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political affairs

Journal of Marxist Thought

ANSWERS TO
YOUR QUESTIONS

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Jack Kling

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MARXISM-LENINISM?
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From the Editors to You....

This is the promised issue of PA, beginning to answer the main question contained in response to our request to readers. Dozens of readers did send in questions and comments. We thank all of you very much. Because many questions overlapped, they were grouped together in an attempt to answer as many of them as possible. We do not see this issue as an end, but as a start. We would like to make answering yours questions, as well as providing articles on topics you choose, a permanent feature of our magazine. If we missed some questions, we hope to get to them yet in a future issue, and if these inspire others, we'd like to hear about them.

We would also like to make this issue, and Political Affairs in general, available to others who are not yet hooked on PA. But we need your help. Do you have friends, neighbors and co-workers who would enjoy reading this issue? Well, we would like to send it to them as a free introductory copy from PA. Just send us their name and address (zip code please). Our address is:

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In addition, we would appreciate any financial help you could give us toward making this project a success. Contributions earmarked for this purpose can be sent to the same address.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Indispensable Party—61 Years

JACK KLING

September 1 marks the 61st anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, USA. Since its birth, this Party, based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, has understood that only socialism can solve the basic problems facing the working class, poor farmers and all exploited and oppressed people. At the same time, we are concerned with every problem facing our people now, during this period of transition. Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, said in his report to our XXII National Convention:

The work of the Communist Party since its formation, despite severe repression and periods of illegality, has been considerable. There is not a single important issue or struggle since 1919 that the Communist Party has failed to take part in or lead.

These issues and struggles have been reflected in our printed voice, first the *Daily Worker* and now the *Daily World*, over the years.

The Party's contribution to the struggle for unemployment insurance and social security is unforgettable. On March 6, 1930, more than one million people throughout the country responded to the Party's call for demonstrations against unemployment.

Communists contributed to the movement for the organization of the unorganized in the basic mass production industries, and fought in the civil rights battles against racist oppression of Black Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities. Indeed, the contribution has been noteworthy in many areas including in veteran actions; the great bonus march to Washington in 1932; and the work with the Young Communist League in helping to form the Ameri-

can Youth Congress, which became a powerful youth united front movement.

Indicative of the Party's application and understanding of the meaning of internationalism was the campaign to save Republican Spain from fascism (the majority of the 1,500 American volunteers who died on the battlefield were members of the Young Communist League or Communist Party); as well as to the struggles for the independence of Cuba, Angola, China, the Philippines, Nicaragua and Puerto Rico. In the struggles against U.S. aggression in Korea and Viet Nam, and in the intense battles of our people to defeat McCarthyism and to defend the democratic rights of the foreign-born and all Americans, the Communist Party played the leading role. In the recent past, on this front, Communists have initiated and helped build mass movements for peace and détente, for the signing of SALT II, and against the U.S.-Chinese policy of anti-Sovietism.

It is no accident that some of the best men and women, theoreticians and activists in the labor, civil rights, peace, youth, cultural and other movements found their way into the Communist Party and its leadership.

This 61st anniversary takes place in a period of rapidly deepening capitalist crisis on all fronts, and at the same time, of rising actions by the working class and people on many fronts. Strikes are on the increase in steel, at International Harvester, in auto, chemical, transit, and other industries. New sections of the working class have increasingly become involved in strikes, including teachers, sanitation workers, firemen, etc., and in these actions Communists have and are playing important roles.

Our Party has been part of actions around the country against plant closings and growing un-

Jack Kling is a member of the Political Bureau, CPUSA.

employment as part of picket lines and demonstrations in front of plant gates, in delegations and marches to Washington, in the formation of a national shorter work-week movement, and at the very important national conference for trade union action held in Gary last June.

We are also part of the fightbacks against racist and political repression, against the KKK and Nazi forces, as in Libertyville, Miami, North Carolina, California, etc. We welcome the growing concern and actions by many democratic forces toward the danger of fascism and the growth of racism and anti-Semitism.

We are part of the movement for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. We are involved in the peace movement and against any draft registration. We are deeply involved as well in support of national liberation struggles: in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.

On the eve of the 1980 elections, the Party observes its 61st anniversary with a ticket of Gus Hall for president and Angela Davis for vice president, and local candidates in a number of states. The Party recognizes that on basic strategic questions there are no differences among Carter, Kennedy, Reagan and Anderson. There are some tactical differences, but illusions in the personalities or concepts of a lesser evil ticket are groundless.

There are growing movements for political independence, which have run candidates for office and successfully elected some to city, state, and even congressional posts. We support and work with these movements when they fight for issues in the interest of the working class and the oppressed racial and national minorities.

Let us be clear: the Communist's electoral campaign does not conflict with the emerging independent political movements. Communists everywhere will help actively to build such independent formations. More, the campaigns of Communist candidates open doors and prepare the soil for political independents, for Left-progressive candidates. Our struggles and our platform can make our ticket a real choice for tens of thousands who see no meaningful alternative to the candidates of the old parties. Voting for the kinds of solutions proposed in our platform is the

best guarantor of having an impact on the policies of whoever is elected President.

The last 61 years have proved that for the working class and the exploited and oppressed peoples to make advances and to move toward socialism, the Communist Party is indispensable. Despite continuing efforts by the ruling class to destroy, as in the Palmer Raids and during the McCarthy period, in spite of attempts to divert us from the path of Marxism-Leninism, as attempted by renegades like Lovestone, Browder, Gates, et. al., and despite mistakes made at various times, the Party has come through with its feet solidly on the road to socialism.

At a recent seminar on the struggle for Black liberation, Henry Winston said, "The birth of the Communist Party in 1919 not only brought something new to the class struggle in the United States, but...this birth is the single greatest contribution to the entire history of our country."

Such unique contributions are not accidental. They flow from the special features of a Communist Party, from its working-class nature, its creative application of the science of society, Marxism-Leninism, its adherence to proletarian internationalism and organization on the basis of democratic centralism. These enable the Communist Party, USA to point the path ahead at every turn—to show the connection between daily struggles, an anti-monopoly people's coalition and socialism. It enables the Party to approach all questions from the standpoint of the working class and all working people and to help bring the multiracial, multinational class to the fore as the leading force among all democratic anti-monopoly strata and to set out the general path forward. Without these contributions, the spontaneous mass movement would be doomed to defeats, diversions and endless ups and downs, until the unique features of the Leninist Party could bring these ingredients to combine with those mass movements and struggles.

With such an illustrious background, Communists can do no less than continue their all-out effort to help alleviate the woeful condition of the masses, while working toward the very realizable goal of a socialist United States of America.

What are the Roots of Marxism-Leninism?

GUS HALL

*"For one man to discover a fruitful fact one hundred must burn up their lives in unsuccessful search and sad error."**

The development of the human brain is nature's most illustrious achievement. But its development to its present heights has been a rather slow and even tortuous process.

Like everything else, this process has had periods of incubation followed by moments of great leaps and "discoveries." The moments of "discovery" were always, in a sense, the products of the longer periods of accumulation of knowledge.

In the development of human thought there are no loners. Each new "discovery," each advanced thought, is the product of many minds, of many experiences. "...we must not forget that discoveries result from the work of many and from the accumulated aggregate of facts." (Dimitry Mendeleev, *Words of the Wise: A Book of Russian Quotations*, compiled by V.V. Vorontsov, Progress Publishers, 1979, p. 466.)

