization, we do not regard them as the absolute opposites of spontaneity. On the contrary, we look for the conscious element in spontaneous manifestations of public life. For the Party's ties with the masses are of a twofold order; it not only gives an impulse to the latter, but experiences a reciprocal impact. To be able correctly to react to this impact is not less, and is sometimes even more, important than to give an impulse to others.

I should like to give two examples of how we try not to overlook anything useful engendered by the people's activity. Some time ago we

*See article "The Scientific Approach to Political Work," by J. Kovalcikova and J. Kozel, in our issue No. 9, 1965.—Ed.

noted that creative, effective fulfilment of Party decisions largely depends on the activities at branch level. Hence the attention we pay to training and guiding Party activists, through special meetings, courses, seminars, etc.

A recently evolved, effective, and in our opinion noteworthy form of cooperation with the branch activists is group get-togethers with leading Party workers. We believe that this form of guidance, being a highly democratic form, meets the needs of the day. It makes for mutual understanding, provides new stimuli to activity, helps in the fulfilment of current tasks and creates a comradely atmosphere in which urgent problems can be frankly and critically examined. We would like to "legalize" this new form of work prompted by day-to-day practice.

Another example. It is of utmost importance that the largest possible numbers of working people take an active part in carrying out political decisions. But such activity cannot be stimulated by decisions taken at the top, nor will it come about of itself however much we want it. Although in the conditions of socialism the masses can give free rein to their activity, they will not do so automatically. At the same time, however, people are coming to see more and more clearly that criteria differing from those of the past must now be used to assess the economic situation and the tasks. Comparisons are more and more frequently made with performance by the leading enterprises and the achievements of other countries. Impulses facilitating the rapid transition to intensive growth in the conditions of the new system of management and planning are thus making themselves felt. The "concrete action movement" is an effective outlet for the initiative of workers and technicians.

The scale, degree and nature of the initiative displayed is in our opinion the most convincing yardstick of the political activity of the Party and its ability to lead the working people.

UNITY TAKES SHAPE IN THE PROCESS OF COGNITION AND ACTION

After a certain levelling off in the early sixties, production in the region again began to rise (by 6.7 per cent in 1965 and 4.3 per cent in 1966). Many enterprises vigorously tackled the job of preparing for the introduction of the new system of planning and management some elements of which they experimentally verified. The socialist consciousness of the working people has grown and distortions in the ideological and political sphere are gradually being overcome. The district and branch committees of the Party are independently finding political solutions for the current tasks and organizing the people to tackle them.

Overcoming the economic and ideological-political difficulties and, above all, the nature of the tasks of the new period, have merely confirmed that ideological unity in the branches is a decisive factor of further progress. *Unity can be built only in the process of cog-*

tion and action; it must be founded on the Marxist outlook; and it presupposes active participation by the membership in evolving the views and decisions of the Party, voluntary agreement with the decisions and active work in carrying them out.

Regarding unity as a process, we must now, as in the past, combat two kinds of erroneous views. Firstly, we are against the dogmatic concept of unity as the sum total of immutable criteria, principles and methods of Party work—a concept that stems from unwillingness or inability fully to take into account the objective processes of social development which the Party influences and which, in turn, influence the Party. This is due primarily to the operation of the objective laws governing the development of social thinking, which tends to lag behind social life. But there are also other reasons which should be borne in mind. These include, first and foremost, serious shortcomings in the ideological, political and theoretical education of Communists, and also in the inner-Party climate in which the political, ideological and theoretical moulding of Party members takes place.

To play its role, the Party should not only respond to the changing conditions but also foresee these changes and adapt the content, organization and methods of its work to the new trends.

The Party can fulfil its mission as the leading force in society only if it is able to assess the nature of social processes in good time and on this basis correctly to define its aims, expressing these in the form of a program or a concrete political line as well as decisions offering a groundwork for uniting its own ranks and rallying all working people behind it.

The survey conducted by the Regional Committee is based on this concept of unity. Conservative and dogmatic views put a brake on activity and stifle initiative, and without these it is impossible to move forward. In practice such views are manifest in unwillingness to examine new facts, a predilection for old forms of work, a sectarian attitude to political work among the masses, reluctance to encourage creative thinking which here and there develops into lack of faith in Marxist generalizations of the latest scientific findings. In some cases even a radical purge of the Party is advocated as allegedly capable of strengthening its unity.

Such a concept of unity places the emphasis on strict observance of immutable postulates and principles claimed to be applicable always and everywhere.

Neither should we lose sight of the other extreme. It, needless to say, has nothing in common with the correct understanding of unity as a process. Moreover, it should be pointed out that it is precisely because of this extreme that the static, conservative concept of unity still persists.

This second extreme is represented by views

and actions which do not recognize the inevitable necessity of unity, of carrying out decisions. This attitude ignores the fact that *to regard unity as a process does not mean denying its relative stability and constancy.*

We have had to come out against views voiced by some Party members, mostly intellectuals specializing in the humanities, to the effect that the Party's efforts to strengthen unity are tantamount to restricting the freedom of the individual, and that the way to achieve unity is through unrestricted freedom of discussion. These comrades claim they are prompted by the need to find guarantees against dogmatism. Their numerous objections to Party decisions they seek to justify by invoking the limitations of our knowledge. Their one-sided emphasis on the relativity of human knowledge is an expression of a political relativism which weakens unity and undermines the resolve to carry out decisions while simultaneously deepening our knowledge as a pre-condition for further progress.

The fight for Party unity is not simply a matter of conflicting viewpoints or of discussion of arbitrarily chosen issues involving no commitment. It is primarily a matter of effort to carry out the Party's policy. There is a point when discussion of one or another issue ends and work to carry out the decision arrived at begins. Practical work is a continuation of the discussion; it introduces whatever corrections need to be made in our views. In this way practice deepens our knowledge.

DIALECTICS OF UNITY

In the constant process of building unity there are periods when relative identity of views must necessarily be achieved, when general understanding must be reached on the tasks posed and joint organized action by the members of the Party and the people generally to carry out these tasks ensured. Proceeding from this, it should be underscored that unity cannot be achieved in isolation from the external and internal conditions of the Party's development. Party unity is not an artificial construction, not an arbitrarily set end in itself. For the Party is an integral whole united by a common goal and political line and adhering to the common Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It epitomizes unity of the principles of inner-Party life, identity of the duties, rights and responsibilities of all of its members. Hence, unity has its own inherent dynamics and contradictions.

The point is that the Party cannot expect to exist in a static setting, but neither can it arbitrarily create the conditions which in the long run form the basis for understanding its mission, tasks and concrete forms and methods of activity. This does not signify that the Party and the forms of its activity are simply the result of the existing conditions. While being a component of the object of social development, the Party at the same time is the

MARXIST EDUCATION OF MEMBERS

subject consciously striving to change the existing conditions. This is its mission. And of decisive significance in the performance of this mission is correct understanding of the setting in which the Party functions.

The surveys conducted by the Regional Committee have produced valuable findings providing the groundwork for defining the concrete aims and methods of work of the regional Party organization.

Among these findings mention should be made of a number of aspects connected with the present stage of economic and political development.

1. The far-reaching changes in the structure of society—the abolition of antagonistic classes and the growth in the numbers of the working people—were accompanied by the entry into the working class of many from the petty-bourgeois strata, and this affected also the degree of class consciousness.

2. At times a consumer attitude towards socialism seen as a society of isolated consumers concerned only with their immediate interests prompts people to compare capitalism and socialism only from the standpoint of personal consumption without taking the public consumption funds into account. The new system of economic management promotes differentiation of interests on the basis of public ownership, which makes the interests of society also the prime interests of each individual.

3. Until the early sixties, the extensive development of the region's economy with only quantitative assessment of the results seemed to the people generally and the bulk of the Party membership to be a conflict-free process. The spread of notions that the laws of socialism operated automatically was facilitated by some of the forms of Party ideological work in those years.

4. The concept, traceable to both spontaneous and conscious sources, that socialist development proceeds automatically and also the overrating of the administrative-directive method of management led to underestimation of the role of the conscious factor, the human being, including underestimation of the role of the Party members. Plans were regarded as an objective law, while man was merely expected to carry them out. The misconception that it was impossible to intervene in social processes struck root.

Research in this area prompted us to wonder whether the belief that they were powerless actively to intervene in resolving contemporary social problems was not one of the basic reasons for the passivity among a section of the people generally and among Party members in particular. Was this not, we asked ourselves, the source of underestimation of Marxist self-education, which is the basis of the ideological and political unity of the Party?

The conclusions we drew set forth a complex of measures of an ideological, political and organizational order aimed at gradually changing the situation.

The further advance of our society depends directly on the extent to which the scientific and technological revolution affects the economy. The tasks confronting us call for heightened sensitivity to developments and improved guidance at all levels of Party life. Regarded from this standpoint, the general educational level of the Party members in our region cannot be said to be satisfactory.

A comparison of educational standards in the regional organization over the past five years (including the new members admitted in this period) with corresponding data for the Party as a whole shows that we are lagging.

Education	Regional Organization		Party as a whole
	1960	1965	1965
	(p e r c e n t)		
Elementary	78.0	71.2	70.2
Junior secondary	9.3	10.8	10.0
Senior secondary	9.0	12.9	13.0
Higher	3.7	5.1	5.9

In the matter of improving educational standards two extremes are encountered—one underestimating and the other overestimating the importance of education.

Education in itself is not a criterion of either the political maturity and activity of the members individually or the vitality of the Party as a whole. *Only when combined with revolutionary and political experience and class consciousness, with a sense of responsibility to society, does it become an important and essential factor from the standpoint of the Party members' ability correctly to assess developments around them and consciously to influence the solution of problems relating to the diverse areas of social life.* In view of this we hold that the Party committees should systematically pay attention to improving the members' educational standards and at the same time attend to their Marxist-Leninist grounding.

Pointing to the need to educate people in the spirit of Marxism and thereby promote understanding of the theoretical foundations of the Party's policy and its aims at the present stage, the Regional Committee underscored the importance of training in economics and education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, as well as the significance of questions associated with the growing role of the Party.

It is essential to create a permanent but flexible system of ideological and political education of the members. And for this we need more tutors and lecturers.

EFFICIENCY OF ORGANIZATION

Ideological unity in action is achieved within the framework of the organizational struc-

ture of the Party, its methods of work and the standards of inner-Party life.

A study of this question revealed the need to do away with forms and methods which corresponded to the conditions of the period of struggle for political power and to lay the foundations of socialism, but which are now outdated. The extent of the necessary changes is determined by the Party Rules. They relate, in particular, to the style of work in the branches and their links with the working people. Most important here is Party building, enlisting the new members in active work, overcoming organizational fragmentation, deepening the content of inner-Party life at branch level, ensuring a free exchange of views, participation in working out Party policy, concrete discussion of specific problems, critical assessment of one's own work, and ensuring a responsible and disciplined attitude towards fulfilment of Party assignments.

To this should be added the further deepening of first-hand knowledge of all aspects of reality on the part of the regional Party organization. The key issue here is improvement of the flow of Party information to meet the requirements of scientific guidance of social processes.

* * *

The fact that we subject our activities to a critical study is by no means an indication of weakness. We regard this as a natural expression of a sense of responsibility on the part of the regional organization, which is fully in a position to ensure unity commensurate with the new tasks.

Examination of the existing situation and defining the principles to be followed in the period ahead provide the basis for concrete decisions for the future. Where, then, should we begin?

The studies made to date show that the ideological level and the activity of the branches depend largely on how the branch bureaus work. The activists bear the full weight of Party political work. They build day-to-day contacts with the membership in general as well as with non-Party people. They must know the Party decisions and head the work to carry them out. In this sense they are a link with the leading Party committees.

The composition of the activists is still not equal to the tasks they are called upon to carry out. In our region there are 30,338 bureau members, of whom 4,000 joined the Party within the past five years. In the national committees (local government bodies) there are 15,000 Party members, while thousands more work in

various public organizations. To take care of the ideological, political and theoretical education of activists and to provide them with timely information there is a training network ranging from boarding schools to study courses and seminars.

Attention is also focussed on concrete measures to heighten the activity of the members and to overcome the political indifference, passivity and hesitancy found in some Party organizations. This is a highly complex problem the solution of which depends on both objective and subjective factors. Though the Party is a united organization, its composition is heterogeneous. Apart from age differences, members differ as regards experience depending on how long they have been in the Party and on their professions, educational level and ideological grounding. Consequently, it is necessary to create conditions and choose methods of work likely to ensure full utilization of the abilities and possibilities of all members. An individual approach should be taken to members and their assignments. Far from diffusing the strength of a Party organization, this will cement its unity through the enlistment of the largest possible number of members in concrete activity.

As we see it, ideological and political unity is not an end in itself. It equips the Party to carry on its work among the people generally. Our survey which was undertaken to obtain a clear picture of the situation in the regional organization showed that there are branches which have withdrawn within their own shells, suffer from sectarianism and regard people outside the Party with distrust. Instead of carrying on organizational and educational work members at times advocate the use of administrative methods by economic and governmental bodies. The fact is that members who do not work day in and day out to give effect to the Party's policy feel no need to heighten their own political level, to study, and to work among non-Party people.

The ideological and political unity of the Party cannot be achieved through political education alone. It is the result also of organizational and political work among the people. To achieve it, concrete action to carry out the decisions of the Thirteenth Congress is needed.

Consequently, our efforts to strengthen and deepen ideological and political unity are based on the organizational and political mass work conducted by the Party to give added impetus to the initiative of the working people generally manifest in the concrete action movement which is being given a new impulse by the approaching fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

50th anniversary of the October Revolution

FIFTY YEARS AGO . . .

JANUARY 1917. The Executive of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks reported to the bureau of the Central Committee: "The successful actions of January 9 have greatly encouraged the masses. The sentiment in the factories is one of enthusiasm, of political awareness and affords ample revolutionary possibilities." On January 9, some 145,000 workers went on strike in Petrograd, over 30,000 in Moscow and a total of over 270,000 throughout the country during the month.

On February 14 (27), the day fixed for the opening of the State Duma, 90,000 workers in Petrograd downed tools in response to the call of the Bolsheviks. In the Vyborg and Narva districts the workers demonstrated under the watchwords "Down with the war!", "Down with the Government!", "Long Live the Republic!"

"To wait in silence is no longer possible," stated the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks in a call to workers and revolutionary democrats. "The workers and peasants in uniform and in overalls, having joined hands, must wage the struggle against the tsarist clique and put an end to the degradation inflicted on Russia . . . The time for open struggle has come!"

On February 17 (March 2), a strike broke out in one of the shops of the Putilov Works. Four days later, on February 21, the entire plant downed tools. Next day the strike spread to a number of other enterprises in the capital. On February 23 (March 8), in answer to the lockout declared by the management, 20,000 Putilov workers marched to the center of the city. These events coincided with International Women's Day when the Bolsheviks called for a general political strike and demonstrations. Thousands of women marched through the streets of Petrograd demanding peace and bread; the marchers were joined by women standing in the long food queues. Meetings and demonstrations were held in the Vyborg and Narva districts and in other parts of the city; on February 23, 128,000 workers went on strike. On the evening of the same day the Bureau of the Central Committee, the City Committee, and the Vyborg District Committee of the Bolsheviks decided to continue the strike under

slogans calling for the overthrow of the autocracy and an end to the war.

On February 24 (March 9), over 200,000 workers downed tools. The Bolsheviks decided to turn it into a general strike and then into an insurrection.

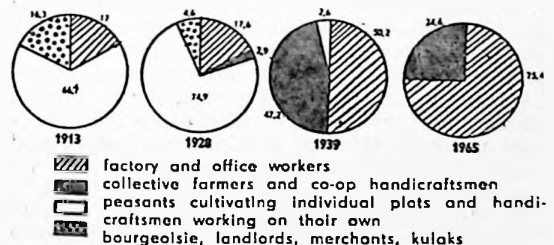
Next day, the Bureau of the Central Committee and the City Committee issued a call for action: "To the streets! Better to die fighting for the workers' cause than to be killed at the front for the profits of capital, or to die of hunger and back-breaking toil. Separate actions can grow into an all-Russia revolution . . . Down with the war!" The City Committee addressed a call to the soldiers urging a fraternal alliance of the working class and the revolutionary army. Petrograd revolutionaries carried this message to the military units.

That same day some 300,000 Petrograd workers declared a general political strike. Despite the arrest of members of the City Committee, the Bureau of the CC and the Vyborg District Committee of the Bolsheviks, which in effect had replaced the City Committee, continued to direct the movement. The unrest of the workers and the soldiers began to assume the character of an armed uprising.

Violent clashes with the police and troops took place on February 26 (March 11); some military units sided with the insurgent people: 600 soldiers on February 26, 66,700 on February 27 (March 12), and 127,000 on February 28 (March 13).

CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

(in percentages)



On February 27 the Vyborg District Committee called on the workers and soldiers to elect deputies, to get in touch with one another, to organize Soviets of Workers' Deputies. In another leaflet issued the same day the Petrograd Bolsheviks declared: "Elect strike committees in the factories. The representatives of the strike committee will constitute the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and this in turn will organize and direct the movement, and establish a Provisional Revolutionary Government." The Central Committee of the RSDLP (B) addressed a manifesto "To All Citizens of Russia" calling for the overthrow of tsardom and outlining the tasks of the working class and the revolutionary army.

By the evening of February 27 the workers and soldiers had taken practically complete possession of Petrograd. All key positions were in their hands: the Neva bridges, railway stations, the arsenal, the central post-office and the Peter and Paul Fortress. Attempts by the tsarist authorities to use troops came to naught: everywhere the soldiers sided with the people. Thus, in the course of the revolution there took shape the alliance of workers and peasants in soldiers' uniform.

On March 2 (15) the Tsar abdicated.

The Soviets, organs of insurrection, organs

of the power of the victorious workers and peasants, emerged from the flames of the revolution.

But while the Bolsheviks were heading the masses in the fight against tsardom, the Mensheviks hastened to seize the leadership in the Petrograd Soviet. Together with the Socialist Revolutionaries they voluntarily surrendered state power to the bourgeoisie, pledging support for the bourgeois Provisional Government formed on March 2. The result was a peculiar kind of bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, a dual power—the power of the bourgeoisie in the form of the Provisional Government, and the revolutionary-democratic power of the proletariat and the peasantry in the form of the Soviets.

Paying tribute to the workers and soldiers who had carried out the February Revolution, Lenin noted that this was but the initial victory of the proletariat, that complete victory would come with the next stage of the revolution.

Commenting on the international significance of the February Revolution Lenin wrote in a letter to A. M. Kollontai dated March 3 (16), 1917: "This 'first stage of the first revolution (engendered by the war)' will not be the last and not only a Russian one."

THE USSR TODAY

FACTS AND FIGURES

Beginning with this issue the journal will give facts and figures telling of the achievements of the Soviet Union in building socialism.

1. THE COUNTRY AND ITS ECONOMY

The Soviet Union extends over an area of 22,400,000 square kilometers, or over one-sixth of the earth's land surface. Population as of January 1, 1967—234,000,000. The 15 Union Republics comprising the USSR are inhabited by more than 130 nations and ethnic groups.

Radical changes have taken place in the social structure of the country in the 50 years under review. It is a socialist society, consisting of two friendly classes: the working class and the collective-farm peasantry.

The intelligentsia comprises a substantial part of the population. By 1966 the number of brain workers had grown from 2,600,000 in 1926 to nearly 26,000,000, i.e., tenfold.

Although tsarist Russia ranked first in the world in area and third in population, it occupied one of the last places among the leading capitalist countries in economic development. Essentially an agrarian country, it produced a little over four per cent of the world's industrial product. Most of the industrial plant and equipment needed by the economy were imported.

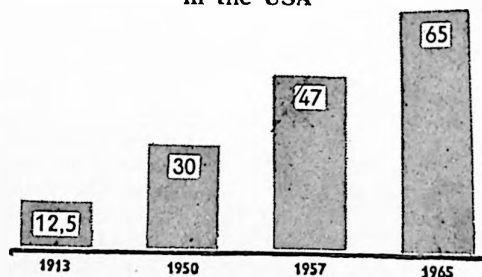
All this has changed in the past 50 years. Thanks to a rapid and steady rate of economic

growth the Soviet Union built, in an historically brief space of time, a modern industry and developed agriculture, became an industrial power ranking first in Europe and second in the world, for volume of industrial output. It carried out an extensive building program: 39,760 large factories and a host of medium-sized and smaller enterprises were built and put into cooperation in the years between 1918 and 1965. Today the Soviet Union accounts for approximately one-fifth of the world's industrial product.

Despite the fact that 18 out of the 50 years were spent in wars imposed on the country, and on post-war rehabilitation, industrial production in 1965 was 61 times greater than in 1913.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE USSR

in percentage to industrial production in the USA



BASIC INDICATORS OF SOVIET ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1913 - 1965 (1913=1)

	1913	1940	1960	1965
Gross social product	1	4.2	5.7	
Growth of national income	1	5.3	23.3	32
Basic production facilities	1	3.0	9.6	15.2
Gross industrial output	1	7.7	40.3	61
Gross agricultural output	1	1.4	2.2	2.5
Capital investments (1928=1)		6.5	43	58.1

In tsarist times the distribution of Russia's productive forces was extremely uneven and economically irrational, the bulk of industry being concentrated in three or four centers in the European part of Russia. A feature of economic development in Soviet years is the increased share of the national republics in industrial production and the even distribution of the productive forces in the eastern regions of the country. Large-scale industry is developing apace in all the republics. As a result, production in the Kazakh Republic, for example, has increased 94 times compared with 1913, in the Kirghiz Republic, 102 times, and in the Armenian Republic, 107 times.