Such a concept in no way diminishes the stature of the individuals who had the capacity to put it all together, to take the accumulated knowledge and draw new conclusions, point to new insights and raise the human thought process to new heights. In a very basic sense every individual is in debt to society for his or her mental development. "Knowledge is not consummate, crystalized and petrified; it is being eternally created and is eternally in motion." (D. Pryanishnikov, *ibid.*, p. 458.)

The reader may ask: What has all this to do with Marxism-Leninism and especially with dialectical and historical materialism? Everything, because discoveries in every field are also basically the products of incubation periods, the "accumulated aggregate of facts," and related to the overall development of the human thought process.

The word "discovery" often appears in litera-

ture which discusses science, history and the development of Marxism-Leninism. Such expressions have one meaning for the author, but very often quite another for the reader. Uninitiated readers of Marxism-Leninism, who are a big part of the audience we write articles for, are often left with the impression that Marx, Engels and Lenin made discoveries or invented ideas which had no real relationship to either the process of human or social development—that their thoughts were brilliant flashes from the blue and not the result of the development of human society and the related process, the development of the human mind.

Scientific discoveries are never readymade or complete. The process of scientific discovery illumined by the intellect of great human personalities is at the same time a slow process of universal human development stretching over the ages. (V.I. Vernadsky, *ibid.*, p. 466.)

Because of this misconception, many see the process of the development of human society and the human thought process as one thing and dialectical and historical materialism and Marxism-Leninism in general as "discoveries," disconnected from and unrelated to the overall real-life process.

Bourgeois ideologists work to isolate Marxism-Leninism from real life, from the human thought process and social development. Therefore, we must correctly define the relationship of Marxism-Leninism to the development of the human thought process. Not only are they related, but Marxism-Leninism and dialectical and historical materialism are the pinnacle of achievement of that process. They are products of the highest level of the human thought process.

Far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, Marxism has assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of

*Gus Hall is the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA. The quote is from D. Pisarev, in *Words of the Wise*, op. cit., p. 476.)

the development of human thought and culture. (Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 275.)

The science of Marxism-Leninism is the closest approximation to truth. As with knowledge in general, Marxism-Leninism is not "consummate, crystalized or petrified. It is being eternally created; it is eternally in motion." As Lenin very correctly observed: "Truth is a process. From the subjective idea, man advances toward objective truth *through* 'practice' [and technique]." (*Ibid.*, p. 477.) But he also cautioned: "An abstract truth becomes an empty phrase if it is applied to every concrete situation." (*Ibid.*, p. 478.)

The development of human thought is itself a dialectical process. After long periods of incubation and the gathering of experience, great leaps take place. Individuals or groups of individuals study experiences, gather the thoughts expressed by many and draw new conclusions. Thus, the thought process is raised to new, higher levels.

These new conclusions are not self-contained, isolated discoveries, but products of the accumulated experiences, thought and activities of many.

Let us inquire into the process of the rise and development of some concepts which are basic features of the theoretical and philosophical foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

Cause and Effect

Consider the concept of cause and effect, basic to all sciences and a vital category in the dialectical process. Like all accumulated knowledge, the concept of cause and effect has a tortuous history.

Obviously the germs of this concept went through a period of incubation. It is possible that the original notion of cause and effect could have derived from the simple observation of nature. Take, for instance, the observation that rain makes plants grow and, conversely, when there is a lack of rain, plants die. The conclusion drawn was that rain causes plants to grow.

But the real significance of such a conclusion planted the seeds of the larger concept of cause and effect in the human mind. Once the mind reached the point of accepting the idea of cause and effect it was at a new level. This was a breakthrough in human knowledge because this out-

look could now be further expanded, and applied to other phenomena, not limited to the relationship between rain and plants. This was a significant leap.

The process of the development of the human mind has encountered many obstacles and pitfalls. For example, because the human mind was not initially able to explain why rain had a positive effect on plants, it was stuck for long periods in all kinds of speculation. It was especially entangled in the idea that rain was caused by some heavenly supernatural force. This coincided with a period of rain god worship. And as a result, the overall development of the concept of cause and effect got sidetracked.

For a long period theology was an obstacle to the development of all sciences. According to theology there was no need, in fact scientists were not permitted to probe into cause and effect because theology had settled such questions for all time.

Even after accepting the idea of cause and effect, early philosophers and scientists believed that cause was some specific thing like fire, air or water. Later, others thought that cause was some eternal, immutable atoms, with a unique form and position. This line of probing was a deadend street. But the experience became a part of the accumulated knowledge. And experience has a relentless inner-power. The concept of cause and effect broke through the artificial barrier between science and philosophy and the human mind consequently broke through to new, ever higher levels.

Science and Dialectics

This was possible because dialectics offers the optimum advantage for all who deal with the natural sciences because dialectics deals with the laws of nature. The science of thought is no different from any other. It is the science of the development of human thought.

But before this science and its development could be ascertained, the question of the relationship of dialectics to nature had to be settled. Even a giant like Hegel, who probed deeply into the laws of nature, saw dialectics as the law of thought, separated from reality. Marx, Engels and Lenin

took what was correct in the projections of scientists and philosophers like Hegel and placed dialectics as a reflection of the laws of nature. Only then could dialectics become an instrument in the study of nature and society.

Concerning the earlier interpretation of the laws of nature, in many ways Marx' and Engels' understanding was similar, "only with the essential difference that what in the case of the Greeks was a brilliant intuition, is in our case the result of strictly scientific research in accordance with experience, and hence also it emerges in a much more definitive and clear form." (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p. 43.)

Hence, the big leap in understanding the phenomenon of cause and effect came with dialectical materialism. It came with the understanding that the cause of all change and development in anything is primarily within the phenomenon itself; the understanding that cause and effect can change places, (that which is a cause in one set of circumstances can be an effect in another); and that change can take place because of many causes.

The understanding grew that there is a living, moving inner-relationship between cause and effect. Engels put it in a few words: "Reciprocal action is the true *causa finalis* of things." (*Marxist-Leninist Philosophy*, A.P. Sheptulin, Progress Publishers, 1978, p. 199.)

While this dialectical concept of cause and effect has finally become accepted in the scientific community there are still some who say it is correct in general but contend that it does not apply to the micro-world, where science deals with elementary particles not visible and where it is not now possible to determine the position or velocity of some of them. Others contend it is not possible to predict the behavior of such particles and therefore not possible to determine what is the cause and what is the effect.

Einstein, Planck and Born, who made the main contributions to quantum theory, all rejected such views. They insisted that the whole of natural science rests on accepting objective reality. Born wrote that quantum theory "calls for new ways of describing the physical world, but not the denial

of its reality." (*ABC of Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Progress, 1976, p. 73.)

Space and Time

The same questions were raised regarding the concept of space and time. The understanding of space and time as forms of matter advanced with the introduction of the theory of relativity. But as to be expected, it was and still is being challenged by those who argue that space and time have nothing to do with objective reality, but instead originate in the mind and not in the real world. The fact is that space and time are matter-related. They can not exist without matter. "The basic forms of all being are space and time, and being out of time is just as gross an absurdity as being out of space." (Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, p.64.)

On this Einstein said, 100 years later, "They used to think that if all things in the world disappeared, space and time would remain; and in accordance with the theory of relativity, with the disappearance of all things, space and time too must disappear." (*ABC of Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, op. cit., p. 94.) Only such an understanding is dialectical. It seems the struggle against the self-centeredness of the human mind is never-ending.

There is an old story that says the law of the known phenomenon does not apply to the unknown. But of course experience proves that as the unknown becomes known the basic laws and concepts do apply.

Consider the concept of and relationship between matter and motion. To the early mind a tree was a tree, soil was soil, water was water and flesh was flesh. The idea that there was something similar in all of them, some common property in these diverse-appearing materials, never occurred at the earlier level of the human thought process. Quite possibly the observation of a decaying log, or leaves becoming part of soil, stirred up speculation that somehow they have similar properties, as well as speculation about the process of dying, the changing of the old and the coming of the new.

Concept of Matter

After a period of accumulated experience and observation, the philosophical idea of matter as a

basic phenomenon began to make its appearance. The thought that everything is matter was indeed a leap in knowledge. It took a long time for the human mind to accept that objective reality existed whether or not it was reflected in the human brain. It is clear that egoism and self-worship are old weaknesses of the human race, i.e., the earth was the center of the universe and the human mind was the essence of all phenomena. The human race viewed reality—the material world—as a printout of the human mind. Mankind's self-centeredness could not accept the fact that anything existed independently of the human mind.

The concept that everything is matter, that objective reality exists independently of human consciousness and the further development of the initial concepts laid the foundation for the present understanding of matter and motion and their inseparability.

Matter, Motion and the Unity of Opposites

The discovery that all matter is in motion and that there is no motion without matter was another leap in understanding nature and a big advance in the ability of the mind to handle complicated phenomena not always visible to the naked eye.

The realization that all matter comes packaged in opposites was also a long time in coming. It surfaced in bits and pieces and it took an even longer time to grasp that the opposites—negative-positive, etc.—are primary elements in giving matter both unity and motion; that a property of opposites is both attraction and repulsion.

As was the case with cause and effect, the dialectical understanding of the law of simultaneous unity and struggle of opposites in all phenomena was also a leap in the process of the accumulation of knowledge.

Lenin added further clarity when he defined dialectics as the study of the identity of opposites, of the laws governing their passing into one another. He wrote:

Dialectics is the teaching which shows how opposites can be and how they happen to be (how they become) alike—under what conditions they are alike, becoming transformed into one another—why the human mind should

grasp these opposites not as dead, rigid, but as living, conditional, mobile, becoming transformed into one another. (*Marxist-Leninist Philosophy*, A. P. Sheptulin, Progress, 1978, p. 262.)

There are still some in the field of science who have lived through the experience of discovering sub-atomic particles of mass—some with a positive charge and others with a negative—but who still refuse to accept that this is how all matter comes packaged. They see it rather, as a law in the specific field, but not as a philosophical generalization.

Karl Marx took note of and studied the thoughts and experiences of the past. But it was to Marx' great credit that he was able to take the accumulated thoughts and experiences, draw new conclusions from them and put them together into a scientific theoretical body of thought. Again, in a sense it was a new "discovery" but not unrelated to the probing, the thoughts and experiences that preceded Marx. The genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin was in their ability to take the accumulated thoughts and experiences and raise all scientific thought to new heights, to a qualitatively higher level.

All these concepts have a history of accumulated experience in the process of the development of the human mind. And when placed within the process of the development of the human mind and human society it is easier to explain that Marxism-Leninism and dialectical and historical materialism are the greatest achievements of the human mind. They are the biggest and most profound leaps in the development of the human thought process.

All the past experiences of mankind, the incubated thoughts, were gathered, analyzed, and synthesized and new conclusions were drawn. These new conclusions—the basic Marxist-Leninist theories—are the further and highest level of development of the very best of human minds.

Historic Roots of Marxism-Leninism

When Marxism-Leninism is presented in isolation from its historic roots it is easier for bourgeois ideologues, for monopoly forces, to slander it as a set of dogmas having nothing to do with the

realities of life.

Marxist-Leninist theory has brought the concept of cause and effect a long way from that level which we depicted as its "rain and plant" stage.

It has been woven into the scientific concept that there is an inner-relationship in all things. This was transformed into the ideas of motion, whereby today's effects become tomorrow's causes. This has become an advanced tool for probing all phenomena.

The science of Marxism-Leninism has brought the concept of matter a long way from the original "decaying leaves and soil" association. The idea of the materiality of all things—that there is no matter that is not in constant motion and that there is no motion without matter—was a great leap forward for the human mind. It is impossible to study matter without taking into account its universal form of existence—motion. And any attempt to study motion without relating it to matter is futile. This concept has become indispensable for the study of the smallest sub-atomic particles, as well as for an understanding of the universe in motion.

The science of Marxism-Leninism has significantly raised the level of science and human thought with the concept that matter comes packaged in opposites and that this fact is related to both its unity and motion.

These concepts have become the foundationstones for the study of the human mind itself. It has become an accepted fact that human thoughts are reflections of and very definitely related to matter, to the reality surrounding them.

Marxism-Leninism and Natural Sciences

The relationship between the world outlook based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the natural sciences is still an area of lively discussion. With each advance in the natural sciences the discussion flares up. But there is agreement that the world view can not be directly formed from the knowledge drawn from the natural sciences, nor can the laws of nature be deduced directly from the world view. However, to deny that there is a relationship would be to deny that both are reflections of objective reality.

The concept of class divisions and the inevitable struggle between them was a leap from the initial

gripes and struggles between individuals. The Marxist explanation of class exploitation, the source of corporate profits and the role of the class struggle in all past and present exploiting societies is the basis for the very important concept that class divisions cut across national boundaries, economic theories, philosophies and ideology in general. As Lenin and others observed: "There are two sides to all things in the world." This is the basis for the idea of the development of the human mind, which includes the rise of class consciousness.

Marx, Engels and Lenin assisted the biggest leap in the development of human thought by working through the massive accumulation of experience and ideas, cleansing them of speculation and false concepts and working them into a scientific whole. An additional leap was made by relating the concepts to the development of human society. Capitalist ideologues have burned a lot of midnight oil trying to undo or at least to dilute the Marxist-Leninist content of historical materialism.

Inevitability of Socialism

There is nothing capitalist spokesmen fear more than the fact that history has an inevitable direction and that capitalism is on the losing end of that process.

Socialism is not a discovery or a flash in someone's mind. But rather, it is the product of a process of development of human society and the related development of the human thought process.

Socialism did not appear as a vision to Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Many others projected some kind of socialist society. However, it was Marx, Engels and Lenin who rejected, corrected and rearranged the wrong ideas attached to the general concept of a socialist society. They stood them on their feet and related the idea of a socialist society to the class struggle, thus giving socialism a scientific basis.

Lenin

Like so many ideas in the past, many features of Marxism got sidetracked. Lenin made great additional contributions to this historic leap by resurrecting and reestablishing on a scientific basis many of the ideas that Marx and Engels had pro-

jected.

Lenin took the basic Marxist concepts and developed them up to the period of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the new society, socialism. This brought the process of the development of the human mind to a new, higher level. The fact that masses throughout the world accept the idea that socialism works and is the solution to the problems capitalism can not solve is testimony to this new level of human thought.

Human society and the human mind will continue to develop to new, ever higher levels barring, that is, the destruction of the world and the human race by the imperialist nuclear maniacs.

The development of computer technology is giving science a new instrument. It is greatly extending the ability of the human mind to do complicated calculations, in its ability to store experiences. It is a big step in the development and accumulation of human knowledge.

Revolutionary Science of Reality

Is it correct to speak of Marx, Engels and Lenin as geniuses? Although they were able to take the lead in understanding the development of the human mind, their genius does not lie in great "discoveries" or in "flashes of genius," isolated from the overall process of development. They were geniuses because they were able to take what had already developed—the experience and knowledge of generations—reject that which did

not correspond to reality, draw new conclusions from this wealth of material and then project the path of human progress. They explained reality in new ways. Life, experience and the further development of the human mind has proven them to be correct.