Industrialization and the rapid rate of growth have made it possible for the USSR to compete successfully with the developed capitalist countries. Thanks to the fact that the growth rates of national income and industrial output are outpacing those of the USA, the Soviet Union is steadily approaching the U.S. level for absolute volume of industrial output.

* * *

Last year the Soviet people embarked on a new five-year plan, fulfilment of which will



MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RSDLP(B)

mark another big step forward in creating the material and technological base of communism. Under the new plan the national income is scheduled to increase by 38-41 per cent, industrial output by approximately 50 per cent, and average annual volume of agricultural production by 25 per cent. Real income growth per capita will be 30 per cent. In the first year of the new plan (1966), the country moved solidly ahead in all spheres and achieved a further rise in material wellbeing. Thus, the social product grew by eight per cent over the previous year, the national income, 7.5 per cent, output of industry, 8.6 per cent, and agricultural production, 10 per cent. Real income per capita registered an increase of over 6 per cent.

Deepening of the political crisis in Jordan

FUAD NASSAR

DURING NOVEMBER and December 1966, big events took place in Jordan, events which attracted world public attention. On November 13 armed Israeli aggression hit the village of Samu, causing the death of more than fifty of its inhabitants and the destruction of tens of houses. When the people of the district demonstrated condemning that barbaric aggression and demanded from their government that measures be taken to defend the borders and safeguard the lives of the unarmed civilians, the government responded by ordering troops to fire on the demonstrators; this resulted in more victims, this time shot down by bullets of the Jordanian army. This criminal action aroused the wrath and anger of the Jordanian people, and they replied with a sweeping upsurge which lasted more than four weeks. The government suppressed it with fire and sword.

I.

During 1966 the political situation in Jordan was characterized by the ending of the partial and limited easing of tensions which prevailed in the country in 1964 and 1965. This easing of tension was a result of the retreat of the Jordanian rulers, under the pressure of the Jordanian people and their national movement, from certain attitudes of extreme reaction and enmity towards the Jordanian people and the Arab movement of national liberation and social progress. In 1966 the rulers of Jordan began to return to their old attitudes and to follow openly the imperialist plans in the region. At first they renounced the decisions of the Arab summit conferences, and subsequently joined the Saudi rulers in promoting the new imperialist scheme—the Islamic pact. When in February 1966 the Rightists in Syria were overthrown and in their place arose a national progressive regime, the rulers of Jordan instantly concentrated troops along the Syrian border, threatening armed intervention to reconstitute the previous state of affairs. It has been defi-

nitely established that the rulers of Jordan were in close contact with the abortive military coup led by the Syrian officer Salim Hatoum early in September 1966. After the failure of the coup, which aimed at the overthrow of the progressive national regime in Syria, its organizers took refuge in Jordan.

The conspiratorial and subversive activities of the rulers of Jordan against Syria are part and parcel of the general scheme of the USA and Britain in this part of the world. The scheme aims at overthrowing the progressive national regime in Syria, crushing the Yemeni republic, isolating the United Arab Republic and striking it down—all this in order that the imperialist powers may regain the positions they have lost in the region. Roles in this scheme have been allotted to the various reactionary forces and regimes in the region, and especially to the rulers of Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. It was no accident that the rulers of Israel concentrated their army on the Syrian borders and intensified provocative and skirmishing actions against the Syrian army at a time when the rulers of Jordan concentrated their army on the Syrian borders, and continued their subversive activities inside Syria. All this at a time when the Saudi rulers intensify their conspiracy against the Yemenite republic, the United Arab Republic and the revolution of the people in South Arabia.

The warning of the Soviet government, which TASS announced on May 27, 1966, unmasked the conspirators and their objectives. The Soviet statement said:

“... The Israeli army is in a state of alert, the leaves of the soldiers and officers have been cancelled, the Israeli forces are being concentrated on the Syrian borders . . . Certain reactionary circles in Jordan and Saudi Arabia which are irritated by the policy followed by Syria, contribute also to the plans directed against this Arab country, plans which are supported by the USA and Britain.”

In the light of this, it is perfectly clear why

the USA and Britain lavishly bestow money and weapons on the rulers of Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

It was natural that the conspiratorial and subversive activities of the Jordanian rulers against Syria should be accompanied by sweeping oppression and terror against the opposition inside Jordan itself. In April 1966, the police authorities and secret service arrested hundreds of Communists, Baathists, Arab nationalists and members of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Tens of these were subjected to various kinds of persecution. The Jordanian authorities again whipped up the hysteria of enmity against communism, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. King Hussein and his Prime Minister Wasfi El-Tell personally took part in this campaign.

II.

In this atmosphere electrified with tension, conspiracy and subversive activity, disseminated and inflamed by the imperialist powers and the pro-imperialist rulers of the region, the Israeli aggression against Jordan occurred.

This barbaric aggression shocked world public opinion. Even the imperialist powers which patronize Israel, arm it and incite it to aggression could not help condemning this aggression, and were forced to support the Security Council resolution stamping Israel with the aggression. Most of the leading Western papers commenting on this aggression attributed it to "mere short-sightedness." This aggression initiated a wave of questions as to the causes which prompted the rulers of Israel to direct their aggression against a Jordanian village, for it is known that the rulers of Jordan are pro-imperialist, not opposed to the Israeli rulers, persecute the underground armed Palestinians, killing a great number of them, and are inimical to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Israeli rulers were quick in answering these questions. The Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban declared that the attack on the Jordanian village Samu was not aimed against the present regime in Jordan, a regime which Israel had no desire to see overthrown. The Israeli spokesmen emphasized more than once that the attack was directed specifically against the Jordanian people, to "teach them a lesson" so that they will obstruct infiltration by armed Palestinians into Israel. In these statements the Israeli rulers only offered a new proof, beside the numerous previous proofs, as to their aggressive criminal nature. Throughout the 19 years since the establishment of Israel, its rulers have hardly let a day pass without providing evidence that they are simply the claw which the imperialist powers use, whenever they need, against the Arab peoples. The barbaric attack on the Samu village is not the only one carried out by the rulers of Israel, it is one of tens of hundreds of barbaric aggression actions which they have carried and still carry out against the peaceful Arab villag-

es in Jordan, Syria, Gaza and even in Israel itself. The world has not forgotten the shameful role which the rulers of Israel played in the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956.

The Israeli Communist leader Meir Vilner described in an article the services which the Israeli ruling circles render imperialist powers in these words:

"(a) intrigue and conspiracies against the Arab anti-imperialist movement; (b) assistance in operating neo-colonialist policies in Asia and Africa; (c) active participation in the imperialist campaign against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp generally."

This realistic definition of the nature of the role played by the ruling circles in Israel shows clearly that they want to outdo all the imperialist agents in their subservience to imperialism. Their services are not limited to a particular imperialism in general. A case in point is their close cooperation with the Bonn revanchist imperialists, the heirs of Nazi Germany. Their activity covers all the spheres in which imperialism and world reaction are interested. In addition to using Israel as the spearhead against the Arab movement for national liberation and social progress, they actively contribute to imperialist conspiracies and subversion against the national movements in Asia and Africa. They are very active in the cold-war machinations against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In a word, these rulers make Israel a base for the fight against progress in the world. After all this, why should anyone be astonished to see the "very civilized and democratic" rulers of Israel carry out this "very simple operation," which they call "teaching a lesson," against a peaceful village of unarmed Jordanian peasants? This only proves their criminal parasitic nature. It is not difficult to prophesy what fate awaits such rulers who insist on clinging to the last to the sinking world imperialist ship.

III.

The aim of the Israeli rulers, in attacking the Samu Jordanian village, was not to eliminate the reactionary regime of Jordan. On the contrary, they want to see this regime consolidated and strengthened. They wanted to provide it with enough justification to continue oppressing the Jordanian people and their national movement, to silence this people in relation to the conspiracy of the Jordanian rulers against Syria. But the calculations of both the Israeli rulers and their Jordanian colleagues boomeranged. The Jordanian people were not silenced, nor did they bend the knee in the face of the massacre committed by Israeli rulers or the campaign of oppression and terror practised by the Jordanian rulers. The masses continued to demonstrate and these demonstrations spontaneously spread to all the towns and villages on the Western bank, where half of Jordan's population of two million live. Within two days the demonstrations grew into

a sweeping popular upsurge, in which workers, peasants, students, the youth, men and women participated. Committees were constituted in most towns on the Western bank to direct the resistance. The masses clashed with the army in tens of places and many fell. The army used tanks and heavy weapons of different kinds to blockade towns and villages and to isolate them. Water and electricity were cut off from towns and a curfew was enforced for many days. The most ferocious and vicious methods were used against the unarmed people. Thousands of young people were arrested.

The heroic popular upsurge aroused the anxiety and fear of the imperialist powers, the rulers of Israel, and the reactionary regimes in the region. All hurried to support the reactionary regime in Jordan which shook under the people's blows. The USA announced its willingness to dispatch arms quickly to Jordan, and the commanding officer of the U.S. Sixth Fleet stationed in the Mediterranean declared the fleet's readiness to move in in the event of the situation deteriorating in Jordan. The Saudi rulers announced their willingness to send 20,000 soldiers to Jordan to serve under King Hussein. Official spokesmen and the press in Israel repeated more than once that Israel will not stand idle should the regime in Jordan collapse. They threatened to seize the Western part of the country.

The forces of imperialism and reaction in the region converged on the unarmed, small people of Jordan and thus enabled the Jordanian rulers to suppress the heroic upsurge after they had drowned the people in blood, with fire and sword.

IV.

The temporary success achieved by the Jordanian rulers in defeating the Jordanian people and suppressing their courageous upsurge does not cancel the great significance of this upsurge or its great influence on the future struggle of the Jordanian people and their national movement.

This spontaneous upsurge exposed the true nature of the Jordanian regime and laid bare its face as an utterly reactionary regime inimical to the people and indifferent to the lives of their sons and daughters. The upsurge dealt the regime a strong blow from which it will never recover. It forced the imperialist powers and the Jordanian rulers to reconsider their plans as to the use of Jordan and its army for intervention against the progressive national regime in Syria. They had to take into account the Jordanian people.

The heroic upsurge broke the comparative lull which prevailed among the people and characterized their national movement during the past ten years, following the imperialist reactionary coup d'état in the spring of 1957. It ended the artificial relative stability which prevailed during these ten years due to pressure and terror, and as a result of the partial eco-

nomic prosperity caused by the inflow of financial "aid" and imperialist loans.

This upsurge shook the new social and political basis of neo-colonialism in Jordan. It is common knowledge that up to a few years ago, the feudalists, tribal chiefs and a number of the compradore bourgeoisie comprised the social base of imperialist domination in Jordan. But with the infiltration of neo-colonialism in Jordan and its strategy aimed at pushing Jordan further on the road of capitalism, circles of the middle bourgeoisie and upper sections of the petty-bourgeoisie are being attracted—out of fear of socialism and deep-going social reforms—to the whirlpool of the neo-colonialist strategy. In time, as these bourgeois circles grow richer and their ties with neo-colonialism grow stronger, they gradually tend to become the new social and political bases of neo-colonialism. But this does not eliminate their contradiction with imperialism completely, nor does it change their vacillating nature.

Thus, though these bourgeois circles make a common front with the present regime in Jordan and support it, especially in its strong opposition to deep-going economic and social transformations, such as are being carried out in the United Arab Republic and the Arab Syrian Republic, they were forced during the popular upsurge to take an attitude opposed to the regime. In a big national issue like the rights of the Palestine Arab people usurped by Israel, or in such a fateful issue as the armed Israeli aggression on Jordanian territory and Israel's expansionist objectives in respect to Jordan, or in the issue of transforming Jordan into a den for the imperialist powers to conspire against the fraternal Arab countries, these bourgeois circles are unwilling to go all the way with the king and the extremely reactionary circles which have sold out completely to imperialism.

King Hussein admitted as much when he stated to *U.S. News and World Report* (December 26, 1966) that among the reasons for the upsurge was the attitude of "some people . . . of what you might call bourgeois background who have resented the ability of the government to reach the mass of the population . . . without passing through them . . . Some of the trouble can be traced to their activities."

Thus it is possible to see the fundamental reason which caused the King to rescind his approval for the convening of the mass congress scheduled to open in Jerusalem, although most of the delegates were bourgeois and it was supposed to calm things. The King seems to have feared that under the general conditions, the congress was likely to pass resolutions castigating his policy and condemning the methods used in dealing with the Israeli aggression. The attitude of these bourgeois circles throws light on the reasons for the ministerial reshuffle and the dissolution of Parliament. The foreign minister and four of his colleagues were not included in the reformed

ministry, and these represent the new social and political base of neo-colonialism in Jordan. They strongly opposed any deep-going economic and social transformations in Jordan, yet they had to go or were ousted because of their opposition to the policy of the King and his Premier Wasfi El-Tell on a number of issues mentioned above.

The importance of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the present regime in Jordan is forced in future to fall back on the old social and political base comprising feudalists, tribal chiefs, some of the big bourgeoisie, and the exposed imperialist agents, i.e., on the long-bankrupt social and political forces. By doing so, the regime deepens, to the limit, its isolation internally, on an all-Arab scale, and internationally.

V.

The November upsurge showed the extent of the profound hate of the people towards imperialism and the present reactionary regime in Jordan; it indicated the preparedness of the masses to continue the struggle, resolutely and consistently, to achieve their aim—the establishment of a progressive national regime. If the upsurge was unable to succeed and secure the objectives and hopes of the Jordanian people, this was due among others to the following basic reasons:

First. The Jordanian army of 60,000 men, predominantly bedouin, is a professional army financed and armed by Britain and the USA. It remained, generally, loyal to the regime and executed the orders of the authorities, except in few cases where some officers and men refused to fire on the masses.

But the popular upsurge on the one hand, and on the other hand the openly treacherous attitude of the Jordanian rulers, their indifference to the lives of the people, and their open covering up of the repeated Israeli aggression on Jordanian territory, affect growing numbers of decent officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who are beginning to feel that the rulers, instead of ordering them to defend the country's borders and safeguard the lives of citizens, direct them to fire on their brothers and sisters, whose only guilt is their demand that the government defend their homes and land, and safeguard their lives against the Israeli aggressors. The incidents of refusal by some officers and soldiers to fire on the people, though few, indicate the beginning of the loosening of the adhesion of the Jordanian army and of its loyalty to the present regime. This phenomenon will certainly develop more and more with the spread of the struggle of the Jordanian people, and with the increased exposure of the present regime and its growing isolation.

Second. One of the biggest elements of weakness in the upsurge was that it remained, principally, confined to the Western bank and did not spread to the Eastern bank. This is due to:

(a) The quick government measures; the strong military precautions, and the method of barbaric suppression imposed on Amman and the other cities and towns of the Eastern bank. The authorities rushed to Amman and other cities the bedouin soldiers and tank units. The police authorities and secret service arrested hundreds of youth and students, they surrounded the university and other educational institutions and the refugee camps with large army forces, and isolated the Eastern bank completely;

(b) The relative influence of feudalists and tribal chiefs, completely loyal to the regime, and their threats against the masses of peasants, in case these peasants carried out anti-government activity;

(c) Fear of friction and clashes between those of Palestinian origin and the other citizens settled on the Eastern bank (known previously as Transjordan). The ruling circles constantly fostered local prejudices between Palestinians and Jordanians in order to divide the ranks of the national-liberation movement.

Third. The inability of the upsurge to free itself from its spontaneous character. This prevented its development politically and organizationally so much so that it could not crystallize slogans and demands compatible with the interests of the popular masses on the Western and Eastern banks. The demands remained confined principally to requesting arms, recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the entry of Arab armies into Jordan.

Fourth. The upsurge showed the relative weakness of the different national and progressive political parties due to the strong oppression and suppression to which they have been subjected over the years. It also showed the great damage caused by the disunity of the national and progressive forces and the absence of a national program for the whole national movement capable of rallying the widest popular masses and all the national and democratic forces.

Nevertheless, the spontaneity of the upsurge and its accompanying shortcomings do not change its profound anti-imperialist, anti-reactionary nature; it has opened up new horizons for developing the struggle for far-reaching political, social and economic changes in Jordan.

VI.

The Political Bureau of the Jordan Communist Party made an analysis of this popular upsurge and its far-reaching results; it studied the present conditions in Jordan and the balance of class and political forces, taking into consideration the nature of the struggle and its complexities, i.e., the interconnection between the struggle for completing the political independence of Jordan, achieving its economic independence and its advance along the path of democracy and social progress, on the one

hand, and the struggle for the usurped rights of the Palestine Arab people on the other; it examined the possibilities for rebuffing the continued Israeli aggression in Jordan, and for resisting the expansionist ambitions of the Israeli rulers, taking into consideration the organic inter-connection between the struggle of the Jordanian people and the struggle of the fraternal Arab peoples to obstruct the conspiracies of the imperialists, the oil companies and the reactionary regimes in the region. The Political Bureau, taking all these elements into consideration, reached the conclusion that in the conditions of present-day Jordan the circumstances are emerging for the establishment of the broadest national front to continue the struggle for the achievement of a minimum program corresponding at the present stage to the interests of the working class, the masses of the peasantry, and wide circles of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. This program can be summarized as follows:

The establishment of a government of national coalition which should work to carry out the following:

First: (a) release all political internees and prisoners unconditionally; (b) insure all freedoms and abrogate all laws limiting freedoms; (c) eliminate all elements loyal to imperialism and inimical to the people from the government apparatus; (d) carry out free and fair parliamentary elections.

Second: (a) follow a policy of national liberation, safeguarding the political independence of the country and opposing imperialism in all its forms, its alliances and conspiracies; (b) resolutely uphold the rights of the Palestine Arab people; (c) stop accepting financial "aid" and loans with conditions attached.

Third: (a) free the national economy and build it up; get rid of the chronic trade deficit and correctly orient trade in the right direction; (b) fight against unemployment; care for the workers and toiling masses in town and village, and improve their conditions of work and life; (c) fight against rising prices.

Fourth: (a) free the Jordanian army from the financial and military domination of the imperialist countries, increase its capacity and arm it through friendly and fraternal countries; (b) join the joint defense agreement between the United Arab Republic and the Arab Syrian Republic; (c) fortify the front-line villages and arm their inhabitants to defend themselves in the face of Israeli aggression; (d) adhere to the decisions of the United Arab Command.

Fifth: foil the imperialist attempts to make Jordan a base for conspiracies and subversive activity against the liberated Arab countries, and follow an Arab policy corresponding to the policy of the liberated Arab states and especially those Arab countries with progressive national regimes.

Sixth: (a) follow the policy of positive neutralism and non-alignment, against imperialism and war; (b) establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The unity of the national and progressive forces in Jordan on the basis of these objectives and demands, and the struggle to achieve them, will create the objective conditions for carrying out far-reaching political, economic and social transformations which would take Jordan onto the path of democracy and social progress.

At the Cairo Seminar

(Reviewing the discussion)

4. THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE of African countries, especially in Tropical Africa, the character and role of the various social forces in the life of the continent were discussed by Idrissa Diarra (Mali), Thierno Amath Dansoko and Alexander Sobolev (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*), Saroit Elias (*At-Talia*) and other speakers. These questions were also reflected in the written paper submitted by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana).

The speakers dwelt in detail on the state of African society towards the end of colonial rule.

It was noted that, on the one hand, social differentiation was not pronounced and had not reached the stage of direct class antagonism. Social relations, essentially the relations between exploiters and exploited, retained patriarchal forms concealing their true nature. On the other hand, the presence of the colonialists, i.e., foreigners, obscured the contradictions in African society. The main contradiction of Africa in the colonial era was that between the interests of the colonial power and the basic interests of the enslaved peoples, which relegated all other contradictions to the background.

At that time, Saroit Elias stressed, there were theories which denied or practically denied the existence of classes and class struggle as objective factors in the development of African society.

"For a long time," he said, "many African leaders, reactionary and patriotic alike, persisted in denying or under-estimating social differentiation and class struggle . . ."

"The concept of 'classes' was considered alien and incompatible with the traditional commune . . . Even if some leaders admitted the existence of certain class distinctions, they attributed this to the role played by imperialism and its impact on African society, an impact which should have disappeared after independence.

"Recent history has demonstrated that the process of class formation and the political changes associated therewith proceed at a faster pace than anticipated by politicians even in those African countries in which the levers of government are in the hands of revolutionary democrats. Social strata enjoying special privi-

leges have appeared, and the class stratification of African society has deepened."

Stressing that in all young African states class struggle came into being as the logical outcome of the law of social development, Saroit Elias pointed out that, contrary to the prevailing view, social differentiation had begun long before the carving up of the continent among the imperialist powers. "Not to mention the North of the continent where a class society was being developed," he said, "we cannot overlook the emergence in the Middle Ages of big feudal monarchies in some parts of West and Central Africa."

Concepts idealizing African reality were criticized in the paper by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah:

"Today, the phrase 'African socialism' seems to espouse the view that the traditional African society was a classless society imbued with the spirit of humanism and to express a nostalgia for that spirit. Such a conception of socialism makes a fetish of the communal African society. But an idyllic, African classless society (in which there were no rich and no poor) enjoying a drugged serenity is certainly a *facile simplification*; there is no historical or even anthropological evidence for any such a society. I am afraid the realities of African society were somewhat more sordid.

"All available evidence from the history of Africa up to the eve of the European colonization shows that African society was neither classless nor devoid of a social hierarchy. Feudalism existed in some parts of Africa before colonization; and feudalism involves a deep and exploitative social stratification founded on the ownership of land. It must also be noted that slavery existed in Africa before European colonization, although the earlier European contact gave slavery in Africa some of its most vicious characteristics . . . Colonialism deserves to be blamed for many evils in Africa, but surely it was not preceded by an African Golden Age or paradise. *A return to the precolonial African society is evidently not worthy of the ingenuity and efforts of our people.*"

An analysis was made at the seminar of the structure of the main social classes and groups, and their role in modern African society. According to some speakers, essential features characterizing the class relations in African countries are extreme stagnation in social life, slow differentiation of African society, absence of clear-cut boundaries between classes, abund-

*For the beginning, see issues No. 1 and 2, 1967.

ance of transitional social groups and their uneven development.

In characterizing the main segment of African society—the peasantry—the participants noted that its distinctive features are abject poverty, the communal spirit of mutual aid, undeveloped property relations and the lack of real possibilities for productive accumulation.

Saroit Elias stressed the vigorous political activity displayed by the small bourgeoisie which, in his opinion, occupies an exceedingly important place in Africa. He doubted the thesis that it is impossible for the middle sections and the small bourgeoisie to win state power.

The important role of the small bourgeoisie was attributed by Elias, among other things, to the weakness of the working class which has not been able to head the liberation movement. Said the speaker: "The working class of Tropical Africa, still weak, consists mainly of former peasants who have not yet rid themselves completely of their petty-bourgeois views and their tribal association. Moreover, the workers have waged a national struggle against exploitation by foreign capital rather than a class struggle against local capital. It is understandable therefore why many representatives of the small bourgeoisie have penetrated into the ranks of the working class where they occupy leading positions."

Elias disagreed with those theoreticians who say that it is possible to build socialism without working-class leadership. Those who subscribe to this thesis, he maintained, fail to take into account the dialectics of non-capitalist development towards socialism which presupposes concentration on industrialization generally and output of the means of production in particular. And this policy is bound to lead to the rapid numerical growth of the working class, to enhance its role in the life of the nation.

Thierno Amath Dansoko dwelt on the reasons why the working class of Tropical Africa had not played a leading role in the first stage of the fight for national liberation. "The working class," he said, "is not only weak but it is just being born in some of the countries. Wherever it does exist it is still young and devoid of its own culture since it originates from peasant media. Its consciousness does not transcend the framework of the sentiments of the urban small bourgeoisie." In this situation, he went on, the intellectuals alone could pose concretely the question of independence. "Their position enabled them to comprehend the nature of the colonial system and find a positive alternative to the colonial rule. In this battle the working class fought shoulder to shoulder with all other patriotic sections and classes of Tropical Africa for political independence and for progressive development. But the political and ideological leadership of the intelligentsia was, to all intents and purposes, indisputable."

The intelligentsia as a social stratum, the speaker noted, grows in measure with the growth of the administrative and economic

organs of the colonial apparatus. The colonialists have created an auxiliary personnel from among the indigenuous population, and they supported this élite in order to draw from their ranks cadres of propagandists for colonialism.

The point is, Dansoko went on, how far the imperialists have succeeded in achieving their aim, i.e., destroying national feeling among the intellectuals. The colonialists, clearly, have numerous agents in the midst of the intelligentsia. Many believe in the "civilizing mission" of the West. However, it is from this élite that true patriots and prominent political leaders have emerged.

The influence wielded by the French Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor helped the political maturing of the progressive national forces in the French colonies after the Second World War. Acquaintance with the European and international working-class movement as well as the anti-colonial struggle imparted a powerful impetus to the growth of consciousness among the intelligentsia. This impact, together with the rise of the socialist camp, acted as a spur to African intellectuals to study Marxism-Leninism.

Turning to the question of the ways of the intelligentsia's evolution in the new conditions, when the center of gravity is shifting increasingly to the sphere of socio-economic changes, the speaker emphasized:

"The destiny of the intelligentsia as a specific social stratum is closely linked with the destinies of the main classes of Tropical Africa, both those which existed in the past and those which have emerged recently. It is this that explains the different trends among the intelligentsia:

"a) some of its groups adopt the positions of the traditional or modern propertied classes. In this case the intelligentsia degenerates into a bureaucratic political-administrative bourgeoisie and openly allies itself with imperialism. It producer ideologists of neo-colonialism and anti-communism;

"b) in other instances it expresses the patriotic sentiment of the masses and strives to impart a progressive direction to the national-liberation movement by way of radically changing the social and political conditions. The more radical wing of this trend favors the non-capitalist way of development towards socialism . . .

"These various trends, reflecting mainly the interests of the classes, are also an expression of the inner structure of the intelligentsia which is far from homogeneous. It is significant that in Tropical Africa, as the French Marxist, Raymond Barbé, correctly pointed out, 'the intelligentsia practically as a whole falls within the category of the salariat (mainly in the civil service); liberal professions comprise but a negligible group. Whatever specific problems it has had to contend with, it is clearly distinguished from . . . the petty bourgeoisie.'"

This, the speaker held, explains the attitude

of the intelligentsia in favor if not of the socialist, at least of the "statist" alternative, explains its support for the most progressive trends and why it takes part in the fight for more profound socio-economic changes.

"Imperialism and the bureaucratic circles," Dansoko concluded, "pursue an elaborate policy aimed at diverting the intelligentsia from the patriotic road. Hence the task is to involve them on a still broader scale in the national-liberation revolution."

5. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

Attention was paid to the political organization of society: the character and place of the patriotic party; extending democracy; the significance of the unity of the progressive forces and of the national front; the role of the mass organizations of working people; the nature of the state of the transitional period, etc.

These points were discussed by Fedialah Keita (Guinea), Youssef Samantar (Somali), Kamal Eldin El Khayari (Algeria), Idrissa Diarra and Madeira Keita (Mali), Kone Abdoulaye (Cameroon), Khaled Mohi El-Din (UAR), Omar Moustafa (Sudan), Fuad Mursi, Abu Seif Youssef, Gamal El Etefi and Michel Kamel (*At-Talia*), Alexander Sobolev and Tigani Babiker (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*).

RALLYING THE PATRIOTIC FORCES

Keynote of the discussion was the idea that it is necessary to rally all revolutionary, patriotic forces of the nation in order to wage a successful struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and reaction. "One of the most pressing tasks," said Fedialah Keita, "is that of achieving the unity of the people and isolating the reactionaries. Unity is vital if the activity of the imperialist states, which are trying to impede revolutionary development by resorting to military coups, is to be combated.

"That is why we must prepare our people ideologically and rally them for organized struggle. Hence it is clear that the unity of our ranks is the main and most formidable weapon in the struggle against imperialism and the forces of reaction. Only provided we have this unity can we retain the initiative."

Conflicts and differences among the revolutionaries, as Khaled Mohi El-Din justly pointed out, are no less dangerous than hostile attacks.

Speaking about the experience of the Somali Democratic Union, Youssef Samantar, one of its leading spokesmen, pointed out that "the Party invariably exerts every effort to build a united action front embracing all progressive forces of the country irrespective of their differences. We do not insist that other parties and organizations fully accept our political line. We only call for an open and frank discussion of the problems confronting Somali, which will make it possible not only to find the best answers

but also to wage a purposeful political struggle for their solution."

Examining the revolutionary experience of the UAR, Dr. Fuad Mursi observed that "it is the nature of the present stage of the revolution—the stage of transition from feudal-capitalist society to socialism—which provides the objective basis for rallying a revolutionary following of the various social strata—industrial workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and those of the national bourgeoisie who are for the socialist way of development and who take part in raising production."

The *tasks and the role of the patriotic parties* were discussed at length.

The paramount tasks facing the patriotic and revolutionary organizations were seen by Abu Seif Youssef as consolidating the unity of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, establishing a common platform for joint action and enlisting the masses in tackling the job of political, social and economic development.

Success, he said, depends primarily on the efforts exerted by the patriotic parties and revolutionary organizations to enlighten the masses. These parties and organizations are called upon to rid their ideological arsenal of all illusions and utopian ideas, to uphold the fundamental principles and ideas of scientific socialism and combat capitalist ideology which is often camouflaged in the guise of pseudo-socialist "theories."

"The African countries which have taken the road of progress," the speaker said, "have accumulated much useful experience. Big changes have taken place in the relations between various classes belonging to the national front (workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and national bourgeoisie), changes which could not but be accompanied by corresponding changes in the life and work of the political parties and organizations. These changes have affected not only their organizational structure but also their elaboration of general concepts pertaining to the transitional phase between capitalism and socialism. An example of this is afforded by the new organizational forms and ideological positions of the Democratic Party of Guinea, and also by the struggle waged today by the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt."

Keen interest was displayed in the views expressed by Madeira Keita on the question of mass organizations in African countries and their inter-relations with the patriotic party. Keita pointed to the importance of setting up mass public organizations, on the one hand, and the need for a patriotic party—the leading force of the country—which would coordinate the functions of these organizations, on the other. The speaker voiced the opinion that the ruling party taking the country along the path of progress can tackle its tasks successfully if it is equipped with the theory of scientific socialism.

Closely interlinked with the character and

the role of the patriotic party is the *matter of the one-party system*, which occupied a prominent place in the discussion.

Khaled Mohi El-Din said, for example, that in some African countries the rise of the one-party system had been prompted by the need to coordinate and unite all revolutionary activity beneath one banner.

"In discussing the question of the one-party system," he said, "it should be borne in mind that imperialism created a multitude of pro-imperialist parties designed to resist the African revolutionary movement; and many political groups had their origins in personal ambitions or disagreements. These groups which retard revolutionary action and impede the achievement of unity, should be dissolved."

Youssef Samantar, on his part, was of the opinion that in those countries of Africa where class antagonism is growing there is need for a plurality of parties. "This," he said, "concerns those countries in which power is in the hands of the exploiting classes. These countries need a left democratic opposition which should cooperate with the genuinely patriotic forces regardless of whether or not they belong to the ruling party or other organizations."

"The setting up of small groups among the intellectuals," he went on, "and attempts to form in all circumstances working-class parties remote from the other patriotic national forces could cause grave harm to the progressive movement as a whole and bring about the isolation of Marxist and other democratic forces."

The one-party system, it was emphasized, should be considered in the light of the specific conditions existing in the given country, the system of one-party leadership has no specific logic of its own, no independently operating inner mechanism which on every occasion could be depended upon to lead to one and the same socio-historical result.

"The democracy of the political setup in African countries," Gamal El Etefi noted, "is not determined by the existence of one or several parties. It would be wrong to approach Africa with the traditional Western yardstick, to regard the existence of several parties as a measure of the democracy of the regime. The main thing is the program of the party and its practical activity. The existence of several parties will be devoid of all democratic content in the event of their representing the interests of the exploiting classes."

THE STATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

A lively discussion developed around such issues as the *state, political power and the role of revolutionary governments*. The newly-free African countries inherited from colonialism a state machine which for decades had performed the functions of coercion and violence, facilitated the penetration of imperialist capital and impeded in every way the advance of the national-liberation struggle.

As Tigani Babiker pointed out, in those countries where exploiting classes came to power after independence, the state apparatus of the outgoing colonial regime has been preserved intact and is used to safeguard the interests of these classes and of neo-colonialism.

"Today," the speaker declared, "the defects of this colonial regime machinery of state and of the Western forms of democracy are becoming increasingly apparent . . . In their attempts to retard the advance of the revolution the reactionary rulers use this state apparatus to deceive and intimidate the people. They reject even Western democracy, tear up constitutions, suppress revolutionary parties and impose all kinds of restrictions on freedom of speech and movement. They trample upon parliamentary forms, engineer political assassinations and coups d'état."

"It is not fortuitous that the current struggle in Africa is pivoted on the issue of political power. Revolutionaries advocate a form of state which would really express the sentiment of the masses, secure their participation in running the state, the economy and other areas of public endeavor. This state cuts short the growth of capitalism and the encroachments of imperialism. We see this in Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, the UAR and in some other African countries."

"The ideologists of reaction and imperialism," Babiker went on, "are trying might and main to confuse the issue of political power. They shout from house-tops about 'dictatorship' and 'democracy.' But the fact is that any form of political power, be it a parliamentary, multi-party or one-party system or a naked military dictatorship, reflects the interests of a particular class or classes in society."

Michel Kamel in his speech said that "the advent to power of the new leadership and its control of the machinery of state often tempt it to take the easiest way: policy-making at the top and resort to sheer administrative methods. This trend is particularly popular among the classes influenced by capitalist ideology."

"Revolutionary governments," the speaker went on, "should rule in the interests of the revolution. They should employ the methods best suited to the specific conditions of the country. There are, however, some general demands which boil down to the following: strict party control over the entire machinery of state; reliance on the aid of the auxiliary bodies associated with the top political leadership; extensive cooperation with those engaged in the public sector; isolation of the reactionary, hostile elements and those classes which do not merit confidence; a firm system of joint responsibility; rejection of the idea of the personality cult and theories current in capitalist society. There should be one power only, the power of the working people."

Recalling the experience of the United Arab Republic, Dr. Fuad Mursi pointed out that the alliance embracing all the sound forces of the nation led to the creation of a special kind

of state relying on the working people for support. This state does not express the interests of a particular class but rather the interests of all the popular forces. In other words, it is a state, not of one class but of a number of revolutionary classes.

Asked what class plays the leading role in the UAR Fuad Mursi replied: "The leading role has been shared by various classes. In the first phase of progressive development it belonged to the national bourgeoisie. In the subsequent phase, which has not yet ended in the UAR, the leading role is played by the small bourgeoisie and its spokesmen—the revolutionary intellectuals. But of all classes and social strata the logic of life advances the working class to the foreground in building the new socialist society. The working class, however, will not be able to occupy this leading position until the peasant masses and revolutionary intellectuals recognize it as the leader, until they satisfy themselves that working-class leadership is the guarantee of complete and final victory."

EXTENDING DEMOCRACY—A VITAL CONDITION FOR PROGRESS

Democracy in the developing countries, in the political organization and in rallying the masses, was the subject of the contribution made by Michel Kamel.

"Success or setback," he said, "depends on the ability of the revolutionary force in power to rally the working people, explain to them the problems rising in the wake of gaining political independence, the problems associated with economic development, frankly telling the people about the difficulties they will have to overcome, admitting the mistakes and negative features which accompany success and progress. The people should also be organized on a truly democratic footing to enable them to take part in shaping the policy of the country and their future. In this way alone can the progressive regime resist the attempts made to overthrow it."

In the opinion of Kamel, "the revolutionary leadership can successfully uphold and consolidate its regime provided it fulfils two basic tasks, namely:

"(1) rid the national economy from imperialist domination after gaining political independence, and

"(2) ensure genuine democracy with due account to its social and political implications."

Tigani Babiker stressed the need to draw the masses into active participation in the political and economic activity of the state.

"The people's revolution, especially at its present stage in Africa," Babiker said, "is inconceivable without the full and active participation of the people in state affairs, in production and in other areas, without their political organization as creators and defenders of the revolution. Without this, despite all the good which the revolution brings, they may fall victim to the perfidious methods used by the re-

actionaries, and do nothing to defend the regime which safeguards their interests and welfare."

The advance of the African countries along the path of progress depends, according to Gamal El Etefi, on the ability of the leaders to combine socialism with democracy. Hence the significance of the main issue—democratization of political life as the condition of Africa's progress.

"Democracy," he said, "is a general term. There is hardly an independent African country whose Constitution does not include the slogan of democracy, equality and sovereignty of the people. But all too often this slogan is used merely as a screen for exploitation and injustice. In defining democracy, therefore, it is imperative to find out who wields power in the state, i.e., to answer the question: democracy for whom?"

"The existence of elected bodies," the speaker went on, "is not a genuine criterion of democracy if these serve only the interests of the exploiting minority. In the same way, the proclamation of political freedoms is not proof of the democracy of the regime if economic bondage deprives citizens of the possibility to enjoy the proclaimed freedoms. Nor is the existence of political parties a condition of democracy if these parties represent only the interests of the exploiting class commanding economic power.

"Genuine democracy presupposes that power is in the hands of the working people. This can be achieved only if the latter exercise control over the economy.

"Hence the close link between democracy and socialism, i.e., the need for socialist democracy when democracy is closely intertwined with socialist aims and is the means of their achievement.

"Building socialism is not a slogan. It is large-scale creative work requiring the efforts of millions. Experience has shown that in some African countries plans for economic development and socialist reconstruction were not fulfilled solely because the leaders failed to rally the masses, to advise them on the nature of the transition period. Moreover, the revolutionary leadership cannot successfully guard the revolution against deviations of all kinds and even against restoration of capitalist domination if the masses are not brought to an awareness of their responsibility. Support of the masses against colonial conspiracies can be secured only if the masses feel that they wield genuine power in the state, that democracy and freedom are not just words on paper."

Not in all countries can democracy be established according to a single pattern, Gamal El Etefi emphasized. Its forms will vary depending on the conditions in each country. African countries differ from each other in many respects with regard to social development. And distinctions in the social setting lead to different forms of democracy for the working people.

"Social progress in any country," the speaker said, "can be secured only if individual freedom is assured. African citizens, who for years have suffered from the despotism of colonial authorities, realize that the concept of power changes in a free society when the state no longer represents the interests of imperialism. The important thing is not simply to incorporate into the Constitution clauses on rights, but to extend the possibilities of utilizing these rights, provide economic and political guarantees which will enhance the creative activity of the free African citizen and enable him directly to take part in developing his country."

Dr. Fuad Mursi described the experience of the UAR in this respect.

"Democracy for the working people," he said, "affects every aspect of our life, beginning with *production*. Institutions of political democracy can be established, but democracy will be reduced to nought if it is wanting in agriculture or in the industrial enterprises. Moreover, the very fate of the public sector depends on democracy in production, since the latter is the basis for its development. Democratization of production is embodied in the principle of workers' co-management. This presupposes the establishment of people's control, participation by the working people in drawing up and fulfilling production plans, presupposes drawing the workers in each mill and factory into management on a democratic footing.

"Great significance is attached to *democracy in the localities*. The UAR National Charter has implemented a genuinely democratic principle by transferring part of the powers to the local authorities, in which half the seats belong to the workers and peasants."

6. CONSOLIDATION OF AFRICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY

Ways and means of achieving and consolidating African anti-imperialist unity were discussed at length. Speakers reviewed the activity of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and noted its positive and negative aspects.

Among those who spoke on this subject were Kamal Eldin El Khayari (Algeria), Madeira Keita (Mali), Abdoulaye Kone (Cameroon), Richard Andriamanjato (Madagascar), Gaston Somialo (Congo—Kinshasa), Lotfi El-Kholi and Abu Seif Youssouf (*At-Talia*).

"The formation of the OAU," said Abu Seif Youssouf, "is the greatest gain of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces because, despite the differences which found expression at the Addis Ababa summit, the meeting was marked by the inexorable urge of the African peoples towards unity and liberation.

"The persevering and steadfast struggle of the African peoples waged under the slogan of independence and unity has found organizational expression in the OAU which, its limitations notwithstanding, has proved its efficacy in dealing with African problems.

"The establishment of the OAU has reaffirm-

ed that the African peoples want African unity to be realized in full and that they place the interests of this unity above the interests of the governments and political groupings.

"The OAU, a factor promoting the struggle of progressive mankind for peace and for the abolition of imperialism, has enhanced the prestige of Africa in the international arena and in UNO; it has enabled the African peoples, or at least growing numbers of them, to adopt common positions on such issues as discontinuation of nuclear testing, racial discrimination and dismantling military bases.

"The fact that the OAU demands that Africa be declared a nuclear-free zone is an important contribution of the African peoples to the fight for world peace.

"The formation of the OAU has extended the field of concrete cooperation between the African countries. There is no denying that trade contacts between many countries belonging to this organization have become closer. There is greater cooperation in the study of economic, social and cultural problems and in exchange of experience."

Along with positively assessing the experience of the OAU, speakers levelled criticism at this organization. In essence the criticism was that the OAU has by far not always coped with the tasks set forth in its Charter. It was pointed out further that the decisions and practical actions of the organization do not always harmonize with the present stage of the struggle, the stage when growing significance is attached to deep-going social changes against imperialism, utilizing both old and new forms of expansion, is trying to launch a counter-offensive.

Most speakers stressed that, despite the difficulties and the shortcomings, the OAU is an important instrument in the common struggle waged by the African peoples against imperialism, for complete liberation and social progress. Many warned against a nihilist approach to the OAU which some people tend to regard one-sidedly as an alliance of heads of state of countries with neo-colonialist regimes against their peoples. It was stressed that none of the difficulties experienced by the OAU can or should obscure the progressive potentialities inherent in this organization, nor should they sow doubt among African peoples because in the final analysis the cause of unity will triumph. Abu Seif Youssouf maintained that the following basic factors were the earnest of this victory:

a) the changed balance of forces in favor of socialism, democracy and national liberation;

b) the new correlation in Africa which enables the revolutionary forces to carry out their activities on a broader scale, to unite freely without any imperialist influence or interference and thus find practical answers to the problem of African unity;

c) the new alignment of the class forces in African society, which has enabled the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and

progressives in the armed forces, i.e., those who form the socio-political vanguard, to advance to the fore.

"These factors," the speaker went on, "have imparted a new national content to African unity, a content which extends the front against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They have also imparted to African unity a new social content, signifying the realization of the need for cooperation in order to put an end to the backwardness and achieve economic, social and cultural progress."

The conclusion was drawn that, being a vital necessity, African unity can be translated into reality only thanks to the activity of the revolutionary forces. Many expressed the view that in order to achieve this unity it is necessary above all to support and uphold the OAU, its anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist content.

The call to unite the forces of the African peoples for struggles against the survivals of the colonial system, against the outrageous sallies of imperialism resounded with renewed force.