Marxism-Leninism is the big leap in human thought. Marxian economics is the most influential of all economic theories. With dialectics the human mind is able to see reality-matter-nature as it is inner-related, moving, developing; not as a hit-and-miss series of accidents, but in a pattern and according to laws. Marxism-Leninism makes a historic contribution by explaining and doing away with the seeming contradiction between philosophy and the natural sciences.

Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary science of reality. The roots of history are its roots. Its concrete goal is truth. It reflects and changes its surroundings. It is the loftiest achievement of human thought.

We Marxist-Leninists are not of a different mold, but of a different alloy. Like all human beings, we are products of the history of the development of human society. And as Marxist-Leninists we have available to us and have become part of the greatest leap in human thought.

In the galaxy of the sciences, Marxism-Leninism is the brightest star and it is in a very special orbit. It continues to grow because it probes and absorbs all. It influences the whole spectrum of human thought because it seeks for the truth.

Can Human Nature Be Changed?

SYLVIA LONDON NEWCOMB

The growing severity of the economic, political and social crisis in our country is taking the kind of toll on the lives of millions of people which triggers a more basic search for answers to their mounting problems of survival. Monopoly capital is offering absolutely nothing by way of solutions. Even the reformists can not make a pretense of small solutions in the offing. The spectacle of this year's two-party twin billing with the Anderson "similarity" serves only to dramatize these basic facts.

A mass radicalization of working people is inevitable in such a setting. Workers are more receptive than ever to radical reforms, and there is a new level of response to the idea of socialism as well.

This situation presents a very basic challenge to U.S. monopoly capital and calls for greater ingenuity in their ideological work. One of their main stocks in trade is their latest vintage of the old "you can't change human nature" line. It goes something like this: Socialism is not really a bad idea. In fact, it is a good idea in theory. But in real life, it can't work because people weren't born to work cooperatively for the common good. Historically they've been selfish, greedy and aggressive. The name of the game is survival of the fittest.

Volumes are written to attempt to prove this point in theory, and no stone is left unturned—including never-ending efforts at counterrevolution in the socialist countries—to try to prove it in life.

Monopoly capital has yet another route to "disprove" the better side of human nature and that is through its own slimy portrayal of its version of human nature. A final extravaganza performance in the human nature department is being enacted that is bound to make even the most earnest believers in the loftier potential of humanity scratch their heads in disbelief.

In this advanced industrial country, the ruling class follows policies which promote impoverish-

ment and illiteracy. They are creating bureaucracies impervious to human suffering and need. They are using racism in more and more blatant forms, as well as male supremacy.

Their corruption knows no bounds or party labels, from Watergate to Billygate. They are truly trying their utmost to "drug" the people to their level of depravity. It is as though Billy Carter is making a statement to the people for the whole lot of corporate degenerates he represents when he relieves himself on a public airport runway.

It is not that they used to be couth and now they are not; it is just that they used to try to hide their true nature from public view and now they flaunt it.

The desired effect is to get honest working people to ask themselves if the human race is really up to this proposition of change. One of the most diabolical things a person with a sick mind can do to healthy people is to attempt to make them think they too are mentally ill and losing their powers of reason.

Here, too, we have the spectacle of a sick, degenerate, low-life ruling class trying to derail the working class and its allies by saying, "You're as wacked out, sick and selfish as we are." Read: Human nature is sick and selfish; therefore, any struggle for change is a blind alley.

An example of this is the phenomenon in which masses of people are for nationalization but question whether it can be run honestly and democratically. In this election year, many honest working people have expressed a felling of disbelief that honest, incorruptible people's candidates run for office, such as Gus Hall and Angela Davis.

Many who look upon socialism with new and favorable eyes are quick to express skepticism about its workability. Only on the part of a few is that skepticism converted into a hard core cynicism that resists struggle and change. For many their doubts are the kind of healthy skepticism that precedes a difficult, fundamental crossroads decision, and one challenge for those of us on the march to socialism is to improve and sharpen the

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answers we give to those on the threshold of socialist partisanship.

We need, for example, to be ready to discuss the class essence of human nature. The mentality of dog-eat-dog and each man for himself is a trademark of the competitive nature of the capitalist mode of production. To maintain his status and add to his profits, the capitalist has no choice but to squeeze out his opposition. It is the objective nature of the capitalist system which makes him act as he does.

No matter how philanthropic he may appear, no matter how much he may personally wish to exhibit personal humaneness, if he is to remain a capitalist he is forced to act in a way which will fight for greater and greater profits.

The basic, inherent qualities of capitalism are competitiveness, aggressiveness, individualism, egocentricity, dishonesty. Lenin stated, "We must work to root out the cursed rule: 'each for himself and the devil take the hindmost.'" (From the article, "From the First Subbotnik on the Moscow-Kagan Railway to the All-Russian May Day Subbotnik.")

Through their control of the superstructure—the government, educational, institutions, mass media and cultural outlets—monopoly capital forces workers to eat at their ideological table and consume all the decadence dished out. The working class has no choice but to take in the ideological pollutants the capitalist class has to offer. But, in a basic sense, this is going against its own nature.

What is the nature of the working class? The working class has never known the power to exploit or oppress another. When the working class takes the means of production into its own hands, it changes the rules. In Lenin's words, "We shall work in order to introduce in the minds, habits and daily life of the masses the rule: 'all for one and one for all,' the rule, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'" (Ibid.)

What has come to be known as the greatest invention in all of human history, the working class state, sees to it that the working-class rules are carried into life. It is only then that the working class has the power to plan its labor and develop a new socialist attitude toward it, govern its affairs

and develop cooperative relations, a process which, "recasts the minds of people in a spirit of collectivity and humanism." (V.I. Lenin, *Problems of Morality and Education in the Program of the CPSU.*)

All of human history was transformed when the working class first took this step in Russia in 1917. Workers throughout the world took heart, and many working-class revolutions have followed since. That working-class rules became dominant in these countries, that the true nature of the working class unfolded into life and quickly prevailed, is an incontrovertible fact of history. To understand this, one need only visit socialist countries and see the incredulous looks upon workers' faces when they hear about the irrational qualities of life under capitalism. One need only see the total disbelief expressed by citizens of socialism when they learn of new, aggressive cold war acts of imperialism that threaten to destroy our planet.

One need soak in just briefly, but honestly, the innerpersonal concern of socialist citizens, their lack of selfish competitiveness, their resoluteness of purpose, which shows up all the more in countries whose revolutions are more mature and secure. In the Soviet Union, for example, some 30 million people give voluntarily of their free time to administer the affairs of state and carry out the work of mass organizations. It is an excellent barometer of their socialist working class rules.

While it is true that the socialist revolution dramatically unleashes the full strength of working-class humanism, it should be understood that the process of changing human nature from the dominance of capitalism to that of socialism is a slow and tedious process and the revolution does not in itself solve all problems but rather provides the basis for their solution.

U.S. monopoly-capitalism utilizes the slow and uneven quality of the change in every conceivable way, including the search for weakness and potential weakness among the citizens of socialist countries. Indeed it is poignantly sad to see the basest representatives of capitalism make their crude overtures to the most self-seeking remnants of the old ideas in the new society and offer them every conceivable form of inducement (which they have stolen from U.S.

workers) to help them take their backward journey in time.

The working class socialist revolution is the birthplace of what Marxists call proletarian humanism. The roots of working-class humanism go back into human history to the first resistance of people against exploitation, oppression and tyranny. The embryo of the new human being which emerges under socialism and is fully formed under communism is to be found in the working-class qualities emerging under capitalism.

Engels states in *Anti-Durhing*, "...we find the modern bourgeois morality and beside it also the proletarian morality of the future." This new morality takes the form of a growing awareness of the social injustice of capitalism, a growing hatred for the oppression of the working class and specially oppressed peoples which translates into growing love and compassion for the exploited and oppressed peoples.

It is seen in the workplace in the cooperation required to get the job done and the struggle of the union to make a dent against the bosses. During a strike, it is seen in the steadfastness and solidarity without which victory would be impossible. It is seen in the fightback struggles in working-class communities for decent housing and education, for jobs.

It has its roots in the way poor farmers must help one another gather the harvest if it is to get done.

It is found in the way working-class families and neighbors gather round one another in times of illness, adversity, or disaster. It is found in the values working-class families try to teach their children—to share, to respect the feelings of others, to fight for the respect of other people's dignity as you would your own.

In a country with our unique history it is found in the heritage of the slaves who revolted, the abolitionist movement, the sharecroppers movement, the fight against lynch mob terror and today against renewed KKK violence, in the fight against racism and discrimination against all oppressed nationalities in all its forms. The ongoing struggle against racism is by its nature a pre-condition for the working class to express its true humanist

nature.

The roots of working-class humanism we are struggling for are personified in sung and yet unsung heroes and heroines against exploitation and oppression—from Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman and John Brown to Martin Luther King, Viola Liuzzo, the Haymarket martyrs and the countless miners, steel and textile workers martyred in fierce organizing battles.

There are tens of thousands in our country's history whose valorous and selfless contributions, modesty and dedication of their entire lives to the working-class and socialist goal—without having lived to enjoy the final victory—are as yet unrecorded.

The roots of working-class humanism can be found in the forerunners of the socialist tradition in our country and leaders of the Communist Party like William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Henry Winston and Gus Hall, all of whom were imprisoned in the course of leading the working class to demand what is rightfully theirs.

Working-class humanism is to be seen in the challenge of Gus Hall's and Angela Davis' candidacies to the wasteland of monopoly politics.

Real profound humanism can also be found in working-class culture, ideas and attitudes which the heavy hand of monopoly capitalism tries desperately to squelch.

Skepticism about the ability to change human nature is not necessarily negative. Its other side is a healthy, collective concern for making sure that the very best in people is brought to the fore in the struggle for and after the establishment of socialism. Skepticism will not be answered mainly by what we say and write. It will be answered, more and more, in what we do and how we struggle and how we draw the best in ourselves and others out in the course of that struggle.

In studying the class essence of humanism, the answers are not simply captured by the phrase "all workers are saints and all capitalists are scoundrels." There are many examples of members of upper-class families who, because of peculiarities of their upbringing and life experience, develop true feelings of compassion for the underdog and try to act on those feelings. Similarly, there are

(Continued on page 23)

Is Socialism Applicable to the U.S.?

JOHN PITTMAN

The question of whether socialism would be applicable to the United States of America has often engaged the attention of the country's working people. Contrary to conventional doctrine and flag-waving jingoism, this has happened with such regularity that the idea of a socialist alternative to the existing capitalist system has become entrenched in the democratic and revolutionary culture of the masses.

Now again this prospect has come into focus. As we enter the last two decades of the twentieth century, crises engendered by capitalist greed and anarchic miscalculation imperatively call for solution in every sphere of life.

Socialism's applicability to the United States of America is only one of many aspects of socialism which have become relevant for our population. Development of the maturity of the objective and subjective preconditions of socialism; organization of the socialist revolution (the capture of political power by the workers) and its peaceful or non-peaceful character; problems of building socialism in such a highly developed country, materially and technologically, as the USA—these are other questions about socialism, each of which requires detailed elaboration. Even the question of socialism's applicability is so complex that only a cursory and abbreviated treatment can be given in this article.

The epidemic of plant shutdowns and plant runaways, of bankruptcies and corporate takeovers, is adding more millions to the millions already unemployed and underemployed, to the multiple millions requiring state aid for survival. It is pushing to the forefront of mandatory changes the growing demands of workers for the federal government to initiate the democratic nationalization of the country's key industries. Such radical alternatives to corporate mismanagement and government giveaways to the monopolies are urgently needed to check and reverse the continuing deterioration of living conditions and the people's growing deprivation and impoverishment.

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The very physical survival of tens of millions of our people necessitates an alternative to the policies of militarization, confrontation and brinkmanship presently pursued by an incorrigibly unrealistic section of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism. To reverse the country's forced march to catastrophe, driven by these monopolies and their Washington representatives, a radical change of foreign and home policies is required.

A renovation and renewal of the country's democratic heritage is needed to arrest and reverse the steady erosion of the people's liberties by monopoly domination of the electoral process and the two established political parties, its control of the legislative and judicial as well as the executive functions of government, its brainwashing of the people through ownership and controlled use of the media and its direction and funding of both public and private education.

The deepening crisis of capitalist democracy was distressingly apparent in the 1980 presidential primary elections, wherein tens of millions of the electorate were alienated by an electoral process dominated by monopoly's twin parties. Tens of millions have been disoriented by monopoly's imposition of jingoism to replace genuine patriotism, racism to undermine the natural bond amongst the working people, and by its tilt to authoritarian controls with neo-fascist support.

The inability and unwillingness of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism to provide solutions for these and other crises is painfully evident. Its best and brightest representatives from monopoly-funded think-tanks and on every level of government and corporate management have proved incapable of proposing alternatives that meet the palpably urgent needs of the people.

Proof of Capitalism's Inability to Cope

This fact of state-monopoly capitalism's inability to provide solutions to the problems that beset the people goes to the essence of the question of applicability. It is proof positive of capitalism's inapplicability to the United States of America—today and tomorrow. Capitalism has outlived its

time and already has regressed far on the path of putrefaction and decay. And no evidence of this is more conclusive than capitalism's inability to cope with economic crises.

In the spring of 1980 the data of economic crisis were rapidly accumulating. Figures were mounting for the number of jobless and destitute, for the escalating prices of staples and necessities. Every economic crisis has peculiarities. Yet, in broad outline, the crisis features of 1980 are familiar.

The current economic crisis is the seventh since the end of the second world war. That number of crises in three and one-half decades equals a crisis every five years, or crises back to back. This new frequency of crises spells a lowering of living standards for tens of millions of workers. For the racially and nationally superexploited minorities, it has meant a 35-years long depression. It has meant depression during more than half the lifetime of a single minority generation born in the 1940s, and the whole lifetime of younger generations. This is irrefutable proof of capitalism's inability nowadays to provide millions of members of society with jobs, their sole means of livelihood.

Even during its pre-monopoly phase, when competition predominated in the economy, these breakdowns of the capitalist system were chronic. The exceptionally favorable conditions for capitalism here in the U.S. did not save it from the law-governed "booms" and "busts" of the system's cyclical development. Between 1857 and 1914 there were seven really acute economic crises, each one attended by mass unemployment and suffering, always wiping out gains won earlier by the workers in bitter and often bloody class struggle, liquidating the meager security of many of the self-employed and small business proprietors, and enriching the banking and corporate ghouls. The displacement of pre-monopoly capitalism by monopoly capitalism amplified all these consequences of economic crises.