"The liberation movement in Africa has not yet reached all its aims," Kamal Eldin El Khayari warned. "Colonialism and neo-colonialism are doing their utmost to deceive the peoples and bring about internal divisions. They resort to sabotage and do not stop even at armed intervention to maintain their rule in Africa.

"However, the African peoples are learning from their experience. They realize that persevering struggle is the only way. They also realize the need to rally all the progressive forces in a united front, and they are aware of the need for support from the progressive, socialist forces on the international scale.

"This will enable the progressive states of Africa to play a greater part in international politics. They will be in a better position to make their contribution to easing international tensions, to solving the problems of world development and of the struggle against colonial policy."

In a message to the seminar the Algerian delegation declared on behalf of the National-Liberation Front:

"Algeria is an African country directly interested in the complete liberation of our continent. The Algerian people will always be with their brothers in their struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa, against colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and 'Portuguese' Guinea, against the racist government in Rhodesia."

While granting the significance of broad African unity, some of the speakers expressed the view that orientation solely towards extending the front does certain harm to the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle since in this case the revolutionary forces draw into their ranks wavering, shilly-shallying elements, which enables the imperialists to infiltrate among them a kind of "fifth column."

"We should not underestimate, either theo-

retically or historically, the importance of joint action and the fact that it brings relative gains on a broad front," said Lotfi El-Kholi. "But we should regard this action as a 'supporting' one, and not as the main action of the revolutionary forces."

Wherever it is difficult to secure joint action at government level, it was pointed out, the revolutionary struggle can develop on the basis of unity of the most progressive forces. Abu Seif Youssouf, for example, maintained that united action by the revolutionary forces should be envisaged at three levels:

a) At the level of the national revolutionary parties and organizations of the entire continent;

b) At the level of trade unions and other public organizations;

c) At the level of the ruling revolutionary parties in the countries opting for the socialist way of development.

Several contributions displayed what could be regarded as a somewhat oversimplified understanding of the unity of revolutionary forces. The delegates of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Congo (Kinshasa), for example, called upon the ruling parties of the advanced countries always and everywhere to join hands with organizations waging a struggle against neo-colonialist regimes. However, the seminar supported the view expressed by Richard Andriamanjato that unity does not at all mean uniformity of the struggle. The conditions in which the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties work in their countries, the commitments imposed on them in guiding the destinies of their peoples, and the constructive tasks confronting them necessitate on their part greater flexibility and weighing up of the pros and cons, since it is against them that the intrigues of imperialism are spearheaded.

Such countries as the UAR, Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Algeria were qualified at the seminar as bastions of progress in Africa. The meeting agreed with Ali Yata's view that these countries are in the forefront of the African revolution, that it is the paramount duty of every genuine revolutionary to support and defend them.

7. THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION — PART OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The significance of the African revolution and its place in the world revolutionary process were discussed by Mac Laurin (Senegal), Khaled Mohi El-Din (UAR), Youssef Samantar (Somali), Gaston Somialo (Congo-Kinshasa), Mohammed Rifae (Morocco), Lotfi El-Kholi (*At-Talia*), Alexander Sobolev and Tigani Babiker (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*).

"Marxists believe," said Dr. Alexander Sobolev, "that the world revolutionary process consists of three independent, equal, interconnected and interrelated currents.

"There is the revolutionary current, represented by the socialist countries, steadily ad-

vancing, developing and deepening social progress, exploring new ways of social development. The socialist countries and their growing strength are an important driving force of the grand processes of transformation now changing the social, political and spiritual contours of our planet.

"There is the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, which is delivering shattering blows to monopoly capital in its citadel, shattering the very foundations of the domination of capital, registering gains in the fight to overthrow monopoly capitalism and achieve socialism.

"There is the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America fighting for genuine national freedom, for deep-going democratic change, for social progress and a prosperous economy."

It was stressed that the unity of these revolutionary currents and their mutual assistance are decisive for the success of the revolutionary actions of each of the currents, guaranteeing a bright future for mankind as a whole.

The realization of the oneness and the interlocking of the African revolution with the processes taking place in the world was reflected in the concern voiced by speakers in view of the activation of imperialism and reaction in Latin America, the Arab East, Asia, and above all in Vietnam.

"Our struggle," said Gaston Somialo, "is an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process. Therefore we support the just and heroic struggle waged by the people of South Vietnam. We condemn the bombing by the U.S. aggressors of the territory of North Vietnam. We maintain that not to support the people of Vietnam is treachery and a crime against humanity."

Addressing the seminar on behalf of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, Tigran Babiker said:

"The African revolution is not self-contained, for the revolutionary cause all over the world is indivisible. Our enemies, the imperialists and reactionaries, are fully aware of this and that is why they seek to sow the seeds of discord, doubt and division. They realize that by delivering blows to any of the links of the world revolutionary movement they weaken it as a whole and, consequently, strengthen their own positions.

"We believe that African revolutionaries should not be neutral towards developments in other countries of the world.

"We believe that we voice the opinion of all of you when we express our firm support for the people of the Syrian Arab Republic who are determinedly and valiantly combating the imperialist and reactionary intrigues seeking to crush their glorious revolution.

"We also believe that we reflect your unanimous opinion by denouncing the brutal American aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam—the aggression which is driving the world into the abyss of a total war. We believe

that we express your feelings in declaring our support and backing for the heroic people of Vietnam who are resisting with increasing determination the biggest military imperialist country in the world. We are certain that all peoples of the world will intensify their struggle to check the American aggressors, to help the people of Vietnam gain victory and to enable them freely to determine their own destiny."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Many speakers stressed that cooperation with the socialist world is not only necessary and useful for African countries but also vital for the defense of their revolutionary gains, that this cooperation plus national revolutionary leadership is for the masses an earnest of the success of their efforts aimed at securing full independence and progress.

Mac Laurin expressed the view that the aid and solidarity of the socialist countries were of the greatest help in consolidating the progressive regimes in Guinea, Mali, the Congo (Brazzaville), in helping the UAR to withstand the economic and political onslaught of imperialism.

Youssef Samantar, elaborating on the vital need of cooperation with the socialist countries for Africa, declared: "Only thanks to the fraternal assistance of the USSR has our country been able to secure the advance of its agriculture and industry . . . The difference between the aid extended by the socialist countries and that of the capitalist countries of the West is more than obvious."

A lively discussion developed around the question who should enjoy first of all the direct material and technological aid of the socialist countries. Gaston Somialo categorically declared that this aid should be granted solely to the revolutionary governments and movements waging a struggle against reactionary regimes. Richard Andriamanjato observed that any aid from the socialist countries objectively strengthens the revolutionary forces in all the countries of Africa and helps deepen the anti-imperialist awareness of their people. The field, he said, should not be left free to the imperialists, whose actions should be checked wherever possible.

The direct aid of the socialist countries, as the seminar demonstrated, is appreciated and considered a necessity by the African revolutionaries. At the same time, as Khaled Mohi El-Din justly pointed out, the socialist states are not in a position to meet all the requirements of the underdeveloped countries. Hence they cannot be expected to shoulder the whole burden of the economic aid. The important and decisive thing, however, is that their aid to the underdeveloped countries provides among other things a weapon in the fight to secure Western aid without strings.

The participants also pointed out the importance of the direct and indirect impact of the

socialist world system on all social, political and ideological relations in Africa, and acknowledged that from all points of view the socialist countries are the most sincere and consistent allies of the African peoples in their fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for social progress, that they stand by the African working people and are prepared to march with them toward the victory of socialism.

* * *

The Cairo meeting and its results evoked a broad response among progressives in different countries, and above all on the African continent.

Newspapers and journals stressed the spirit of unity which was a feature of the seminar and is particularly necessary for the African revolutionaries today, in the face of the activation of the forces of imperialism and reaction. As the progressive English *Labor Monthly* (London) commented, "gathered in Cairo, for the first time, were leaders and theoreticians from widely distant regions of Africa and for that matter of various schools of revolutionary thought and approach. Yet the temper was one of unity and fraternity, of a common language of resistance to colonialism and of conviction that the road towards scientific socialism is the only way to securing and extending true independence."

"The fact that the seminar was attended by the most dynamic revolutionary cadres, representatives of the African masses, that the discussions were held in an atmosphere of frank-

ness, democracy and objectivity," commented *Révolution Africaine*, central organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, "makes it possible to see the new, fruitful perspectives opening up before our continent."

The Sudan Communist Party published a series of articles with a detailed elucidation of the discussion in Cairo. Reviews of the discussion and individual contributions are published in the Cairo *At-Talia*, in *African Communist*, organ of the South African Communist Party, etc.

Advance, organ of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria, pointed out that "Africa is at war with imperialism, a war in which ideas are the most important weapons. The dynamic and creative ideas, the profound unity of purpose and language, which emerged in Cairo, are a heartening sign of the maturity of our advanced leaders, their determination and ability to win the complete emancipation of Africa, her unity and her advance to socialism."

In the bitter political and ideological struggle currently raging on the African continent, the conservative, anti-socialist forces have the all-round support of imperialism, they receive ideological comfort from the apologists for capitalism, reformism and anti-communism. In this connection the meeting stressed the necessity and importance of further deep-going and collective elaboration of theoretical and ideological problems of the continent with active support from the world revolutionary movement.

The 17th Congress of the Belgian Communists

THE 17th CONGRESS of the Belgian Communist Party, held in Brussels over December 10-11, was attended by 258 delegates and by visiting delegations from fourteen fraternal parties.

The dominant theme of the Congress — the transition to a new stage on the way to an alliance of the popular forces and the elaboration of a corresponding political program — figured prominently in the report submitted by Party Chairman Ernest Burnelle, in the speeches of many delegates and at the numerous pre-congress meetings of the Party organizations.

Let us see how political developments in the country justify the attention devoted to this question by the Belgian Communists.

THE DECLINE OF THE "ATLANTIC SOLIDARITY FRONT"

The work of the Party since its 16th Congress in October 1965 proceeded in two main directions: struggle against NATO and the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and active search for ways of building a democratic front capable of defeating the government's policy inspired by big business.

A certain success was achieved in this respect.

The unreserved and ever more frequent condemnation of the outrageous U.S. aggression by most Belgians makes continued loyalty to NATO increasingly uncomfortable for the ruling circles. No one can rebut the Communists' charge that on this issue the official attitude no longer enjoys public support.

Moreover voices are being raised in political circles doubting the expediency of the swollen military budget and the validity of the refusal to seat China in the United Nations; people are urging a search for a new road leading to dissociation from the policy of military blocs, and alarm is expressed over the revival of fascism in Federal Germany.

Thus, the ideology and the system that keeps Belgium in the NATO framework are subjected to criticism. The usefulness of NATO membership is questioned, and the idea of replacing the military blocs by a European security system is gaining ground.

The latter had its starting point in working-class organizations, and specifically in the General Federation of Labor, a Social Democratic mass organization in which Communists take part.

Progress has been made by the peace movement, stimulated by numerous organizations widely representative of public opinion and often joined officially by the big trade unions. On March 4 a public demonstration for peace in Vietnam is to be held in the capital, to demand an immediate end to the U.S. air raids on North Vietnam, withdrawal of U.S. troops as a requisite for the exercise of the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and no Belgian participation or assistance in the U.S. aggression on the plea of "Atlantic solidarity." Politicians, trade union leaders and intellectuals of all trends are taking part in preparing the demonstration. The organizing committee is headed for the first time by the new cardinal, Cardijn, known as the founder of the Young Christian Workers' movement. This is an indication of an important evolution taking place among the Belgian Christian circles.

Youth organizations and school committees have launched preparations for their big annual anti-nuclear march at the end of April. As the years go by the numbers of young people taking part in this march grow ever larger. Last year the number of marchers reached 30,000.

In April 1966 our Central Committee stressed the need for a peace plan for the country's foreign policy which would envisage refusal to accept the NATO European command headquarters (SHAPE), evicted recently by the French government, adherence to a constructive policy of European security, and preparation for a nationwide referendum on the question of Belgium's withdrawal from NATO.

These ideas gained wide support following the government's announcement last August of its project to locate SHAPE in Belgium. Opposition became so widespread that men of all parties had to state their views on the subject. The government, which had intended to do without having the matter debated in parliament, had to submit its proposals to the

Chamber of Deputies. Even the pro-government majority had to admit little enthusiasm for the project.

Round about this time an event occurred which we regard as being quite significant; the break-up of the "Atlantic solidarity" in foreign-policy matters between the three big parties which have ruled Belgium in turn since the end of World War Two — the Social Christian, Socialist and Liberal parties.

The solidarity was punctured by the Socialist Party's opposition to stationing SHAPE in Belgium.

The rupture, evidently irrevocable, will impel the Socialists to search for an alternative foreign policy.

This explains why our 17th Congress, in outlining its program for 1967, suggested a new approach in fighting for peace, for a foreign policy envisaging the dissolution of the military blocs, Belgium's withdrawal from NATO and her independent and effective initiatives to stop the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and build a system of European security.

THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM AND THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

Lately the bourgeoisie has been confronted with new difficulties in the matter of the two nationalities, a matter which greatly affects political life in Belgium.

Belgium, it will be recalled, is inhabited by two nationalities each residing in a particular part of the country. Flemings slightly outnumber the French-speaking Walloons. The anarchic, irresponsible policy of the Belgian capitalists has added economic disparities to the differences in language and traditions. For example, the southern (Walloon) provinces were for a long time areas of considerable economic development thanks to their heavy and allied industries based on the local coalfields, whereas the Flemish provinces in the north remained relatively underdeveloped, serving as suppliers of farm produce and a source of cheap labor for the capitalists. At best they boasted little islands of the textile industry, the great port of Antwerp and the Campine coalmines.

But since the end of the war and especially in the past ten years, things have changed. The capitalists began to close the southern mines as no longer profitable within the framework of the European Coal and Steel Community, with the result that many engineering enterprises, glass-works and other industries were affected and, ultimately, went out of business. And now the Common Market threatens what remains of heavy industry in the southern coal basins of Liege and Charleroi. The northern areas on the other hand have become the scene of a rapid but utterly disorderly industrialization in which U.S. capital actively participates.

These changes accelerated the outbreak of social conflict and the growth of nationalist feeling in the two countries, leading to the

emergence of legitimate and specific demands.

Complying with the wishes of the moneybags, successive governments have turned a blind eye, even to the most elementary of these demands. Understandably, the reactionaries are happy with this state of affairs and fear any extension of the democratic rights of the two communities.

For years past our Party has advocated a federal state in which each community would enjoy extensive democratic rights in the economic, social and cultural spheres. That, in our view, is the only way to preserve fraternal accord between the two ethnic groups, sealed by the years of common life and struggle. This idea, gaining ever broader recognition, is strongly supported by the workers of the south and is winning more supporters in the north.

This democratic action in the economic and social spheres is connected with the fight for structural reforms the concrete stages of which are crystallizing in the workers' demands for control over capital investment and over the use of state subsidies by the capitalists, guarantees against dismissal, against unemployment and the closure of factories.

A dramatic event took place last year at the northern Zwartberg colliery when the miners, supported by the local people, declared a protest strike against the threat to close the pit. The gendarmes opened fire on a demonstration and killed three people. The working class of the country was outraged. Workers in the southern areas sent delegations and messages of solidarity, collected money and organized work stoppages. The strike soon ended with the conclusion of an agreement which the government had to make effective for all Belgian coal mines. Specifically, under this agreement a miner cannot be dismissed until another job is found for him.

Currently the Communists and the trade unions are working for the Zwartberg agreement to cover all workers and all threatened industries.

The 17th Congress of our Party set the following top-priority objectives: federal and democratic rights for the national communities; the right to referendum on the initiative of the people; universality of the principle of consulting the people; job security, and the application of the Zwartberg agreement in all areas and in all industries; measures to guarantee a secure existence, and workers' control at all levels.

THE COMMON TRADE UNION FRONT

Big strike actions continued throughout 1966, thwarting the employers' attempts to restrict the scope of the social and wage demands submitted by the unions.

The beginning of the year witnessed a success for, women workers employed in the Herstal armories in Liege. The initial purpose of the strike, which lasted many weeks, was to secure respect for Article 119 of the Treaty

of Rome (which founded the Common Market) concerning equal pay, but subsequently a whole complex of demands was submitted. This strike for a demand which concerned workers in all the Common Market countries was enthusiastically supported outside Belgium.

A new and important stage on the road to working-class unity for which our Party is working set in with the emergence of the trade union Common Front based on a clear-cut program of demands. Thanks to the workers' vigilance this active and solid front has successfully resisted reactionary sallies and survived what could be mildly described as an uncharitable attitude on the part of some Social Democratic and even trade union leaders. The Common Front has become an important element of the country's social and political life.

Its strength was displayed in the workers' manifestation for job security which took place in the iron and steel center of Charleroi the day after the Communist Party's congress. The appeal of working-class unity was such that the manifestation not only attracted some 40,000 participants, it also evoked a solidarity movement of the administrative and technical personnel, workers in other industries and shopkeepers, and — an entirely new phenomenon—it was supported by the local clergy in their Sunday sermons.

The Common Front incorporates the two big trade union centers — the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions and the General Federation of Labor. In the latter, Socialists and Communists are working side by side. The Common Front, which coordinates the struggles of the working people of the two national communities on a nationwide scale, has already won many demands.

The Communists attach great importance to the Common Front, seeing in it the embryo of broader working-class alliances.

The Common Front has been gaining in strength parallel with the growing demand of GFL members that their center dissociate itself from the opportunist practices of the Socialist Party. The latter's policy of a government alliance with reaction has come in for particularly sharp criticism. Hence the demand of the Social Democratic members of the Federation for independence in respect to the policy of Right-wing Social Democrats.

This movement should be appraised as a break with the policy of class collaboration and opportunism. It has its source in the trade union organization where Communists and Socialists meet and which serves as the point of departure for the slow but already tangible changes in the Socialist Party.

For instance, not long ago the forces who can be described as the Left in the Socialist Party, i.e., people sensitive to working-class pressure, won a majority on important political issues.

Early last year this Left trend was confirmed by the resignation of the Socialist ministers,

despite the striving of the Right to maintain the collaboration at all costs.

These developments have attracted the attention of the Communists, who see in them a promise of more significant changes, given well-organized work among the masses and consistent struggle for democracy in the trade unions.

FOR NEW UNITY

This highly complex political movement, which is growing in scale, embracing such broad and diverse issues as peace, job security, structural reforms, social demands, democratic rights, federalism, and so on, confronts the national bourgeoisie with grave difficulties.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the 17th Congress of our Party, in its analysis of the situation in which the bourgeoisie found itself, expressed the view that reaction had reached a political impasse. For it is a fact that reaction is encountering growing resistance, that its principal political objectives are being criticized. This explains why the national bourgeoisie finds itself at a dead end in foreign policy, in the economic sphere, in the problem of the relations between the two national communities and, lastly, in the attempts to form a viable government.

The consequences of this crisis are felt by the main traditional parties. As for the two reactionary parties, they are being rent by antagonisms. The Socialist Party, despite an undeniable turn to the Left, has not yet worked out new and coherent positions, an alternative democratic program. The Right-wing persists in its facade of opposition to the reactionary government.

Hence the attention which the Communist congress devoted to the elaboration of a program of immediate action as opposed to the confusion and political deadlock of the bourgeoisie. To be effective, this program must have concrete aims which could quickly rally the masses. I have already described some of the points of the program. It is clear that seemingly revolutionary general slogans cannot serve the working class as an instrument in a hard and complex struggle. Against a national bourgeoisie versed in the art of politics and drawing on the experience of a century of economic administration, the combat weapon of the working class must be sharp and effective. This explains why the "pro-Chinese" splinter group of Grippa in our country has failed in its efforts to penetrate into the factories and workers' organizations.

The Belgian bourgeoisie, seeing the difficulties, is determined to cling to power. Despite its comfortable parliamentary majority, it is talking of "special powers" for the government which would enable it to handle the delicate problems without having to worry about parliament. This is an eloquent admission of its weakness and of lack of confidence in its ranks.

This situation poses the question of what is to replace the present Government. It is quite

possible that this time we shall see not simply the replacement of one ministerial team by another, to continue a policy whose orientation will remain basically unchanged. The real issue is that of changing the orientation of Belgian policy, of preparing for a Left democratic alternative.

From this the Communist Party deduces that the issue of unity presents itself in a new way today, that an active dialogue should be started with organizations and members of the Socialist Party and the trade unions on concrete actions leading up to the elaboration of an alternative program.

This will not be an easy matter, but the powerful striving of the working class for unity and the experience gained by the Communists since their Vilvorde Congress in 1954 make it possible to hope for success.

FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

"Thinking of the massive aid of the socialist

countries to Vietnam, I would like to say on your behalf that we regard it as the duty of all the socialist countries, without exception, to coordinate their actions so as to render them more powerful and effective," said Ernest Burnelle at the 17th Congress. "Not a single socialist country "can ignore this demand for unity, because U.S. imperialism draws strength only from our disunity.

"On the question of unity of the world Communist movement, I would like to repeat that our Party is now, as in the past, in favor of a world conference of the Communist parties."

The 1960 conference, the Chairman of our Party continued, was a useful gathering. It enabled us to make a joint analysis of the international situation and helped each of us in our work at home. Six years have passed since then, and events have been developing by leaps and bounds. It is necessary—at a moment which will be found most appropriate — to get together to review the state of things and rally our ranks.

Urbain COUSSEMENT

From the experience of the Communist Party of Spain:

VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE IN THE FIGHT FOR A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SPAIN

THE RESULTS OF the recent trade union elections organized by the official vertical unions demonstrated the strength of the new working-class movement in our country. They also proved that the only fascist organization that still plays a certain role has become utterly discredited.

One gets the impression that this victory surprised many people in Spain and abroad. Not so the Spanish Communists, who expected it.

The trade union elections were in substance a big battle waged by our people, headed by the working class, against the fascist-led unions. The results speak of the real strength of the different labor organizations in the country.

The socialist, anarchist and nationalist leaders exhorted the workers not to take part. But their exhortations went unheeded. In their mass the workers, following the lead of the Communist Party, decided to participate in order to elect the men and women, known for their militancy, nominated by the factory committees.

The success clearly showed the political influence wielded by the Communist Party among the working class, demonstrated its ability to rally the masses. It also showed that the 27 years of unceasing struggle against fascism have not been in vain. The phase of anarchism's and social-democracy's sway has come to an end. Today the leading role belongs to the Communist Party.

This confronts us with new and still more responsible tasks. We must not become dizzy with success. The victory should be the prelude to bigger and more decisive victories.

Right now we must prepare the general 24-hour strike which could be turned into a truly nationwide movement against the dictatorship and for democracy. This will require the maximum effort, especially on the part of the working class.

The immediate task, therefore, is to strengthen the Party and also the Communist Youth League, politically and numerically. And it is on this important matter that we should like to express some views.

The scale and character of the new working-class movement, and the popular movement in general, imperatively call for a strong party whose presence would be felt everywhere and which would be able to play a guiding and organizing role in all mass actions.

For many years now, and particularly since the big strikes and demonstrations in the spring of 1962, we have been working, undeterred by the difficult conditions of the dictatorship, to create a truly mass party; and we have achieved highly satisfactory results.

However, the question is now posed differently. The high level of the mass struggle, and the possibility of putting an end in the near future to the dictatorship and opening a new stage of democratic development in Spain imperatively necessitates a much stronger party, a party numbering not tens, but hundreds of thousands of members. The Party can and should include all Spaniards who are ready to join it and who accept its program, all who are already acting Communists in different spheres of social life.

We think, for instance, that a very considerable proportion of the 200,000 trade union delegates and 20,000 factory committee members elected in the last elections are ready to join the Communist Party. They will thereby strengthen their positions and will be better equipped to fight for the interests of the working people who have reposed confidence in them. At the same time this would infuse new vigor into the Party and enhance its vanguard role.

We also aim to enrol thousands of new members from among the peasants and agricultural laborers. It is true that the specific conditions of Spanish agriculture (the exodus of poor peasants and farm hands from the countryside in quest of work in the industrial cities or abroad) create innumerable organizational difficulties. But we can and must surmount these difficulties, especially considering that more than 30 per cent of the gainfully employed population and nearly half of all Spaniards live and work in agricultural regions.

Special attention should be paid to members of the Farmers' and Cattle-Breeders' Association. Many of them we are sure are striving for the socio-political changes championed by the Communist Party. We will find many new members in the cooperatives and in the other legal peasant organizations. An important role in organizing the working people of the countryside can be played by Communists who are not themselves peasants but who live and work in the rural areas. These include teachers, office employees, doctors and people of other professions.

When speaking of strengthening the Party we have in mind also the students and intellectuals, the middle strata and the liberal professions. Their participation in the mass movement has acquired wide scope in recent years.

We attach considerable importance, too, to winning over the new generation of workers. The age of most of those elected as trade union

delegates and members of factory committees ranges from 23 to 35 years. Although most members of our Party belong to the younger generation it is obvious that we must do everything to attract thousands more. As far as the students are concerned all the conditions exist for greatly extending our organization among them, for the Communist Party is acting more and more as the most reliable representative of their specific interests.

Finally, we should like to stress the entry of many women into the Party. The growth of class consciousness among women in all walks of life—in industry and agriculture, in the universities and among the intelligentsia generally—is an overall trend. This is borne out by many facts: the participation of young women in the democratic student movement; the actions of peasant women in the recent strikes and peasant movements in Santander, Asturias, Galicia, Lerida and in other agricultural regions, and, last but not least, the election of more than 10,000 women as trade union delegates and of nearly a thousand as members of committees in factories employing a hundred workers and upwards.

We have achieved considerable success in our work also among the administrative and technical staff in industry; this will enable us to draw many of these people into the Party and the Communist Youth League.

Such is the primary task to be tackled in the organizational sphere and we mean to spare no effort to accomplish it.

The new policy of bringing thousands of new members into the Party and Youth League calls for greater flexibility and organizing ability.

In the light of our experience and taking into account the specific features of Spain it is clear that such a policy would have been impossible if we had followed the old pattern of work, that the building of a mass party, strictly organized in groups and along other classical lines, would have been a sheer utopia.

By no means minimizing the importance of organization, and particularly the highest forms of organization, for a party of the new type which ours is, we at the same time think that in view of its illegal status and the repressions to which members are still subjected, it is important to find the most suitable ways of organizing the Communists and coordinating their political work among the masses.

Lenin wrote in 1905 that it is not enough "merely to increase the number of organizations of the old type . . . It is necessary for all comrades to devise new forms of organization by their independent, creative joint efforts. It is impossible to lay down any predetermined standards for this, for we are working in an entirely new field: a knowledge of local conditions, and above all the initiative of *all* Party members must be brought into play."

That is what the Spanish Communists are doing: not being slaves to routine and custom, we are boldly overcoming the obstacles. We are creating a new type of organization that is dy-

namic, flexible and effective, permitting us to use the energy of all members and to take the hurdles constantly cropping up as a consequence of our illegal status.

We do not disregard the most simple and embryonic forms of organization which at this stage of the struggle still help to draw the thousands of members into the day-to-day activities of the Party and to reach a higher level of work as the situation improves and difficulties are overcome.

We think that this organizational policy is the only correct one. It enables us not only to draw a large number of new members into the Party but also more effectively to rally and set in motion the thousands of veteran Communists who encountered numerous difficulties in their work in the various organizations of the Party.

In this respect we have acquired very rich experience. Flexibility in organizational work has furthered the development of the mass movement, and in the first place, the working-class movement. Today hundreds, and possibly thousands, of Communists play a leading role in the workers' commissions, in the varied militant activity of the peasants, students, intellectuals and middle sections.

Let us examine briefly other aspects of our organizational work and basic tasks.

We constantly emphasize that every member of the Party and of the Youth League should be involved in the general movement of the people against the dictatorship; that every Communist should strive to become a leader of the masses, a person really connected with the people and carrying on intensive social work.

We say that the time has passed when to maintain the "sacred flame" in the hearts of the people was a great thing and an important aim of the Communists. We stress that the Party cannot develop without the mass movement. The Party and the mass movement are complementary. We do not consider it dangerous to "reveal" members of the Party for the purpose of drawing them into the open forms of activity of the working-class or student movement. Far from diminishing the strength of the Party this will increase it and enhance the Party's leading role.

During the trade union elections we recommended that Communists accept without reservation their nomination by workers. We hold that their election was not, and is not, a hindrance to their political and party work. Just the contrary. This becomes particularly clear in the light of our policy "to surface" and act with still greater determination and initiative and to show our face, the face of the Communist. We aim to win legal status for the Party through unceasing struggle. Legality for each member is feasible already today; it depends primarily on our initiative and ability to occupy the positions the enemy is obliged gradually to surrender.

All this merely confirms, once again, the importance of being in close contact with the

mass movement, the importance of "merging" with the masses.

A few words about the leading bodies of the Party at the present time. One of our guiding principles is that the Party committees at all levels, beginning with the Central Committee and ending with the branches, must include the most competent and active Communists who are closely connected with the daily struggle.

Of course, strict application of this principle encounters certain difficulties, difficulties due to Spanish reality and, above all, to the illegal position of the Party.

Many of our functionaries openly participate in the new movement of workers, students and intellectuals, and in other spheres of mass activity. These comrades are known to the masses. They are also known to the sleuths of the dictatorship. We therefore try to release them from activity that involves the danger of persecution.

However, it is essential that these competent and authoritative Communists should not remain outside the Party committees at all levels.

How to achieve this? This is one of the problems we are trying to resolve as best as possible in each concrete instance.

Fortunately, it is becoming easier from day to day to cope with these difficulties. Formerly, when the whole weight of the police apparatus was thrown against us, when the regime was strong and the masses were disorganized as a result of the terrible defeat of 1939 and the brutal reprisals of the forties, any leading activity by people known to the police was difficult indeed. Today the situation is different. The authorities can no longer strictly "control" the thousands of Communists who have been arrested two or three times. The position of the Communist Party is defended by thousands of labor leaders at crowded meetings of working people. Students and intellectuals now openly participate in the mass movement, as do many other sections of the population in one form or another. The vanguard of the working class and the people has grown considerably. Today not only the miners of Asturias are in the front ranks. They have been joined by thousands of workers in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, the Basque country and other industrial centers; by students, peasants and intellectuals who are participating on an increasing scale in the political life of the country. Demoralization is spreading in the institutions which used to be the main support of fascism. Franco and his clique are having to retreat. The Special Military Tribunal has been abolished. This is one of the biggest victories in recent years. The new Tribunal of Public Order, although still an emergency organ, lacks the power to pass the monstrous sentences that were the custom of the Military Tribunal under the notorious Colonel Eymar. This and many other facts permit us to maintain that the present situation is far more favorable than was the case a few years ago.

Hence it is vitally necessary, and also pos-

sible, to include in the leading committees of the Party comrades who possess the required qualities, even though they are known to the authorities because of their open activity. To be sure, the most suitable forms should be found to ensure the normal functioning of the respective Party organizations. The comrades in question should not be burdened with tasks of secondary importance or of a clandestine nature, for this might imperil their main work. Finding the right solution to these problems will only benefit us. The Party will then indeed become the vanguard of the working class and the people, the perspicacious political leader of the masses and the most conscious organization of the entire movement.

The Central Committee, itself a fairly large body, despite illegal conditions, includes, besides the veterans and the nucleus ensuring continuity of leadership, many younger Communists who have over the years proved their ability to give political leadership and their devotion to the cause of the working class. Naturally their names are not known for obvious reasons. But their contribution to the major task of the Party and its Central Committee, that of elaborating the political line and analyzing the situation, is a most important and valuable one.

As regards the provincial, local and factory committees and the committees in the residential areas, here too we are anxious that they should include the most dedicated and competent Communists who are closely associated with the masses and know their problems. Only in this way will it be possible creatively to apply the Party's policy in the said committees.

In conclusion, a few words about a problem we consider to be important and which concerns the methods employed by us to ensure the leading role of the Party in the mass movement.

In a recent article in *Mundo Obrero*, Comrade Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Party, writes:

"The Party does not claim to be the sole force in the mass movement, the sole organizer of all the actions. The Party proclaims the need for union. However, in the framework of this union, in the people's movement the Party is the motive power, the vanguard, the yeast without which the dough will not rise. Wherever the Party is it shows the way, blazing the trail, and there the struggle develops and becomes a decisive factor . . . We Communists consider that by strengthening the Party politically and organizationally we are contributing to the fight for democracy and socialism in Spain."

A great responsibility rests with the Communists participating in the mass movement. Their task is to help advance this movement, to extend it, to impart to it an ever more profound content, to elaborate higher forms of organization and struggle.

This should be done in close contact with the masses and other political trends participating in the struggle jointly with us. It is a question

first and foremost of the Catholics, who are the most active participants, after the Communists, in the struggle for social and political democracy. There are also other forces which though less important should be taken into account at present and in the future.

The Communists should treasure unity with all trends in the popular movement. This unitary attitude is not a matter of transient tactical considerations; it is an integral part of the Party's strategy.

Unity multiplies the strength of the masses. It is their most effective weapon. It must be consolidated every day. But not for a moment should we allow any underestimation of the importance of the Party.

The methods of Party leadership in the mass movement should not, therefore, be understood in a narrow sense. Our comrades do not impose their proposals but contrast them to the proposals made by other forces. If it is sometimes necessary to yield a point we do so unhesitatingly. Needless to say, on matters of principle we take a firm stand. But in this instance it is not a question of principle, but of a series of concrete situations that must be taken into account. A concession of secondary importance can sometimes make for much greater advance.

We are well aware that the other forces participating with us in the mass movement represent rather important sections of the population who should not be arbitrarily discounted.

Furthermore, we Communists do not pretend to have a monopoly of truth, to have the best solution, or the most suitable slogan of the day. We recognize that others too might want to put forward interests and proposals meriting attention.

What is all-important is the experience of the masses, and it is this experience that will help us, in the final analysis, to prevail upon even the most stubborn.

It follows, therefore, that our methods in guiding the work of our cadres in the mass movement are flexible. They have nothing in common with bureaucratic or administrative methods, with that of "giving orders" to these comrades as subordinates. Just the contrary. We encourage their initiative and their sense of responsibility in popularizing the general line of the Party and in applying it creatively.

The independence of the mass movement is a reality and a necessity, a fact we never lose sight of. The absence of such independence would harm the movement itself and also the Party.

We are moving towards big battles. The hour of the final clash is drawing near. The latest actions of the government and of Franco, although they do not signify any profound change, are nevertheless further proof of their weakness, of the rot in the regime that has been governing Spain for nearly 30 years now.

The Spanish Communists, true to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are elaborating their own way of winning genuine social and political democ-

racy, an indispensable stage in advancing towards a socialist society.

By strengthening the Party, to which we are

devoting our every effort, we are working to bring closer the day of this long-desired victory.

Eduardo GARCIA

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

RECENT YEARS have seen a new working-class movement taking shape in our country. We have spoken of this previously, especially at the forum on working-class and democratic unity.*

During the latest exchange of views on reform** we mentioned in particular the significance of our victory in the recent trade union elections.

However, in compliance with a request from the Editorial Board of this journal, we will now consider aspects of the new working-class movement that have not been explained sufficiently. We are doing so because we think that this new and distinctive experience may be useful to the world Communist movement.

* * *

To begin with, we must make clear that we have in mind a really new working-class movement. It is new on several counts although it has inherited the revolutionary traditions of our original movement launched in the mid-nineteenth century and, in this sense, is a continuation of its predecessor.

It is new among other things by virtue of its unitary and revolutionary socio-political content, its character and its organizational forms, the demands which it upholds and in which its content is partly expressed, the maturity of its class consciousness, which is evident not only in struggle but in a spirit of profound solidarity; it is new because of the phase of capitalism in which it is emerging and developing, because of the number of its adherents, because of its influence and its prospects.

The backbone and the mainstay of this new movement are the *workers' committees* in factory, mill and mine set up by the working people themselves.

These committees owe their origin to several factors, including the lack of trade union rights which, as we know, the working people need in their fight against capitalist exploitation, and to the existence of vertical, corporative unions of a fascist type. While the members of these unions have the right to elect delegates, this right did not for a long time solve the problem of genuine representation of the working people. Furthermore, those union delegates and factory committee members who, being fair-minded, upheld the workers' interests were persecuted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Due to the reprisals and the lack of guarantees for elected delegates, as well as

to the workers' hatred for the vertical unions it often happened that the workers in important industrial areas did not take part in electing union delegates and factory committee members, especially when our Party advised against it.

These factors and the imperative need to maintain their interests impelled the working people to search for other forms of organization without scorning the legal opportunities for electing union delegates and factory committee members. This led to the rise of the first workers' committees, whose antecedents date from the 1956 strikes in the Basque country. Some of the committees were composed of union delegates and other workers, others of workers holding no union posts. This trend has persisted to the present time. Today there are committees made up of delegates, mixed committees, and committees comprising only workers who are neither union delegates nor factory committee members.

The workers' committees were formed by the working people themselves, at an *advanced* stage of the struggle. They are a sign of the growing class consciousness of our workers. This growth was due to the objective factors listed above, and to the *subjective factor*, that is, revolutionary political work carried out by various political forces, but chiefly by the Communists.

It will be seen from what has been said that the workers' committees were not invented by us Communists. But when the first committees appeared we saw in them something original, the fruit of the political alertness and *experience of the workers* that might prove a highly effective weapon.

At first the committees sprang up spontaneously. It would be fair to say that at that time the workers who devised this effective instrument to uphold their interests were not mature enough as a class to preserve this instrument.

But that stage is being passed, and the committees have been gaining in strength, becoming permanent bodies and expanding in the process of action. Initially they fought for economic demands but afterwards began to campaign for political and social demands, such as the right to strike, union rights and other social and democratic rights.

"Earlier these committees were formed to advance particular demands and were dissolved the moment the demands were granted. They were of a temporary nature. But as the struggle assumes a general character and rises to a higher level the committees become permanent-

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1964.

**Ibid., No. 12, 1966.

ly acting bodies. Whereas in the early stage they were formed spontaneously by the more resolute workers with the approval of their fellow-workers, and often without any electoral procedure, in the next phase they were the result of elections held in every shop, and their members were the direct delegates of the workers. There is no law providing for or regulating their existence and functioning. In this sense they are not legal bodies. But practice over a long period—natural law, so to speak—is establishing them more and more firmly. Even the government is compelled to negotiate with them, as it had to during the April and May strikes in Asturias. In this sense of course they are not illegal. Being neither legal nor illegal, they reflect a real situation, a balance achieved in the struggle which maintains and consolidates them." This was written late in 1962 by Comrade Santiago Carrillo.

Experience since then has confirmed the accuracy of the forecast as to the main trend emerging at that time. The committees became an increasingly general phenomenon in the enterprises, industries and groups of industries, communities and provinces. They coordinated their activity on both a regional and a national scale. In short, they tended to become effective leading bodies of a permanent nature, undisputed, virtually legal and indestructible organizations of the working people.

The unitary and revolutionary socio-political orientation of the committees is expressed not only in the form in which they spring up or in their programs, but in the very form of their organization. They do not represent, as might mistakenly be assumed, different political or ideological trends or currents exerting a certain influence on the working-class movement and encompassing only a minority of the workers, even though these trends and currents do make themselves felt in the committees.

The committees are a true expression — a "mass" expression, so to speak — of the workers' will, the most direct form of working-class democracy. Workers' representatives may be elected to the committee at one meeting and recalled at the next if they do not execute the decisions taken, if they waver in performing their duties, and if their activity does not meet the overall aspirations of the working people who elected them.

We have said that the character of the new working-class movement manifests itself also in the demands of the committees. Worthy of note in this respect is the program drawn up by the metalworkers' committee in Madrid in January 1966.* This committee has served as a model for the whole metalworking industry and for most workers in other industries. Its demands can be summarized as follows:

1. A minimum wage of 250 pesetas for a normal working day. (It was 60 pesetas in January 1966 and is 84 pesetas today.)

2. Given equal productivity, women and

young workers should be paid on a par with men.

3. The eight-hour day and the 44-hour week.

4. Safeguards against industrial accidents. (There were 1,130,000 industrial accidents in Spain in 1965.)

5. More severe penalties, including those envisaged by the Penal Code, against enterprises which fail to take adequate safety measures to prevent accidents.

6. *Better distribution of the national income* by restricting employers' profits and export of capital, imposing high taxes on unused capital and drastic measures against private accumulation.

7. Measures against economic colonialism or the penetration by foreign capital into a number of economic branches, including iron and steel, and the automobile industry.

8. Binding owners of big enterprises to build housing for their working people and forbidding them to evict dismissed workers.

9. Substantially amending the law on collective bargaining to provide greater guarantees to the workers, particularly as regards wages, employers' demands for higher productivity, etc.

10. The right to strike.

11. Working people's membership on the bodies managing capitalist enterprises *has never been an objective of the working-class movement*. The law on co-management must be amended, therefore, to bring about a change in the character of the workers' participation. (This calls for democratic control.)

12. Bringing social security into line with the socio-economic realities in the country, and ensuring that its management and control are *really* in the hands of the working people.

13. Drawing on social insurance funds to finance small and medium-sized enterprises and to aid workers' cooperatives.

14. Forming democratic trade unions through direct and completely democratic elections. Abolishing all appointments made by the Falange on political grounds.

15. Revising the provisions regarding union delegates and factory-committee members, who must be safeguarded against reprisals. Delegates and committee members should be elected by all the workers at meetings called for the purpose.

16. Full guarantees for freedom of trade union elections. Aiding the election campaign with union funds.

17. The right to hold meetings on factory and union premises.

18. *Solidarity with all other workers, with the peasants, students and intellectuals who support these demands and others aimed at protecting basic human rights.*

It will be seen that the content of this program goes beyond the bounds of the metalworking industry, and in some respects also beyond the purely trade union sphere, and affects general political and social issues.

Our experience which, we believe, reflects the

*There are 150,000 metalworkers in Madrid.

generality of things, suggests that to rally all the contingents of the working class in the enterprises it is essential, in addition to formulating general demands, to work out in each particular case a concrete, clear-cut and precise program of demands expressing the specific needs, desires and aspirations of the workers in the given enterprise or industry.

The workers' committees have invariably been inspired by this principle. This is another sign of the maturity of the new working-class movement they represent, a maturity which was demonstrated, as we have already pointed out, during the recent trade union elections.

* * *

In the case of the 1963 trade union elections, our Party recommended that *participation* in them *should* depend on the actual conditions in the industrial area or city concerned, and on whether the government guaranteed that the will of the workers would be respected if they voted and that the elected delegates would not be penalized. This tactic was adopted because conditions in 1963 were not as ripe as they are now for fighting a general battle on this front with a chance of success.

In 1966, however, our Party, taking stock of certain *new factors*, opted for participation in the elections.

These new factors were: the growing decline of the regime and the far-reaching decline of the fascist forms of power; the fact that the vertical unions had discredited themselves in the eyes of the workers, who have been forcing out these unions in favor of *workers' committees*; the fact that these unions had discredited themselves even in the eyes of the employers, who considered them no longer fit to avert social conflicts (strikes and other labor actions) in which these unions no longer play any part because the workers tend to ignore their decisions; the overall result was serious disagreement in the government itself as to the value and role of the vertical unions.