The Great Crisis of 1929-1932 was a calamity for most of the labor force. Today's senior citizens can recall many tragedies of those years. More than 17 million workers had no jobs whatsoever. Many more millions could find only part-time work at sub-subsistence wages. Hunger and desperation drove a few to try to peddle apples in compliance

with President Hoover's humbuggery about the miracle-working wonders of "individual enterprise." In 1932 in New York City alone more than two thousand died of starvation.

Nor does capitalism promise anything different during the remainder of this century, or for that matter, for the remainder of its existence. There will be crises as long as there is capitalism because endemic in the system are tendencies culminating in mass unemployment and underemployment; in relative and, at times, absolute impoverishment of the working people; under-capacity operation in industry; imbalanced production without regard for society's needs and consuming power; government-protected monopoly price inflation; wasteful squandering of wealth and resources in militarization to provide monopolies with a definite market; government bailout of bankrupt corporations with taxpayers' funds; mounting government and private debt; constantly increasing taxes on the working people and tax relief for the monopolies; government manipulation of money and credit in favor of the banks—in short, a continuous, unrelenting rip-off of the labor force and the so-called middle layers of professionals, farmers, and small and self-employed business people. These features of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism will operate as long as the working people suffer the system's existence.

Why Can't Capitalism Eliminate Crises?

According to Pinochet's adviser, Professor Milton Friedman, this system gives everyone the "freedom to choose." On the contrary, its inability to save multi-millions of its labor force from pauperization and hunger through deprivation of the means of earning a livelihood limit choice to only those goods and services, constantly diminishing in quality and quantity, for which the shrinking consuming power of the population offers a demand acceptable to the capitalists. To be acceptable, the demand must meet the capitalists' requirements for maximizing profits.

The population's consuming power is limited by the capitalists' striving to maximize their profits in competition with one another. Each capitalist strives continuously to increase production for an indefinite market and to limit or eliminate compe-

tion. Production and labor are concentrated and centralized in larger and larger enterprises, which raise the level of their socialization. And the ownership of the means of production—the banks, plants, mines, mills, farms, raw materials, machines, energy, transportation and communication networks, and the workers' means of subsistence—passes into fewer and fewer hands.

Capitalists strive to maximize profit mainly by intensifying the exploitation of the workers. Exploitation involves both the social production of goods and services by the workers, who are compelled to sell their labor power in order to live, and the private capitalist appropriation without compensation of that part of the social product which exceeds the value of the workers' labor power, that is, the surplus value. The capitalists strive to increase surplus value by increasing the share they appropriate without paying the workers, whose consuming power accordingly lags behind production. This eventuates in periodic economic crises of overproduction.

Capitalism's economic crises are crises of overproduction, so called because their most conspicuous feature is the production of too many goods and services for the population's limited consuming power, too much capital for investment at profit rates essential for continuing production. There is a contradiction between social production and private capitalist appropriation.

This basic contradiction manifests itself in a continuous polarization of society into two irreconcilably antagonistic classes, a society of fabulous riches at one pole and mass unemployment, poverty and destitution at the other—a condition compelling the workers to struggle in order to escape pauperization and hunger.

State-monopoly capitalism intensifies and accelerates this process of bleeding the entire labor force and other layers of the population. Struggles of the workers and other groups victimized by state-monopoly operations, by wresting economic reforms from the ruling circles, are capable of moderating intermittently and temporarily some effects of exploitation and the cyclical pattern of capitalist development. But only real, genuine socialism is capable of permanently ending the

ripoff and eliminating the causes of economic crises.

Naturally, the country's ruling circles can not afford to admit this. Perpetuation of the myth of capitalism's immortality and infallibility is essential for their continued subjugation and exploitation of the working people. So ideologists of the financial-industrial oligarchs and their subordinates in government have invented new systems which purport to represent capitalism's evolution and elimination of its flaws.

These new systems wear innocuous-sounding titles—a "high mass consumption society," a "new industrial state," "technotronic society," "post-industrial society," and so on. However, a close look reveals that these projections retain capitalism's production relations based on the private ownership of the means of production. In short, they are the same old formulas for exploitation of the producing masses by the property-owning, non-producing few—the same old capitalism in fancy packaging.

Capitalism's unsuitability for these times is hardly a recommendation for its capability of dealing with the tasks of tomorrow. These will be truly monumental tasks, global tasks, exacerbated by the structural crises, ecological problems and demographic changes that already are adversely affecting capitalist development. Nor should the magnitude of such economic tasks obscure the immensity of the efforts required to cope with problems of averting a nuclear Armageddon and preserving the liberties of the people. The accomplishment of such tasks requires the joint efforts of many states. Above all, it requires conditions of international detente and peaceful coexistence—conditions which U.S. state-monopoly capitalism dreads.

Capitalism's anachronistic character, its total inapplicability to the United States now and in the future, is only part of the argument for its replacement by socialism. The evidence of its incompatibility with society in our time, of "its unfitness" any longer "to impose its conditions of existence on society as an overriding law," as the *Communist Manifesto* puts it, does not answer the question regarding socialism's applicability. For

that answer we need proof of socialism's capability of providing solutions to the problems afflicting our country and our people.

No Blueprint for Socialism

Socialism develops everywhere in conformity with laws reflecting the essence of regularly recurring processes in social transformations from obsolete systems. Generalizations of these processes from the experience of working-class struggles to replace capitalism are applicable to capitalist countries, including the USA. But these laws are not a blueprint for socialism. Each country applies them in its own way, in accordance with its specific, concrete historical and socio-political conditions, traditions and customs, and the maturity of its objective and subjective preconditions for socialism.

In general, following the capture of political power by the working class and its allies, socialism abolishes economic crises by implementing a number of measures. First, it converts private ownership of all the basic means of production (not personal possessions in the form of homes, automobiles, earned income and savings therefrom, nor furniture, clothes, etc.) into public ownership by the working people's state, and carries out their socialist socialization.

Second, on the basis of public ownership of the basic means of production, it introduces planned production on the highest technological level for satisfying the population's material and cultural needs.

Third, it implements the principle of "from each according to his or her ability, to each according to his or her work," thereby providing material incentives for individual initiative to improve skills and all-round personal development.

These measures, implemented by the government of the workers in alliance with other layers of society plundered by state-monopoly capital, abolish exploitation. It deprives the former owners of the means of production (in the USA these are the owners of the banks, conglomerates, transnational corporations and other monopolies) from living off the labor of the working people. These measures make labor the sole means of a livelihood, ending unearned income in the form of

profit, rent and interest. They organize and regulate production according to definite plans for satisfying the needs of the people, thereby eliminating the disproportions inherent in production for profit in an indefinite market.

Because socialism abolishes private capitalist appropriation of the surplus product, it eliminates the contradiction between production and consumption. It ends the divergence between production and the population's consuming power that engender the cyclical development of the economy. Instead of being siphoned off for the parasitic consumption of the capitalists and for further exploitation of the workers, the surplus is used to satisfy part of the social and cultural needs of the population, to strengthen the material and technical means of production, and to maintain the governmental and administrative apparatus.

How this act of converting private property in the means of production into public property is done, by whom, and under whose auspices and authority, goes to the heart of the replacement of capitalism. In a number of countries where plants, mines and other giant enterprises have been nationalized, capitalism remains in the saddle. Capitalists and their representatives remain at the head of the state and maintain the existing relations between themselves and the working people. Although such systems are called "socialist," they have no more to do with real socialism than the utopian socialist experiments which took place in the U.S. during the 18th and 19th centuries and the municipal socialist regimes in a number of our cities and towns during the post-Civil War decades.