In this situation the workers stepped up their struggle, making progress in *setting up workers' unitary committees democratically elected by the working people*. That is why, some months ago, the leaders of the vertical unions began to think in terms of reorganizing the unions. They imagined that by making concessions to the workers the reform would enable them to fit the unions into the changing picture and so preserve them as instruments of big capital. To carry out the reform, they drew on the support of the old-time Anarchist leaders whom they found willing and with whom they signed an agreement. They also sought the support of some Socialists and Catholics but failed. The aim was to replace the discredited *fascist corporative system* by unions which outwardly would give the impression of being "free" and "independent"; these unions would not have officials imposed on them for political guidance nor would they include representat-

tives of the employers. In short, these would be reformist-type unions politically controlled by the oligarchy and the employers operating through corrupt and gangster-like leaders, as is the case in some imperialist countries.

As we saw it, what was at issue was not whether some of the posts of a representative nature in the vertical unions should be used in the interests of the working class, but the abolition of these unions and the laying of solid foundations for new unions based on the class struggle.

Hence it was necessary to discard the tactic of non-participation in the union elections, since non-participation might have helped the plans of the fascist union leadership. It was necessary to ensure that the workers' committees became masters of the situation right from the first ballot.*

We considered that the election campaign should begin with a correct selection of candidates and the drawing up of a program of specific demands to be upheld by the candidates upon election. This meant that a real election campaign had to be carried out; it meant hundreds and thousands of *meetings to nominate candidates and work out programs of action*.

Thus, participation in the elections was important in the sense that success might amount to a big leap in organizing the new working-class movement, and in enhancing its ability to organize and lead the struggle for economic demands, the right to strike, etc. On the other hand, success might be a decisive step towards free trade unions and *establishing a de facto* class union, that is, a single trade union center based on the movement of the workers' committees.

Already before the elections, the workers' committees were a powerful force in Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona, Seville and in other industrial areas. There was a certain measure of coordinated action among them. Preparations for the elections were to help strengthen the existing committees and to form new ones. It was logical to expect that the formation of committees would be made easier by the existence of so legal a cover as the thousands of new union delegates and factory-committee members democratically elected by the working people.

The facts show that this *possibility* became a *reality* during the elections. While preparations for the elections were under way hundreds of new workers' committees were set up or the groundwork was laid for doing so. Besides, the committees established closer contact between themselves.

But while the union elections were won by the workers' committees, which grew in number and became better organized, the preparations for the elections developed into a campaign unprecedented under the regime to win over the workers. Hundreds of meetings, genuinely mass rallies involving thousands of work-

*For union delegates and factory committee members.

ers, were held to nominate candidates and work out and approve programs that the candidates pledged to champion.

In this respect, the union election campaign also constituted a new and decisive step towards establishing *de facto* the democratic right of assembly, a right which, as we know, does not exist *de jure*.

There is yet another aspect to these mass meetings that may be even more important. What we mean is that they assumed the character of a democratic and revolutionary schooling. At such gatherings the workers examine first of all the terms which the employers try to impose upon them with direct government support. They discuss their own demands and the more expedient forms of action. Then they usually proceed to criticize the system of monopoly capitalism itself and its instruments of political power and to choose, in some form or other, possible socio-economic alternatives that would benefit the working population and the people generally. Thus the meetings often display genuine initiative enriching the platforms or programs submitted by the workers.

The importance of the union elections will become clearer still if one bears in mind the opponents with whom the workers' committees had to contend and, in general, the Party's policy of supporting and encouraging the committees. For the committees had to rebut not only the propaganda advising non-participation in the elections but to fight candidates protected by the employers and backed by officials and supporters of the vertical unions. The latter in some cases nominated genuinely sincere workers for the purpose of confusing the working people. The committees also had to combat intimidation and fraud.

The committees' decisive victory in every industry, and especially in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Bilbao, Coruna, Saragossa, Asturias, Guipuzcoa and other cities or provinces, shows that the new working-class movement in our country has really risen to a new level offering it a new vista. To be sure, the vista is one of struggle, but it holds ample promise of advance, of gaining positions that should prove decisive for the future of the movement and of Spanish democracy.

* * *

The union elections have had an effect also on other aspects of public life in our country.

In the field of working-class unity, for instance, the electoral victory of the workers' committees increased the possibility of uniting the entire working-class movement of Spain on the revolutionary principle of class struggle, of advancing towards a single trade union center inspired by this principle and thus ending the division in the ranks of our working-class movement.

According to a document issued by the workers' committees*, the decision regarding the

organizational principles of a single trade union center should be freely and democratically adopted by working people's assemblies.

This prospect is closely bound up with what we might describe as re-establishing and enhancing the independence of our working-class movement in Spain.

Indeed, our working class *already* constitutes an increasingly influential force in our society thanks to its numerical strength, and to its decisive role in modern social production, to the class unity it demonstrated in the union elections, to its growing maturity and class consciousness and its impact on the entire course of social and political development. Division in its ranks would detract from its influence.

We are therefore faced with the highly important task of preventing anti-unity political forces or trends from weakening the workers' committees and dividing the workers. This would occur if, for example, the committees became the arena of struggle between "trends," a struggle that could undermine their unity. The very nature of the committees and the *general interests of the working people which they uphold* should rule out this struggle, even though the members of the committees adhere, as is only natural, to different philosophical, religious and political views.

The Communists, being devoted champions of unity, should strive to promote the unity of the new working-class movement by pursuing a principled unitary policy. This policy, needless to say, implies criticism of anti-working-class and disruptive positions injuring the interests of the working people.

The union elections plainly defeated the policy of the leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party and the National Confederation of Labor, who are in exile, as well as the leaders of other groups who advocated non-participation in the elections. The facts also testify to the remoteness from reality of the Socialist and Anarchist leaders in exile, who clung to the old titles—General Union of the Working People and National Confederation of Labor—and to the so-called Trade Union Alliance, and urged the workers to stay away from the polls. The facts show that the persistent hegemonistic ambitions of these leaders are an illusion.

Nevertheless, we would like to see these leaders correct their views on the present and future and, by helping the new working-class movement to forge unity, contribute to the general progress of the cause of labor and democracy. By doing so they would help themselves as political groups having an interest in the social reconstruction of Spain and would gain in prestige and strength through a policy of unity.

Only very few workers failed to vote in the trade union elections*, and the abstainers apparently were motivated not so much by the propaganda of non-participation as by their

*The proportion of working people listed as voters who voted was 82 percent, according to official data.

*See *Mundo Obrero*, No. 11, 1966, p. 3.

hatred for the vertical unions and incomprehension of the fact that the best way to strike at them was to vote for the genuine workers' candidates. We believe, however, that, in line with the position we have mentioned earlier, every effort should be made to prevent the outcome of the elections from sowing discord among the workers. On the contrary, it should make for the unity, around the workers' committees and a common platform, of those workers who for one reason or another did not vote. The election success should be used for winning over to a unitary and class policy the 200,000 union delegates who were nominated in addition to the candidates advanced by the workers' committees and opposed to the vertical unions.

We are working to ward off the danger of some members of our Party displaying harmful sectarian tendencies with regard to both the groups of workers and the political forces mentioned above. Such tendencies may also be displayed toward some Catholics who, under the pressure of the hierarchy, rejected unity with the Communists or refused to enter the workers' committees.

Because we advocate unity and because the new working-class movement is *not an exclusively trade union movement but a socio-political movement of the working people*, we consider that non-adherence to any international trade union federation and the maintenance of fraternal relations with all of them in the spirit of international solidarity, which the working class should always display, are more in keeping with the interests of both this movement and the international working-class movement, and better in our view than joining one of the federations, including the World Federation of Trade Unions. This stand is by no means an indication of isolationism or nationalism, which is alien to our working class. It merely expresses a realistic approach to the pursuit of a consistent policy of working-class unity on a national and international plane.

Another possible danger to be combated within the new working-class movement is "legalism" (as well as "economism" and "trade unionism"). "Legalism" means keeping within the bounds of "legality," without trying to breach the wall of Franco's "laws," whereas there are real opportunities of fighting both legally and illegally. The objective basis of the danger of "legalism" and "economism" is, in part, the privations and suffering which our working class has experienced in the past years and which can be eased, if only slightly, as a result of the gains won through struggle.

It should be noted that if the success in the union elections, the growth of the workers' committees and their establishment as a *solid base of our new working-class movement* were an indisputable success of the new unitary and revolutionary policy of our Party, it is due to the fact that we shaped our policy according to

the Leninist idea of always drawing on the experience of the working class itself. Thanks solely to this experience and by generalizing it, our Party was able to make a decisive contribution to the development and strengthening of the workers' committees and their beneficial influence.

* * *

The foregoing is clear evidence of the maturity of the new working-class movement as regards its social consciousness. On the other hand, it is only one aspect, and an important one, of the actions and struggles fought by the Spanish working class especially since 1962.

We can say that a number of factors which impel the working class to take action are obviously linked with traditional objectives. There are other factors, however (we have mentioned some of them), which derive from the new problems engendered by the growth of monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism, by scientific and technological progress, etc., in Spanish conditions.

Among the new demands are employment for persons above 35 years of age, no police interference in social conflicts, and respect for the dignity of the working people. The working people want measures taken against the inhuman speed-up, for democratic management in the enterprises, against the technological development carried on at the price of greater unemployment, and so on. Naturally, some of the new problems that are more general in character find expression in program demands. These include freedom of assembly, demonstration and the press, *nationalization of the banks and the big monopoly enterprises, an agrarian reform giving the land to those who till it*, 'democratizing' the marketing of agricultural produce, and a democratic system of education.

These demands are components of the long-range program of struggle for radical changes in the socio-economic structure of the country.

We think the importance that we Spanish Communists attach to the new working-class movement is justified. We also think that this movement is already an appreciable factor which is necessary for paving the way to democracy, to taking Spain onto the highroad of democratic development through a general strike of the workers and a nationwide strike. This factor will gain in importance day by day.

Our perspective is: after the restoration of democracy we must do all in our power to prevent the people from staying too long in the phase which may be described as parliamentary democracy of the "classical" Western type. We have in mind the development of democracy through radical structural reforms that would turn it into social and political democracy. This we visualize as the transition from state-monopoly capitalism to socialism.

Santiago ALVAREZ

THE PARTY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

THE URGENT TASK of our Party in the countryside is to help in every way to create a broad network of commissions of agricultural workers and peasants. The purpose of these commissions, elected democratically, is to stimulate the struggle of the peasant masses and to guide it.

This not only corresponds to the interests and vital demands of the rural workers; it also serves to establish a broad front of all democratic forces, capable of abolishing the hated Franco regime and opening the way to a deep-going democratic transformation in Spain.

Conditions favor the realization of this task. For one thing, the situation in the countryside is becoming truly catastrophic as a result of the policy pursued by the regime. For another, the indignation of the peasants and farm laborers and their hatred of the regime are mounting, for it is they who have to shoulder the consequences of this pernicious policy.

Far from being resolved, the long-standing problems of the countryside are growing more acute. These stem primarily from the archaic structure of our agriculture which the Franco regime is trying to save by all and every means. The result is that the countryside continues to be a vast ocean of tiny plots that hardly provide their owners with the bare necessities. Parallel with this, millions of hectares belong to the big landlords; this land is poorly cultivated or not cultivated at all. The following figures tell the story. According to the last agricultural census, 5.5 million peasants own 8.5 million hectares (on the average 1.4 hectares per peasant. Actually hundreds of thousands own less than one, and even less than half a hectare.) On the other hand, approximately 50,000 big landowners possess more than 22 million hectares (on the average 440 hectares each). But there are 100 "grandees" owning tens of thousands of hectares each. For example, the estate of the Duke of Medinaceli, the biggest landowner in Spain, extend over an area of more than 79,000 hectares).

To this should be added the rapacious policy of monopoly capital which fixes extremely low prices for agricultural products and charges exorbitantly for the industrial goods needed by the peasants. It plunders both the agricultural producer and the consumer through its commercial network. It ties the hands of the poor peasants, granting loans only on a high interest rate and restricting the credits sorely needed by the peasants to cultivate their exhausted plots. In the guise of cooperatives, monopoly capital organizes virtual joint-stock companies for the purpose of squeezing out more and more profits from the peasants, and when it suits its purpose forcibly expropriates, on the pretext of "national interests," the holdings of thousands of peasant families paying them a paltry sum in compensation and reducing them to utter poverty.

As a result the countryside is becoming ruin-

ed and peasants and farm laborers are leaving en masse for the towns or going abroad in search of work.

This situation explains and justifies the hatred and indignation that are impelling the rural population to look for a way out of the poverty to which the Franco regime has condemned them.

The Communist Party which has always upheld the specific and general demands of the farm laborers and peasants and urged an effective solution of the old problems of the countryside, is doing everything to unite the peasant masses around a common program.

It believes that the underlying concept of this program should be an agrarian reform based on the principle of "land to the tiller." Such a reform is also imperatively needed by the country, for without it, it cannot hope to develop and prosper.

The efforts of the Party are yielding fruit. The contours of such a program, elaborated with the help of the peasants, is beginning to take shape. Last May at the so-called National Assembly of Working People of the Countryside (a parody of a congress organized by the Franco vertical unions), a delegation representing the peasants of the province of Cadiz submitted the draft signed by 50 Assembly participants.

The document enumerates the basic problems of the countryside and suggests how to solve them.

Proceeding from the principal and primary demand for an agrarian reform that would abolish the latifundia, turn over the land to those who till it and provide them with the necessary economic and financial means, the program includes a series of economic and socio-political demands advanced by farm laborers and peasants, or by the two groups together. These demands are:

1. Bring prices paid for farm produce into conformity with the prices paid for manufactured goods; effective measures against the monopolies which buy farm produce at low prices and sell them to the consumer at exceedingly high prices.

2. Priority in agricultural credits to families cultivating their holdings, not to the rich.

3. Commissions of farm laborers and peasants to be set up in every village or region, which will oblige all households to carry out the necessary work to solve the problem of poorly cultivated, unproductive or waste land.

4. Measures to combat chronic unemployment in the countryside. These measures, to be of two kinds, should ensure:

- a) adequate unemployment insurance to meet the minimum requirements;

- b) that the farmers owning poorly cultivated, unproductive or waste lands, carry out the necessary work to remedy the situation, and in the event of their refusal to do so to turn

over the land in question to the unemployed farm laborers.

5. An effective social insurance system in agriculture which would include, besides unemployment insurance, all the benefits enjoyed by the industrial worker.

6. A minimum wage with a sliding wage scale, considering that the average family needs an annual income of 80,000 pesetas, to meet the minimum needs.

7. Strict application of the principle of equal pay for equal work in respect to women and youth.

The entire content of the program reflects a profound desire for democracy. This desire is particularly clearly expressed in the demand to create genuine municipal councils that will be able to tackle the numerous problems facing the rural population. To this end it is necessary "completely to change the character of the municipalities by starting with democratic elections in every village. Only the most capable, honest and dedicated should be elected to the municipalities." The desire for democracy is also seen in the fact that the program favors an "independent and democratic labor union" and underscores the need to "win the right to strike."

The fact that this program was submitted to an official meeting of the Franco trade union organization gives it added importance and significance, and even though it was rejected by the leaders of the vertical unions who ran the Assembly, it has acquired legal status as one of the many documents and drafts submitted to the Assembly. This circumstance facilitates open discussion of the program and fighting for its realization in much the same way as factory workers and other social forces are fighting for the implementation of their program.

Under discussion is the proposal of the draft program to hold a *24-hour general strike* to demonstrate the determination of the working people of the countryside to win their demands.

This initiative coincides with similar steps taken by the workers' commissions, by the student movement and with the actions of the intelligentsia, in a word with the entire democratic and anti-Franco movement.

It coincides, in particular, with the big new actions and strikes in the countryside which are indicative of the growth of militancy and organization among the rural population. The participation in these actions of considerable sections of small and middle farmers is noteworthy.

Examination of the more notable actions of the past few months shows that they have a number of common features.

Last July Count Sastago, virtual feudal lord in the province of Zaragoza, decided to turn 600 families off the 10,000 hectares he had "voluntarily" ceded to the peasants in 1931 when Spain was proclaimed a republic. In the years since then the peasants had transformed this former waste land into fertile fields. When the Count's intention was announced the 3,000

inhabitants of the locality unanimously decided to defend their holdings by every means, declaring that "if the Count wants this land let him try to take it." News of this spread throughout the country. Even the government-controlled press was obliged to comment and the government had to intervene. Thanks to the bold and resolute action by the peasants and the entire people the feudal lord had to abandon his plans.

At about the same time the FENOSA monopoly (the Fuerzas Electricas del Noroeste joint-stock company) also planned to evict the peasants from Castrelo de Mino (a village in the province of Orense, Galicia), which it needed for building a new reservoir. This measure, if realized, would have left 1,665 families landless and over 1,000 farm laborers in the adjoining villages without work. In other words, some 8,000 people would have been doomed to hunger and would have had to leave the place.

Instead they took unanimous and resolute action against the monopoly. The peasants declared that they would smash the bulldozers and other machines brought in by FENOSA. They drove the drivers and other employees out of the village, set fire to the building that was to serve as the offices of the company, and in a number of cases resisted the police.

The struggle was directed by commissions representing the peasants who in the course of the struggle formed the "Castrelo de Mino Defense Squads." These unusual organs of unity and action have been preserved by the peasants for, although the first battle was won (FENOSA was obliged to retreat and postpone its plans), the problem has not been finally settled. The monopoly has not given up its intentions and will undoubtedly try once more to put them into effect.

An important element in achieving the victory was the solidarity displayed by broad sections of the population of the region. From the very beginning the Communist Party resolutely came out in defense of the peasants and in every way helped to organize and rally support for their just struggle. Inspired by the Party the entire population aided in one way or another with the peasants against FENOSA and its patron—the Franco government. This solidarity was strikingly manifested in the document addressed to the government by more than 2,000 people, among them lawyers, doctors, professors, clergymen, workers, peasants, employees, merchants, industrialists, students, technicians, housewives, scientists, writers.

The most important peasant action in recent years both for duration and scale was the so-called "milk strike" in Asturias, which spread to the neighboring regions of Santander, Galicia and Leon, thus embracing the entire north and northwest of the country.

The strike was sparked off by the attempt of the monopolies processing the milk to cut the price paid the peasants from 5.5 to five pesetas a litre. By the end of May several thousand peasants refused to sell at this price. The strike spread and gained momentum thanks to

the decisive and organized activity of the more conscious and militant peasants and the resolute stand taken by the Communist Party which immediately came out in defense of the peasants.

In the course of the strike which embraced 100,000 of the 120,000 dairy farmers in the region, the demand was advanced to pay six pesetas a litre.

The firmness of the peasants forced the monopolies to grant their demands. The final agreement established the price of six pesetas a litre purchased in areas off the main highways and 6.25 pesetas a litre in areas adjacent to the highways.

Throughout the strike the population showed their active solidarity with the peasants by buying directly from them.

Mention should also be made of the active part played by the more militant cattle farmers in organizing the struggle. To fully appreciate their efforts one should bear in mind the specific features of this section of the rural population who live in small villages mostly in mountain terrain.

In many instances they had to cover long distances, often through almost impassable regions.

Distinctive features of this struggle and of the actions mentioned earlier are:

—the widespread, practically unanimous (in some places completely unanimous) participations of the peasants in protest movements, demonstrations and strikes;

—the determination and militancy displayed by the peasants who remained firm throughout the long struggle as was the case, for example, in the "milk strike";

—the organized character of the actions started and directed by the democratically elected peasant commissions, which grew stronger in the course of the struggle and in some instances

continued to function after victory had been won;

—the support and solidarity on the part of very wide sections of the population. The solidarity campaigns, in which many intellectuals participated, were headed by the working class;

—the anti-monopoly (and in some instances, anti-feudal) character of the actions and their democratic and anti-Franco political content. The latter is explained by the government's more or less direct support of the oligarchic groups;

—the active guiding and leading role of the Communist Party, the only organized opposition force which has acted as such, and its growing influence among the rural people.

The aforementioned facts are evidence of advance, of a big step forward along the road charted. New and more favorable perspectives are opening for achieving the objectives formulated at the beginning of the article. These actions are a living source of experience, enabling the Party as a whole to improve its work and redouble its efforts, conscious of the fact that the progress made latterly by the working class and student movement, and especially the splendid success of the workers' commissions in the recent trade union elections and the actions following these elections, makes it all the more necessary to step up activity in the countryside and thereby help the peasants and farm laborers reach the level attained by the working-class and student movements. In his book *After Franco, What?* Santiago Carrillo put it very aptly: "When we make a leap in the countryside similar to the one made by the workers and students, the forces rising up against the regime will become predominant and irrepressible."

Francisco ANTON

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE SPANISH UNIVERSITIES

AN ESSENTIAL area of Communist activity in the universities is the broad democratic student movement which is undermining and demolishing the government-sponsored organizations and working to build and consolidate a free, independent democratic students' union.

This powerful mass movement is distinguished by a number of features stemming from its history and the social and political conditions of contemporary Spain by virtue of which it has an important role to play in the overall process of democratization.

As in other countries, fascism in Spain counted on being able to build up its own praetorian guard out of the student youth. Following the defeat of the people in the 1936-39 war the universities were subjected to a ruthless purge. Hundreds of professors and teachers were either shot or thrown into prison, others emigrated or were barred from teaching. The Franco dictatorship introduced for all

students two new subjects — religion and fascist political indoctrination. It sought to nip in the bud the slightest manifestations of progressive or liberal thought.

On the face of it it might have seemed that these precautionary measures and, for that matter, the class composition of the student body (which we shall discuss later) would transform the universities into isolated incubators producing new generations thoroughly indoctrinated in an utterly reactionary ideology. But it is symptomatic that the departments of economic and political sciences which fascism set up to train its own cadres have today, as a rule, become strong-points of the anti-Franco struggle, centers of an ideological battle in which the influence of Marxism is rapidly growing.

What, then, has happened? On the one hand, it is clear that the hopes of being able to isolate the universities from the life of society

generally were illusory. Whatever "superstructural precautionary measures" may be taken, attempts to impose an ideology negated by the realities of life are doomed to failure. The laws of social development and class struggle are bound to prevail, though not of themselves, automatically. In Spain, too, the process was by no means automatic. Of prime importance was the guiding role of the Communist Party, its work to shape the thinking of the new generations of students along progressive lines.

The Communist Party never regarded the groups in emigration to be the sole post-civil war custodians of progressive Spanish culture. It always believed that the spirit of revolt and protest would awaken in the generations growing up in the conditions of fascism in Spain itself. When the first signs of protest made themselves felt we Communists saw in this the possibility of a new link emerging in the chain of the Spanish revolution, even though these signs manifested themselves within the framework of official organizations and were couched in Falangist or semi-Falangist language (the stand taken in the forties by *La Hora*, journal of the SEU, the official student union, is a case in point). We realized that it was necessary to establish contact with this link, eschewing sectarianism and prejudice, that the further development of these incipient manifestations of discontent would partly depend on us and on our activity. This bold, frank approach enabled the Party rapidly to gain ground among students of the postwar generations and to help guide their spontaneous progressive aspirations towards conscious activity. By 1956, when serious mass actions took place in Madrid University, the Communist Party was already an influential political factor among the students.

This ushered in a deep-going crisis in the SEU, a typical fascist organization to which all students had to belong and which was designed to mould them politically in the interests of the dictatorship. This crisis lasted roughly from 1956 to April 1965 when the Franco government was forced to decree its dissolution. Since then continued efforts have been made to replace it with the so-called Professional Students' Association.

* * *

According to official data the social composition of the student body in Spanish universities is as follows: children of workers one per cent, peasants 3.7 per cent, servicemen 11.7 per cent, clerical employees and educational workers 16.3 per cent, big property owners, high-placed executives and civil servants, and professionals, 67 per cent.

We would be guilty of "Leftism" if we were to assume that with this class composition of the student body it would be impossible to develop a democratic mass movement in the universities, and that we should confine ourselves to Marxist education of the particularly

perspicacious minority. On the other hand, we would be guilty of a Right deviation if we thought that, in order to work among the students, the Communists should camouflage themselves, set up something in the nature of a "special" Communist Party for the campus, and refrain from circulating *Mundo Obrero*, the Party paper, in the universities on the plea that it "appeals only to the workers." At times both of these tendencies made themselves felt, as could be expected, in our university organizations. By overcoming these trends we facilitated the growth of a broad democratic student movement. At the same time we built strong Party organizations on the campuses.

The political content of the democratic student movement cannot be imposed from the outside. It grows out of the objective position in which the students find themselves in present-day Spain. In this connection a number of important factors should be borne in mind, namely:

—the students give expression to the growing opposition to Franco on the part of the middle classes, professionals, the peasantry and substantial sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie;

—the radicalization of these strata and their shift towards democratic positions is visible most clearly and in the most progressive forms among the students thanks to the ardor of youth;

—the policy pursued by the Franco regime minimizes the role of the intellectuals and the graduate specialists in society. The lack of a future for students is directly attributable to the structural contradictions inherent in the regime;

—education has been relegated to the status of a "poor relation." Its decline in all respects has assumed the proportions of a scandal and this impinges directly on the students;

—the absence of democratic freedoms denies students access to truly modern culture and prevents them from upholding their fundamental interests. Lack of democracy deprives them of opportunities to discuss vital issues and gives them no say in resolving them. The student demand for trade union rights, like analogous demands put forward by the workers, is of decisive importance.

Owing to these and to many other factors the democratic trends now making their way to the fore in Spanish society have broken forcefully also into the university auditoriums.

The events of the past two years have shown that the Communist Party was right when it foresaw the emergence of conditions making for the growth of a mass student movement marked by a progressive democratic content.

The Franco government established the Professional Students' Association in April 1965 with the object of channeling the democratic aspirations of the student youth along lines conforming to its interests and watering them down by playing at "liberalism." While making formal concessions as regards election

of officials, the government sought to limit the activities of the student organizations to purely academic issues, forbidding them to put up any real defense of the specific interests of the students and the higher schools generally.

In the 1965-66 academic year the student movement rejected the associations. More, it launched an offensive against them and began to set up its own organization — the Democratic Students' Union. A landmark in this process was the assembly held in the Capuchin Monastery in Sarria (Barcelona). This meeting, attended by elected delegates of students, teachers and other intellectuals (some of them world famous), founded the Democratic Student's Union of Barcelona District, endorsed the rules of the Union and adopted the appeal, "For a Democratic University," which set forth the most urgent measures needed to bring Spanish university life into step with the times. Students of other universities, in particular those in Madrid, Bilbao, Valencia and Oviedo, held powerful demonstrations, meetings and other actions against the official associations and for the Democratic Union.

* * *

At the beginning of the academic year some months ago a number of tactical problems reflecting the progress of the movement came to the fore. Let us dwell briefly on two of these.

The first was the attitude to be taken to the election of delegates from the various courses, departments, etc. In Barcelona, Bilbao and in other places the situation was clear, for the students there had set up their own Democratic Union already last year, and this year they rejected the government-appointed commissioner (Ortega Escos) and chose their delegates and other officials by democratic election.

In those universities where as yet no Democratic Students' Union had been established a different situation arose. The revolutionary students decided to use the official elections announced by the Professional Students' Associations to elect delegates of their own choice. The idea was to break through the narrow bounds of these elections by nominating candidates pledged to work for the formation of a Democratic Union. In many departments the Left candidates were elected to *all* the posts. As a result new democratic union structures, breaking with the government-sponsored associations and beginning to coordinate their activities with the Democratic Unions in Barcelona, Bilbao and elsewhere, have taken shape in a number of universities. Some time ago a national coordinating conference was held, attended by representatives from Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao, Valencia, Navarro, and other places. This conference decided to step up preparations for a democratic national students' congress at which the student masses, finally breaking with the Franco associations and challenging the policy of the diehard but weak crumbling

government, would be able to found their own democratic union.

To achieve this objective, however, much work and militant action are still needed.

Mention should be made of the resistance offered by the students to the reprisals taken against them by the dictatorship. Hundreds of students have been arrested, beaten and expelled from universities. Recently the government resorted to a method employed in tsarist Russia — drafting for military service young people regarded as "firebrands." These reprisals have sparked off a broad protest movement. It should be noted, however, that solidarity movements in other countries in support of the Spanish students are still not up to the mark.

The convocation of a European students' solidarity conference of which there has been talk from time to time is an urgent necessity.

The second of the new issues that have come to the fore derives from the democratic and unitarian underground organizations of progressive students formed at the previous stage of the struggle. These organizations have played a useful role. One of them is the Democratic University Federation which made organizational headway on a national scale. Today, however, when the mass student movement is based on openly functioning organizations, on the election of delegates and committees and on student assemblies in university departments and districts, and when a Democratic Students' Union is being openly built, these underground organizations, especially in places like Barcelona, Bilbao and some others where the movement has made considerable progress, are now behind the times. Unless sufficient explanatory work is done to make the need to go over to open forms of organization and struggle understood, a tendency may develop to preserve the old and *no longer useful* forms. A sectarian pseudo-Left climate, which in the long run nearly always gives rise to anti-unitarian sentiments, may develop in the underground groups.

* * *

One of the most notable features of democratic students' movement is its *unitarian* nature. This is largely the result of the work done by the Communists who have opposed the above-mentioned tendencies to set up small underground organizations. The Communists have sought to set into motion, stimulate and channel into an organizational framework all the militant potential of the anti-Franco and democratic sentiment to be observed among big sections of the student youth.

Clearly, the development of such a movement in its present social setting raises many problems. But these are problems every revolutionary should be ready to tackle. Although there are bound to be vacillation and at times a gravitation towards "liberal" sham solutions or to "infantile extremism," experience shows

that it is not difficult to correct such mistakes and to forge ahead, especially in places where there is a clear-thinking core of Communist students.

Besides the Communists, whose influence is unquestionable, Socialists of diverse trends, liberal groups, democrats of different hues, young Christian Democrats and members of other Catholic circles are all taking part in the movement for a Democratic Students' Union. It should be noted, because for Spain this is an important development, that cooperation with the Catholics has developed in a most satisfactory way despite the difficulties and the obstacles. We have already mentioned the assembly held in the Capuchin monastery in Sarria. There are other similar examples. For instance, last spring when it became known that a student had been tortured in the Barcelona police headquarters, more than 100 priests organized a protest demonstration, which was brutally attacked by the police. Young members of Opus Dei, regardless of the fact that the organization as such collaborates with the Franco government, are taking part in the fight for a Democratic Students' Union. In Bilbao the overwhelming majority of the students in the Jesuit Deusto University voted for the Democratic Union and some time ago joined it. The influence of progressive trends is felt even in seminaries where future priests are trained. Groups of seminary students, seeking a dialogue with the Communists and cooperating with them in democratic actions, are anxious to study Marxism.

The broad unity of the student movement rests on the solid foundation of the democratic content of its program, which is to uphold the vital interests of all students.

In this connection two aspects are of particular importance: a) defense of trade union rights, academic freedom, and freedom of assembly, press and association; and b) the struggle for democracy in the universities with a view to ending their class exclusiveness, raising them to a level demanded by the times, making them accessible to new theories, and so on.

In fighting for these demands, the student movement finds itself on common ground with the other sections of society working for democracy.

An exceptionally interesting fact is the support given by many teachers to the basic demands of the student movement. The past two years have witnessed a big change in this respect. University heads like Valdecasas, rector of Barcelona University, who wholly support government policy are condemned even by conservative teachers, who believe that things cannot continue as they are and advocate recognition of the Democratic Students' Union, seeing in this the only way to ensure normal academic life. Many teachers resolve current problems together with the delegates of the Democratic Union, and some actually helped in

the election of its officers despite government attempts to prevent them.

In the course of the fight for democracy on the campus, cooperation among professors, students and post-graduates is acquiring *organizational forms* such as joint committees for curricular reform and for preparing lectures, and discussions of key questions affecting diverse specialties.

Students also enjoy the growing support of intellectuals. Writers, artists, lawyers, doctors, film producers and architects, including some of the most prominent representatives of Spain's cultural world, attend students' meetings, deliver lectures and organize poetry readings, exhibitions, etc. Recently a number of intellectuals, including the playwright Sastra, the writers Moreno Galvan and Salinas, and the journalist Ridruejo, were fined for attending "unauthorized" meetings of democratic students. They refused to pay the fines and were sent to prison, to which the students responded with powerful solidarity actions. This contact and mutual aid between the students and intellectuals is of extremely great importance.

The initial elements of coordination of action between the workers' and students' movements which are beginning to make themselves felt are another significant feature of the present situation. In recent times notable headway has been made in this respect. Only a few years ago there still was a strong tendency to confine the student movement to university and educational problems alone, but the dialectics of the fight against the dictatorship and its sham "liberation" has radicalized not only the forms but also the content of the movement. To a great extent this is the result of the progress made by the workers' committees and their impressive showing in the last trade union elections.

In Madrid, Barcelona and elsewhere delegates from workers' committees recently took part in student assemblies attended by thousands where they were given an enthusiastic reception. The students generally are coming to see that their aims (trade union and other democratic rights) are identical with those of the workers' movement. The more progressive students realize that it is to the working class that the decisive role belongs in the democratic process, and that the solution of their university problems today and professional problems tomorrow depends on far-reaching democratic structural changes. Hence the need to coordinate the student and workers' movements. This coordination is already producing valuable results.

* * *

In the sphere of *Party organization* we are faced with problems of a general nature as well as problems stemming from our specific conditions.

As mentioned above, there was a trend at one time towards setting up something in the

nature of a "students' party," since in the conditions of clandestine activity it is easier for students to maintain contact with one another than with the workers. The Party opposed this trend, which has now been overcome. It would have been far more difficult to give a militant Communist grounding to students within the framework of a national Communist student organization, for many of them would have continued to be weighed down by the legacy of their bourgeois origins, and they would not have been under the influence, even indirect, of proletarian class struggle. Such an organization would inevitably be exposed to political and ideological influences alien to the working class.

In view of this, our university branches are subordinated to the corresponding local Party committees. This is necessary for another reason as well: the Party committees must be able to lead not only working class branches but also those consisting of students, intellectuals, and others. At the same time our organizations are in the closest possible contact with the mass student movement. We have eradicated all survivals of "paternalism" in our methods of leadership. Today university Party organizations have their own committees consisting of students. These committees are given political guidance by higher Party bodies through collective discussions. The student committees are accorded considerable autonomy. Experience has shown this to be the best method of training young cadres linked with the masses and able to implement the policy of the Party in ways best adapted to the conditions. There was instance where in one university the Party committee was formed of former students no longer connected with the university. But it committed a number of blunders. Things improved when new members with closer connections with the students were included in the committee.

Since young people stay in a higher school for five years at the most, it is essential to find future cadres already during the first and second years of study and boldly to promote them to leading posts in order to ensure a minimum of stability and continuity. Moreover, these people should be found in the students' organizations. We began to obtain better results when we started to focus attention on the contingent of young people entering college and also on the senior grades of secondary school. In this respect we cooperate with the Communist Youth League.

While taking the precautions necessary to safeguard our organization in the conditions of illegality and stressing the need for constant vigilance, members of the Party do not camouflage themselves but act as Communists, openly propounding the decisions and policy of the Party. This we can do above all because of our strong ties with the mass movement, because the Communists are doing their share as organizers and leaders of a broad unitarian movement. It is essential that Communist students

should act in public as members of our Party. In one university they decided to conceal the fact and posed as more or less pro-Marxist Lefts. The result was confusion. Other Marxist groups sprang up, and some of them sought contact with our Party. There were even cases of conflicts between groups. Since the Party finally decided to act openly in this university, several of these groups have joined it. In this way the unitarian movement gains impetus, which benefits not only the Party but the mass student movement as a whole.

Operating in close contact with the mass movement, the student branches, like all other Party branches, should be *Party organizations* in the full sense of the word. This means that they should take up not only the problems of the given university but also those affecting the working class and the peasantry, in a word, general political issues.

As regards propaganda, the student organizations publish two papers, the *Vanguardia* in Madrid and the *Universitat* in Barcelona, the latter being the organ of students belonging to the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. Besides these publications, thousands of copies of *Mundo Obrero*, the organ of the Communist Party, and *Traball*, organ of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, are circulated and read in the student organizations. A number of organizations have made a good showing in circulating the book *After Franco, What?* by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Party. Thousands of copies of this book have been distributed.

Ideological struggle in the universities is of vast importance. In this area our student organizations display a high degree of flexibility. At present conditions are favorable for going over, with the support of teachers and other intellectuals, to open forms of dissemination of Marxism. Public debates, discussions, seminars, poetry readings, film clubs and "itinerant libraries" of Marxist literature are some of the channels through which ideological work is conducted.

At the same time the Party organizations devote particular attention to ensuring clarity among new members as to what the Party is, its organizational forms, and what it means to be a Communist. Every effort must be made to avoid a narrow approach to new members. For although the bulk of those who join come from families with modest incomes (many of these students combine study and work), there is a noteworthy influx of young people from bourgeois families, even from ruling-class circles, who for various reasons rebel against their particular world, espouse Marxist theory and want to fight in the ranks of the Party for a democratic and socialist future. The case of the son of Franco's Minister of Aviation who was sentenced to eight years in prison for being a member of the Communist Party is fairly well known. Similar instances will, needless to say, become known only in the future.

The composition of the student organizations explains their particular susceptibility to opportunist vacillation, which in some cases acquires an extreme Leftist tinge. A case in point is the "pro-Chinese" group in Madrid University (most of its members in one department) which broke with the Party. This was the *only* case of a split in our ranks caused by "pro-Chinese" influence. The group managed to do little more than alienate from the revolutionary struggle a few immature young men, besides supplying "arguments" to anti-communists. It is now defunct. Some have seen their mistake and have been re-admitted into the Party.

Cultivation of a genuine *Party spirit*, a sense of responsibility and discipline in the student organizations, and heightening their political level without weakening their links with the mass student movements are essential for successful activity.

The student Party organizations should consider it their duty to pose in the universities

major national and international problems.

Mention should be made of the committees for solidarity with the people of Vietnam set up in a number of universities which have already organized some important actions.

* * *

Such, then, are some of the aspects of the work conducted by the Communist Party among the students. In conclusion it should be stressed that our Party attaches much importance to this work in view of its significance in the struggle against Franco and for democracy. The Party bears in mind that in the future struggles for political and social democracy, in our advance towards socialism, strong and stable positions among the trained specialists, scientists and other intellectuals, in the educational establishments and in the cultural world generally, will be of signal importance.

Juan DIZ

Party news in brief

JANUARY 1967

FRANCE. The 18th Congress of the French Communist Party, held on January 4-8, discussed the question of an "Alliance for a Democratic, Independent, Peace-loving and Prosperous France." Congress elected the leading committees of the Party. In addition to 820 delegates, representatives from many fraternal parties attended the Congress.

On January 7 delegations of the French Communist Party and the Unified Socialist Party agreed on the measures to be taken in connection with the forthcoming elections.

CHILE. The political commissions of the executives of the Communist and Socialist parties met in Santiago on January 6 and issued a statement calling for joint action in the coming municipal elections and announcing the establishment of a national committee of the movement for the self-determination and solidarity of the Latin American peoples.

ITALY. More than 3,000 delegates elected by Italians abroad attended the National Conference on Problems of Emigration, held in Rome on January 7-8 under the auspices of the Italian Communist Party.

On January 15 the Conference of women activists in the Italian Party was held in Rome.

On January 16 the Central Committee held a conference to discuss the tasks in the sphere of Party education, the growth of the Party organizations and the education of Party cadres.

GDR. Experiences of Party work were exchanged during a visit by a delegation of the Italian Communist Party to the GDR over January 11-23.

CANADA. The Central Committee of the Communist Party, at a session over January 14-16, discussed the struggle for peace and against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the economic and political situation in the country, the new stage of the fight for trade-union unity, and the tasks of the Party. After reviewing

the situation in the world Communist movement the Central Committee declared for the convening of a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

BRITAIN. On January 16 the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain issued a statement urging all Left and progressive forces in the country to act jointly against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and to unite in the struggle for the just demands of the working people.

POLAND. Delegations of the Polish United Workers' Party and the CPSU met over January 17-18 to discuss Polish-Soviet relations and current international matters.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. A delegation of the Communist Party of Belgium visited Prague on January 18-20 at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Representatives of the two parties exchanged views on questions of common interest, specifically those of European security.

Meeting on January 24 and 25, delegations of the Communist parties of Italy and Czechoslovakia exchanged views on the cooperation between the two parties and problems of the world Communist movement.

FINLAND. At a session on January 21-22, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland considered current problems of home and foreign policy. The meeting decided in favor of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

ARGENTINA. On January 22-23 a conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina reviewed the political situation in the country.

SWEDEN. January 27-29. The Board of the Communist Party of Sweden considered the drafts of the new Party Program and Rules, which will be discussed by the Party organizations.

A year of struggles and of victories

AS REGARDS CREDIBILITY . . .

"AS REGARDS credibility about the progress of the war in Vietnam," wrote Walter Lippmann, the well-known U.S. world affairs analyst, in *Newsweek* of January 16, 1967, "no one in high place has been more candid and informative than Senator Stennis of Mississippi. About a month ago he made a speech describing how poorly we are succeeding, saying that 'under existing circumstances, the American people must be prepared for a long-drawn-out and bloody war of attrition in Vietnam . . . which . . . may result in our being tied down in those steaming jungles for ten years or more.'" General Westmoreland, C-in-C of U.S. armed forces in Vietnam, seems to be of a similar opinion. Hence Lippmann's conclusion that "the war will still be long, hopeless, inconclusive, cruel." President Johnson himself, for that matter, drew a no less sombre picture when he said in his State of the Union message that ahead lies "more cost, more loss and more agony."

The reason for this gloom "in high places" is that U.S. troops are already tied down in the jungles, in a hopeless and inconclusive war. The 1966 balance sheet of the Vietnam people's war of resistance bears this out.

AN AMERICAN WAR

"President Johnson," according to Lippmann, "has made it an American war." Very true. In the past year Washington pushed up the number of its troops in South Vietnam from 190,000 to 400,000. This does not include the more than 50,000 South Korean, Australian, Filipino and New Zealand soldiers who are on the U.S. payroll, equipped with U.S. arms and under U.S. command. As the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam noted in its communique of December 20, 1966, the "U.S. Expeditionary Corps is the main force in all military operations, including 'pacification' operations in regions of strategic importance." The South Vietnam puppet army plays but an auxiliary role.

Thus, the armed forces of the NLF are pitted against a strong, experienced and cruel enemy. But the South Vietnamese patriots have the indisputable advantage over the enemy as regards experience in jungle warfare, know-

ledge of the terrain, and the ability to attack swiftly and suddenly. There is also the moral factor which is of great importance: the Liberation Army knows what it is fighting for and can rely on the support of the entire nation.