The socialism which can provide solutions for the ills of our country, by applying the laws of replacing capitalism, does exist in a number of countries. This socialism is anathema to U.S. ruling circles, who fear the recognition of real socialism's applicability and necessity by the working people. They have employed every artifice for manipulating and programming public opinion, and every means of information and communication in order to sow fear, distrust and hatred of real existing socialism. They have reinforced the technique of the Hitlerian big lie with so-called ideological pluralism, which is a cover-

up for burying a kernel of truth under an avalanche of lies and trivia.

Evidence of Existing Socialism

Yet, some facts of existing socialism's achievements every not and then manage to surface in the media. And U.S. capitalism's present ideological crisis registers the breakthrough of socialist reality.

That the Soviet Union, the only existing socialist state at the time of the Great Crisis of 1929-1932, was the only country in the world to escape the devastation of the crisis deserves more thought than it has received in the United States. The same observation applies to the 62-years' record of the Soviet Union and the 30-years' record of eight countries of the socialist community, as crisis-free societies of full employment, stable prices of necessities, high and steady rates of growth, and constant improvement of the population's living conditions.

By now it is becoming known in ever widening circles that the socialist community is the most dynamic, fastest growing economic region on our planet. For instance, eight member countries of the socialist community organized in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) account for only 10 per cent of the world's population. With exception of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, all had to build socialism on an undeveloped, backward material and technological foundation. All, with exception of Mongolia, suffered occupation and partial devastation during the second world war. Yet, three decades after the war they were producing 33 per cent of world industrial output, including 43 per cent of the world output of coal, 21 per cent of electric power, 28 per cent of steel, 24 per cent of cement, 29 per cent of milk, and 20 per cent of grain.

The U.S. exploiters' ideologists constantly belittle and disparage the economic progress of the Soviet Union, magnifying every mistake or shortcoming into catastrophe, blaming "Communist mismanagement" and "bureaucratic bungling" for difficulties. However, they disregard, gloss over, or falsify facts of the USSR's rapid overtaking and surpassing of the United

States in a number of fields of production, such as in steel, pig iron, cement, crude petroleum, mineral fertilizers, cotton and cotton fabrics, wool, wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, sugar, milk, butter and wine.

As for improvements of the population's living conditions, no one has been unemployed in the USSR since 1930. Rents have not increased from 4 to 5 per cent of a worker's income since 1928. Every five years about 50 million people move into new housing. Transportation on bus, tram or subway has remained below 10 cents since these vehicles went into operation under socialism. All education and health care are free. Three to four week holidays with full pay at health resorts and vacation hotels are available for the people at discounts of 70 per cent of the cost. All such benefits are applicable to the U.S.

Nature of Socialist Democracy

The benefits of socialist democracy are also applicable to the United States. However, it is necessary to take into account that socialist democracy differs radically from capitalist democracy, which is the kind of democracy we know. There is, of course, no such thing as classless democracy or supra-class democracy. A form of state power, democracy serves the class in power.

Capitalist democracy serves the interests of the owners of the means of production, the monopolists of finance and industry, the 1 to 2 per cent of the population who live by the exploitation and rip-off of the rest. Socialist democracy, on the other hand, serves the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people who produce the wealth and values of society and work for their livelihood.

It should be kept in mind that socialism is the first, or less mature phase of communism, a classless social system characterized by full social equality of all individual members of society, by direct distribution of the social product in accordance with the principle of "to each according to his or her need," and by public self-administration of necessary social functions. Before evolving into the more mature phase of communism, socialism passes through a number of transitional stages so as to prepare both the material-technological basis for the production of abundance, and the popula-

tion's capabilities for public self-administration.

Because the socialist phase still bears the birthmarks of capitalism, social equality is not completely realized during this phase. The need for the state still exists. Full social equality is attained through struggle in many spheres of social life to eliminate the vestiges, traditions and behavioral patterns of capitalism.

But the basis for social equality is laid at the beginning of the transformation from capitalism, when private ownership of the means of production is transferred into public ownership. The capture of state power by the working class and its allies sets this transformation in motion and initiates the development of socialist democracy. By excluding the possibility of exploitation, public ownership of the means of production establishes the basic condition for social equality and individual freedom. Personal labor becomes the only source of livelihood. The need for everyone to work, and hence the right to work and to remuneration according to one's work is a fundamental condition for equality. The constitutions of capitalist states proclaim many rights and freedoms of the individual—with exception of two: *freedom from exploitation and the right to a job*. Yet, if the individual is not free from exploitation and impoverishment, all other freedoms become hollow and lose their meaning.

The capture of power by the working class and its allies is itself a profoundly democratic process. The very concept of socialist revolution in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice implies the massive political activation of a majority of the population. It implies a long period of revolutionary class struggles. During which ever greater numbers of the exploited are drawn into political struggles. The working class becomes the predominant leader of the expanding movement for radical social change. Under its leadership even the formerly most backward, alienated and apathetic masses become capable of the political struggles necessary to capture power.

Moreover, building socialism, even laying its foundations by the socialist socialization of production and the institution of planning for the whole economy, is impossible without the active participation of the broadest masses. The obligat-

ory correlation of democracy and socialism is expressed in the thesis that socialism can not exist without the constant development of democracy, and democracy can not realize its real potential without socialism.

In pursuing its goal of mature communism, socialism solves in passing many democratic tasks which capitalism proved incapable of solving. Any cross-section of reality of life in the U.S. today provides abundant proof of capitalist democracy's failure and inability to solve such democratic tasks.

Most people recognize the growing great accumulations of wealth in a diminishing number of hands, and of the spread of poverty among the masses. The stark realities of the ghettos and barrios of the super-exploited racial and national minorities; the discriminatory practices which, ever since the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence, have mocked that document's promise of an equal right to pursue life, liberty and happiness; the inequality before the law imposed on the racial and national minorities; the battles women must still fight for equal pay for equal work and the right to determine the number of their progeny; and the fact that trade unions must still struggle to exist against the offensive of the exploiters, who have fenced them in with repressive legislation are the "freedoms" allowed under capitalist democracy.

Capitalist democracy preaches and promises, but disregards and violates both in practice. Socialist democracy promises and fulfills its promises in practice. Socialism translates formal promises of personal and individual freedom and the right and equality of citizens before the law into practical reality. It not only declares rights and freedoms, but guarantees both the possibility and capability of exercising them. All of this is evident in the experience of existing socialism.

Thus, as has been noted by many observers, socialism ensured the right to work by abolishing unemployment and exploitation. It guaranteed the right to an education by organizing a universal educational system. It guaranteed the right to material security in old age by establishing a system of pensions which set an example for all other countries. It guaranteed the right to health, to rest

and recreation by setting up universal systems of health care, sanatoria and rest homes, and by the funding of facilities for sport, cultural and artistic activities.

Socialism guaranteed the right to self-determination and the equality of nations and nationalities not only by specifically forbidding any expressions of racism and discriminatory practices based on racial and/or national grounds, but principally by extensive and massive affirmative action to raise the economic and cultural levels of formerly deprived and oppressed nationalities and nations. It guaranteed the rights of women to equal pay for equal work and to full participation

in all spheres of life, implementing measures to alleviate the burdens of motherhood.