The communique noted also that in the past years the three different types of the liberation forces—regular troops, local armed forces and guerrilla detachments—steadily grew in numbers and in skill, that there was better coordination of operations on the different fronts. The Liberation Army and guerrilla detachments kept the enemy in a constant state of tension. By employing different forms of action—short, lightning attacks, pitched battles, raids behind enemy lines—they further aggravated the contradictions the U.S. command is constantly confronted with, namely, its desire to concentrate its troops, to operate in massed groups, thus making the most effective use of weapons and equipment, and the necessity to keep shifting and breaking up its forces.

In the past year the armed forces of the South Vietnam patriots fought numerous big and small engagements, inflicting telling defeats on the U.S. troops and their satellites. The repeated offensives launched by the Americans during the dry season of 1965-66 to surround and destroy the Liberation Army failed to achieve their purpose.

When, at the beginning of the monsoon, the Pentagon dispatched post-haste another 80,000 men in an attempt to reduce the military effort of the Liberation Army and stepped up the bombing of South Vietnam—up to 400 air strikes a day—it again met with little success.

Still escalating the war, the U.S. Command sent another 30,000 men into action on October 15 in Tainin province. But this time, too, nothing came of the strategic task to surround and destroy the strongpoints of the Liberation Army.

In the period under review, the NLF armed forces for their part carried out a number of offensive operations in other parts of the country—in the Ia Drang area of the Central Plateau and in Quang Tri province. At the beginning of December they attacked the big Tan Son Nhat air base near Saigon, where some 15,000 U.S. soldiers are concentrated, and destroyed or damaged 90 enemy aircraft.

The American Expeditionary Corps is sus-

taining increasing losses. The communique of the NLF noted that according to incomplete data the Liberation Army and the guerrillas routed in 1966, 47 enemy battalions (including 17 infantry battalions and seven U.S. battalion-strength armored units) and hundreds of smaller units; 2,130 aircraft were shot down or burned on the ground, 3,300 army vehicles (including 1,200 armored carriers and armored cars), 43 locomotives, and 217 railway cars were destroyed and 97 different types of ships sunk.

SECOND FRONT

America's naked aggression has exacerbated the antagonism between the U.S. invaders and their puppets, on the one hand, and the entire people of South Vietnam, including the soldiers of the puppet army and officials of the puppet government, on the other.

These antagonisms have surfaced particularly in the towns, where since March 1966 a powerful movement has been gathering momentum against the invaders and the Thieu-Ky clique. Over three million people have taken part in it.

According to incomplete data, during 1966 more than 11 million people of town and country participated in different forms of struggle to stop the bombing and shelling of towns and villages, the use of poison gases, conscripting men for the puppet army, to end the war and establish democratic freedoms.

Thus, whereas formerly the invaders and the puppet regime could rely on the towns in their operations against the National Liberation Army they are now confronted with a kind of "second front" there. In other words, the liberation struggle has become the concern of the entire people.

The more the United States has escalated the war, the more passive and demoralized has the puppet army become. Something like 100,000 men deserted in 1966. Entire companies, battalions and even regiments refused to go to the front or to be used in defoliation operations. In many instances, soldiers and officers joined the struggle of the people.

"FREE KILL ZONE"

Unable to escape the fact of its military and political defeats in South Vietnam Washington is beginning to feel less sure of military victory. At a press conference in November 1966, Dean Rusk said that "the military problem... has to be faced at the level of pacification." This concept has now become the leitmotif of Washington's strategy in South Vietnam.

In the "pacification" program hope is reposed in creating so-called "new life" villages which the invaders envisage as their socioeconomic strongholds in the countryside. To this end they plan to rid the densely-populated areas of guerrillas, to isolate the latter from the peasant masses, to deprive them of supply bases and popular support and the peasants of

protection by the guerrillas. U.S. Ambassador Lodge frankly stated that the crux of the matter were the 150,000 excellently organized guerrillas dispersed throughout the country. In January U.S. troops started punitive operations to the northwest of Saigon; 30,000 soldiers and 30 artillery batteries were concentrated on an area of 60 square miles. Operations are accompanied by massive bombing by B-52s. Entire villages have been laid waste, and peasants are robbed of their rice supplies. Simultaneously, "pacification" operations have been launched in the Mekong Delta which has been proclaimed a "Free Kill Zone." These operations can be likened to genocide, for any village, any peasant can be declared "suspect" and destroyed. Needless to say these operations are confronting the invaders once again with the need to increase the number of their troops.

ESCALATION AGAINST THE NORTH

For two years now the U.S. aggressors have been bombing the towns and villages of the North in revenge for their defeats in the South. However, as the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, told Harrison Salisbury in an interview, these bombings, which have caused considerable damage, have not forced the North to capitulate. In his report to the congress of heroes in the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Deputy Prime Minister, Le Thanh Nghi, noted that the army and the people have emerged heroically from the trials and difficulties and have won big victories both in production and in the struggle. "The socialist system," he went on, "is growing stronger." The defensive capacity of the Republic has grown in the past years. Its armed forces, equipped with modern weapons, are inflicting crushing blows on the enemy. By January 2, he said, 1,622 U.S. planes had been destroyed over the DRV territory.

Notwithstanding the difficulties caused by the bombing, the people are unflinchingly building up their economy. "The material and technical base of cooperative farming is steadily being expanded," writes the newspaper *Nhan Dan*. "We are coping with the problem of food supplies for the army and the people more and more efficiently." Industry, too, especially small-scale industry, is being developed in keeping with the new situation. Small and medium enterprises supply agriculture and other branches with means of production, and the population with consumer goods.

The people are displaying a high sense of patriotism both on the labor front and on the battle front. "In the present struggle against the U.S. imperialists," Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said at the congress of heroes, "revolutionary heroism is displayed not only by individuals; it is becoming the standard of behavior, struggle and work of many millions."

The struggle of the people for national salvation, writes the *Nhan Dan*, is a sacred struggle

for independence and freedom. "The Vietnam issue," the paper stresses, "is the common issue for the people of the world . . . The movement against U.S. aggression and in support of the people of Vietnam has reached unprecedented scope on all five continents . . . It has become the biggest and most militant international movement of our time; the most diverse sections of the population of all countries are participating in it."

In this common movement in support of Vietnam, the paper continues, the fraternal solidarity, aid and support rendered by the socialist countries is particularly notable. "The entire socialist camp—the mighty bastion of human progress — is behind us," the paper concludes.

PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM

While rallying to resist the enemy, the people of Vietnam, both in the South and in the North, do not exclude the possibility of a peaceful solution. The leaders of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the government of the DRV have repeatedly stressed this. But peace can be restored only if independence and freedom are preserved. In a New Year message to the American people the President

of the DRV, Ho Chi Minh said: "We treasure peace, but this peace must be a real peace in conditions of independence and freedom." Any political settlement of the Vietnam problem must be based on the four points advanced by the DRV government and the five-point statement of the NLF.

The end of 1966 and beginning of 1967 were again marked by hypocritical "peace initiatives" by Washington, only to be negated by the ruthless bombing of densely populated districts of Hanoi, and the dispatch of new U.S. troops to South Vietnam. In an interview granted to the Australian journalist Wilfred Burchet, Nguyen Duy Trinh, the Foreign Minister of the DRV, declared in connection with the American "peace initiatives" that if the USA really wants to negotiate it must first of all unconditionally stop the bombing raids and all other aggressive acts against the Democratic Republic; only after this can negotiations take place between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States.

Nobody is likely to be taken in by the verbal peace moves by the aggressor. The people of the world who treasure peace will be able to draw the necessary conclusions and continue to give effective aid to embattled Vietnam.

Jan PRAZSKY

A study of state-monopoly capitalism

IN ORDER TO CHART the perspectives of the struggle of the working class and all other sections of the working people to combat state-monopoly capitalism and to replace it with socialism, it is imperative to examine the essence and contradictions of this phase of capitalism and its dynamics. The subject is being studied by Marxist theorists in many countries, and a number of monographs and papers submitted to national and international scientific conferences are available. Among these, a two-volume compilation of the materials of the international conference on state-monopoly capitalism sponsored last year in Choisy-le-Roi by the French Communist Party is of no little interest.*

The past ten years have witnessed quite a rapid growth of SMC.** Consequently, in studying modern capitalism it is imperative to evolve, on the basis of Lenin's views on state-monopoly capitalism, an integral theory of it. "Can it be said that there is now a generally accepted Marxist theory of SMC?" Paul Boccara asked in opening the conference. "As far as I know," he went on, "there is no real, generally accepted theory. True, some formulas have gained currency, but they do not constitute a theory, they merely trace the outlines; they are the initial attempts to generalize certain phenomena, but they do not precisely substantiate their *necessity*, pinpoint the laws governing their emergence, their growth, their movement. These formulas are undoubtedly useful, but for all that they are provisional and relative. The fact that they are useful should not obscure the urgent need to elaborate a scientific theory of SMC" (Vol. I, p. 11).

The obstacles which at one time prevented the creative elaboration of such a theory are common knowledge. The conference highlighted the role played by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU in eliminating these obstacles. But even today dogmatists

of all kinds, unable to analyze the *modern* capitalist reality from a Leninist standpoint, cling to erroneous formulas.

The task of the Marxists is to obtain a clearer insight into the present condition of imperialism by making a concrete study of the modifications that have taken place in the capitalist mode of production. This was the object also of the participants in the Choisy-le-Roi conference, in which, besides the French, Marxists from most other European countries, both capitalist and socialist, took part. Their papers and contributions covered a wide range of problems of contemporary capitalism.

"NEW PHASE OF IMPERIALISM"

The conference materials underscore the *objective nature* of SMC, the inability of present-day capitalism to do without extensive, systematic and comprehensive state intervention in the economy.

Most of the contributors agree that this is a *new phase* of monopoly capitalism. "SMC is a new phase of capitalist society at its imperialist stage, a phase that *follows* the phase of simple monopoly capitalism," Henri Jourdain, editor of *Economie et Politique*, says in his paper (Vol. I, p. 201).

The supporters of this viewpoint proceed from Lenin's thesis concerning the growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. All the basic changes in present-day Western capitalism boil down precisely to this metamorphosis.

As Boccara pointed out, "the new forms combine the economic functions of the monopolies and of the capitalist state into one organic whole functioning in its own particular way" (Vol. I, p. 16). The rise of SMC out of monopoly capitalism is inevitable, Jourdain says. "The changes introduced by SMC in the life of society are chiefly the result of the operation of the basic laws of capitalism—the laws of surplus value, of the tendency of the average rate of profit to decline, of value, and of the accumulation and concentration of capital..." (Vol. I, p. 203).

But this law-governed growth results in SMC

*Le capitalisme monopoliste d'Etat. Conférence internationale, Choisy-le-Roi. Tome I, Economie et Politique, numéro 143-144. Tome II, Economie et Politique, numéro 145-146.

**Some speakers used this abbreviation for state-monopoly capitalism, and for the sake of convenience we shall follow their example.

being distinguished by a number of qualitative features setting it apart from "simple" monopoly capitalism, in far-reaching changes in the relations of production. Boccara noted that "at a certain stage of evolution forms appear which are qualitatively new and, relatively speaking, the *opposite* of the old forms" (Vol. I, p. 15).

Jourdan showed how diverse modern forms of state intervention dialectically run counter to the principles of private capital, including monopoly capital, even though they are designed to uphold it. In seeking to overcome the contradictions of SMC, the monopoly bourgeoisie is often compelled to expand the scope of state intervention.

Important changes are taking place in the conditions of SMC also in the operation of the law of profit. To provide bigger profits for the monopolies, Jourdain says, the various forms of state intervention are designed to ensure that "in the long run they should be satisfied with a lower, zero or even negative rate of profit or interest" (Vol. I, pp. 206-207). For Jourdain this is the common denominator of the various forms of SMC.

Whereas the reformists see in this violation of the law of profit evidence of the "degeneration of capitalism," Marxists, as can be seen from the proceedings of the conference, bring out the true meaning of this phenomenon. The "distortion" of the forms of state intervention (financing the private sector, state enterprise in industry and the services, etc.), in the sense of the absence of the "normal" capitalist drive for maximum profits is explained by the need, first, to uphold the system of exploitation and profit as a whole, and, second, to ensure bigger profits for the private capitalists, primarily the monopolists.

This relative and partial negation of the law of profit—a negation essentially designed to boost profits—is one of the cardinal features of SMC. The volumes under review contain some original views on this.

"OVER-ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL"

In a second paper Boccara, proceeding from an analysis of the processes of accumulation and reproduction of capital in modern conditions and of the role of public (state) financing, examines from the standpoint of political economy a number of SMC phenomena.

Applying to modern capitalism Marx's point about the over-accumulation and devaluation of capital, he stresses that over-accumulation is a manifestation of the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. "Over-accumulation," he says, "is a matter of *excessive accumulation of capital* in a given capitalist society *in relation to the sum-total of surplus value or profit* obtainable for adding to the value of this capital.

"In the extreme case of *absolute over-accumulation*, additional investment does not bring in corresponding additional profit. This additional profit equals zero . . . In the case of relative over-accumulation more capital does not

bring in additional profit sufficient to ensure the minimum necessary rate of profit" (Vol. I, p. 24).

In these circumstances, Boccara holds, to sustain the process of capitalist accumulation and the rate of profit obtained by the monopolies, state intervention is needed to facilitate accumulation through financing investment, state ownership of branches operating at a loss or yielding low returns (which in the final analysis largely boils down to state financing of private capitalist monopolies), and other devices. The additional capital invested by the state does not increase over-accumulation (or, as Marx put it, "over-production of capital") inasmuch as the state does not compete with the private capitalists to lay hands on the mass of profit obtainable in the given conditions. On the contrary, reconciling itself to a lower, or even negative, rate of profit, the state makes things easier for the capitalists, sustains the private monopoly rate of profit. In effect state financing of investment makes it possible to convert diverse types of funds into capital, in particular to channel the liquid reserves of the population to basic capital investment.

In essence what Boccara does is to essay an economic explanation—admittedly a partial one—of the essence of SMC. His views are undoubtedly interesting, even though they obviously represent only *one* of a variety of economic explanations.

It should be said that Boccara's theses are not wholly convincing. He does not prove to the hilt when and how the stage of over-accumulation of capital set in when *public* funds were needed to depreciate part of this accumulation. Nor does he make the connection clear between this and the social, political and economic developments (wars and crises) usually cited to explain the leaps in the growth of SMC and without taking full account of which it can hardly be understood.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND CAPITALIST PLANNING

Another feature of state-monopoly capitalism, and one reflected in the very term, is the enormous growth of the role of the capitalist state, primarily in the economic sphere but also in all other areas, in a word, the new functions assumed by the state. Unanimously rejecting the once current one-sided theory that SMC is merely a matter of "subordination of the state to the monopolies," speakers analyzed the processes of the intertwining of the two which has produced qualitatively new phenomena.

The role of the state in the accumulation of capital is growing largely because of the scientific and technological revolution, which enormously increases the demand for capital and at the same time tends to reduce the rate of profit, because of "European integration," which has altered the conditions of competition, and also other factors. In France purely

state funds account for about one-fifth of all capital investment. Investments are made also from other public sources. Besides, the state seeks to promote self-financing by the monopolies. In a number of cases it takes special measures, including, as Robert Pirolli showed in his paper, inflationary measures, to restrict growth of consumption by the working people in order to promote accumulation.

National capitalist planning is another new feature of SMC (this perhaps is an indication of a more advanced stage in its development) connected with investment policy and the growth of the economic role of the capitalist state in general. This subject is examined in the comprehensive paper submitted by Jean Fabre, editor-in-chief of *Economie et politique*, and in other contributions. Fabre says: "The combined utilization of economic forecasts and state intervention are the main content of capitalist planning and determines its real physiognomy, which is connected with the very nature of SMC" (Vol. I, p. 140).

Fabre shows how the plan, which is not obligatory in capitalist society, influences the economy.

Extensive recourse to planning in the West European countries in the past five or ten years would not have been possible had there been no state sector and substantial state participation in investments, and had the capitalist state not possessed other powerful levers for influencing the economy. Having emerged on this basis, the plan, Fabre notes, "tends to become the supreme instrument of conscious intervention by the top men of state-monopoly capitalism in the economic process" (Vol. I, p. 154).

A product of SMC, and now an objective necessity for it, planning, at first sight, seems to iron out the contradictions of capitalism: the anarchy of capitalist production is temporarily and partially "overcome," and a certain "harmony" and higher rates of economic growth are achieved. However, state-monopoly planning produces new ways of intensifying the exploitation of broad sections of the people through "incomes policies" which put a brake on the growth of wages, as well as by other means. And this aggravates the contradiction between production and effective demand as well as the social antagonism between labor and capital.

The fact that the capitalist state gives effect to planning chiefly in the interests of the monopolies does not fully determine the nature of this planning. V. Vitello, of Italy, said that although the capitalist state, generally speaking, adheres to the strategy of the monopolies in its programming activities, it is compelled to reckon with the pressure exerted by the working class and other democratic forces. "Consequently," he said, "there is a struggle under way over the content, aims and instruments of the programming, the outcome of which is largely determined by the balance of

forces and the influence the working class and its allies are able to exert" (Vol. II, p. 145).

THE POSSIBILITIES AND PROSPECTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

Basing their programs of further advance on analysis of SMC, Western Communists proceed from Lenin's thesis that "state-monopoly capitalism is a complete *material* preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs.*" (V. I. Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*).

In view of this it is important to see the *dual nature* of SMC. It would be a mistake to regard it *only* as a matter of the further strengthening of monopoly domination. Its development deepens the contradictions of capitalism and dialectically hastens the onset of socialism. Many of the papers underscore that the new economic instruments now used by capitalism can, with the development of the anti-monopoly struggle, be used for the revolutionary transition to socialism. These instruments include not only nationalization and state ownership of enterprises (which the Communists have long recognized), but also, as Jourdain noted, "state planning, public financing of production, regulation of savings and credit, selective investment, the system of taxation, government consumption, and direct state intervention in the sphere of wages, prices and profits" (Vol. I, p. 218).

In the present circumstances intensive penetration by the capitalist state into all aspects of the life of society increasingly encroaches on democracy and creates the danger of totalitarianism. The conference devoted attention to the struggle to safeguard democracy and to deepen and extend it to all areas, including the economic and cultural spheres, to give it a new content and make it a genuine democracy.

Closely associated with this is another problem. As speakers from Federal Germany, France, Italy and other countries noted, the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state are now bending every effort to "integrate" the working class in SMC ideologically, politically and organizationally. The aim is to impel the working class completely to renounce its own values and to impel its organizations to relinquish their autonomy and to subordinate their policy to the objectives of SMC. To this end recourse is being had in many countries to "incomes policies."

The Communists and other working-class militants uphold the autonomy of the workers' organizations, primarily the trade unions, underscoring the importance of such autonomy also in the transition to socialism. They rally the workers in order to wrest the maximum concessions from the capitalists with a view to heightening the militant "anti-integration" spirit of the working class in the course of this struggle, putting forward programs aimed at

developing democracy in an anti-monopoly spirit and raising the question of industrial democracy and workers' control.

In his closing speech Waldeck Rochet noted that thanks to the shift in the world balance of strength in favor of socialism the working class of the capitalist countries had been able to win concessions and improvements in the sphere of wages and social security. But these improvements, he stressed, will not make the working class give up its revolutionary spirit inasmuch as this spirit is objectively determined by the position of the working people in the social set-up. The gains of the working class and other sections of the working people in the fight for better conditions reinforce "confidence in their own strength and promote the development of a revolutionary spirit and the class struggle in its various forms" (Vol. I, p. 241).

Hence the Western Communist parties are elaborating a strategy and tactics fully in keeping with the objective conditions, taking into account all the contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism and the opportunities created by it, and, proceeding from the situation *today* and not from likely changes in the future, chart the way forward for the working class and all other democratic forces.

"If we wish to move ahead," Rochet continued, "it is imperative for the working class and its vanguard, while promoting struggles for immediate demands, to put forward long-range programs and concrete economic development plans which would correspond both to the vital need to expand the productive forces and the need to raise the material and cultural standards of all working people" (Vol. I, p. 242).

Problems relating to culture, intellectual life, human dignity and the development of the individual acquire a growing importance. Working for a society in which the "free development of each is the condition for the free development of all," the Communists combat the tendency of modern capitalism to subordinate to itself and to condition the requirements and aspirations of the people and turn them into pre-programmed robots.

* * *

Inasmuch as Marxists are in agreement that SMC is an organic, integral entity, the descriptive method of examining it no longer suffices. It should be subjected to a comprehensive study with a view to working out an integral theory, or, if you wish, a "model" showing its functioning and development.

For this, as was noted at the conference, individual and collective, national and international research is needed. In his paper Barjonet stressed that the "amazing proliferation" of non-Marxist studies of SMC in itself makes the "objective need for a new analysis of SMC" patent to Marxists. (Vol. I, pp. 198-199).

The Choisy-le-Roi conference unquestionably was a contribution to such an analysis. Needless to say, the present review has touched only a few of the problems. The conference also went into such questions as capitalist concentration in the present conditions, inflation and SMC, international economic integration, diverse aspects of the exploitation of the working people, and agrarian developments. Less attention was paid to a number of important problems which obviously call for more extensive study, namely:

—the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on SMC and its aspects and perspectives;

—social problems which are becoming more acute in modern capitalist society and which SMC is powerless to resolve;

—attempts to "integrate" the working class into the "system," the objective and subjective factors facilitating this "integration" and the trends working in a contrary direction;

—and, lastly, the internal factors making for the evolution of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism require further examination.

The materials of the Choisy-le-Roi conference contain ideas and conclusions which are a contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and help to promote the anti-monopoly democratic struggle of the working people.

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5. Angular Momentum

6. Oscillations

7. Relativity