Such accomplishments of socialist democracy as socialism develops toward mature communism have greatly influenced social and political developments in non-socialist countries. They have compelled the exploiting classes in these countries to reckon with these examples in the struggle of the two systems. Facilitating the struggles of the working people in the capitalist countries, these examples serve as convincing evidence of socialism's applicability to the United States of America.

"When one individual inflicts bodily injury upon another, such injury that death results, we call the deed manslaughter; when the assailant knew in advance that the injury would be fatal, we call this deed murder. But when society places hundreds of proletarians in such a position that they inevitably meet a too early and an unnatural death, one which is quite as much a death by violence as that by the sword or bullet; when it deprives thousands of the necessities of life, places them under conditions in which they *cannot* live—forces them, through the strong arm of the law, to remain in such conditions until that death ensues which is the inevitable consequence—knows that these thousands of victims must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder just as surely as the deed of the single individual; disguised, malicious murder, murder against which none can defend himself, which does not seem what it is, because no man sees the murderer, because the death of the victim seems a natural one...." (F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, Chapter V, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1939.)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q: Aren't the aims, ideals and the CPUSA itself unpatriotic?

A: On the contrary, the aims and ideals of the CPUSA represent the essence of true patriotism. Too often, those who raise the banner of patriotism do so under the reactionary notion of "what's good for General Motors is good for America."

Daily, it becomes increasingly clear that neither General Motors, Exxon nor any of the the major corporations care anything about America or its problems, from unemployment to the state of the environment. In fact, the monopoly capitalists who control these corporations are the main source of the misery, deprivation and insecurity that exists in our country today.

In their quest for ever greater profits, these monopolists use their wealth and power to attempt to block the gains of working people. This is done through a variety of legal and extra-legal means, and is used most viruently against working-class and nationally oppressed organizations and individuals.

The monopolists further threaten their own citizens, and indeed all of humanity, through its nuclear arsenal, which already is capable of destroying the world many times over. To oppose such policies, as the CPUSA does, is not unpatriotic.

On the contrary, opposing such actions, on behalf of and in the best interests of our country and the masses of its people, is one of the greatest examples of true patriotism at its best.

From its inception, the Communist Party, USA—uniting women and men of all races and national backgrounds—has championed all causes which have advanced the interests of working people in this country. These include the struggles of the Great Depression for trade union organization, Social Security and unemployment insurance. It has remained in the forefront of the struggles against racism, women's oppression

and imperialist wars. The CPUSA's aims and ideals have not changed. Its goal remains a society of freedom and abundance for all in a world in which friendship and cooperation reign.

J.J. Johnson
Associate Editor, *Daily World*

Q: Many people know that Angela Davis is a member of the Communist Party. Are there many other women in your party?

A: Because of the publicity surrounding her frameup case and the massive national and international campaigns to win her freedom in the early 1970s, and because she is now the vice-presidential candidate of the Communist Party, Angela Davis is perhaps one of the most widely known and recognized members of the Communist Party. However, to answer your question, yes, there are many other women who are members of and play a leading role in the life of the Communist Party.

The membership of the Party is about 40 per cent women, and they are active at all levels of the Party, from members of the Political Bureau (the day-to-day leadership body) to leadership at district and club levels.

In 1968, Charlene Mitchell, a member of the Political Bureau, ran for president on the Communist Party ticket. She was the first woman to be so nominated in the U.S. Other women members of the Political Bureau include Helen Winter, Betty Smith and Alva Buxenbaum.

The Communist Party is divided organizationally into geographic districts. Of these, women head approximately 33 per cent, and are one of the two top elected officers in most.

The Communist Party invites all who agree with its ideals and goals to join it, and places particular emphasis on working with families as a unit, rather than just, say, with the male spouse.

Conscious of the realities of life under capitalism and the reasoning behind, as well as the consequences of, the constant ideological barrage of racism, male supremacy and anti-working class propaganda, the Party, as a part of its fight to maintain ever higher standards for its membership, wages a constant ideological campaign against all such manifestations both within and outside its ranks.

Our approach to the struggle for the equality of women is similar. It is no accident that the numbers of women in our Party and in Party leadership are growing. In fact, the Party makes a conscious effort to assist the involvement of women in all aspects of Party life. Male supremacy can be fought. Our approach to women and the issues facing the women's movement are an affirmation of our commitment to struggle for the equality of all women, as a component of working-class unity so necessary for victories of the whole working class.

Judith Eisenscher
Daily World staff member

Q: How is socialism democratic?

A: The monopoly-controlled media project the idea that our political system is synonymous with democracy. Popular concepts of democracy include the right to wear whatever clothing one wants, to stand on a street corner and yell anything. Some defend the right of Nazis and the KKK to preach racism in the name of democracy. But is this really democracy?

Socialist revolution aims precisely to bring democracy to the masses who have, for so long, been denied it. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels state, "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

In the socialist countries democratic participation of the working people is a necessity for the functioning of society. The rights to elect national and local officials, to run for public office and to recall public officials are guaranteed. However, there is not one set formula for exercising these rights. Each country develops a mechanism for

elections based on its particular national traditions.

For example, the Soviet Union and Cuba each have one political party, but the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Vietnam all have multi-party systems.

Let us use the example of the Soviet Union to further examine how socialist democracy works. In the USSR there is a yes or no vote for one candidate, who may or may not be a member of the Communist Party. This is preceded by a nomination process which is very important. Article 100 of the Soviet Constitution states: "The following shall have the right to nominate candidates; branches and organizations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trade unions, and the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League; co-operatives and other public organizations; work collectives, and meetings of servicemen in their military units.

"Citizens of the USSR and public organizations are guaranteed the right to free and all-round discussion of the political and personal qualities and competence of candidates, and the right to campaign for them at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio." Thus, when the candidate is finally chosen he or she is already the choice of the voters themselves. The elections become one more confirmation of democratic selection.

Beyond the elections the Soviet Constitution guarantees "freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations."

Each socialist country has its own unique way through which its citizens exercise their democratic rights. Elections are not the only way to influence local and national policies. People belong to mass organizations such as trade unions, women's organizations, national patriotic fronts, peace groups, youth and children's organizations. Their views are aired through these organizations, which are consulted on public policy as a matter of normal procedure.

Socialist democracy also extends rights to people in the economic and social spheres which capitalism never recognizes, guaranteeing satisfaction of basic needs. For example, the new Soviet Constitution specifically guarantees the

rights to work; to rest and leisure; health protection; maintenance in old age, sickness and disability; housing; free education; and access to culture as well as freedom of conscience. Under these conditions real political democratic rights can be, and are, exercised.

Naomi Chesman
Circulation Manager, *Political Affairs*

Q: Why doesn't the Communist Party, USA change it's name? Wouldn't that help attract more people?

A: When Marx and Engels wrote their famous Manifesto in 1848, they called it the *Communist Manifesto*. "We could not have called it a *Socialist Manifesto*," wrote Engels in 1880. "By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems,...on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks..."

Nevertheless, most of the Marxist parties formed in the 19th century called themselves Socialist or Social Democratic. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was the party Lenin joined. The Second International was the Socialist International.

After the Bolshevik Revolution and the founding in 1919 of the Third—or Communist—International, most Marxist-Leninist parties called themselves Communist. By then "Social-Democratic" had acquired a bad connotation, the Socialist International had fallen apart and the surviving Socialist Parties took an adversary position toward the parties of the Communist International.

We can ask then, along with William Shakespeare, "What's in a name?" Not much, is the answer, in terms of basic principle. But in historic terms the names of the various parties of socialism cue us in to the place of the respective parties in the political spectrum

The Communist Party, USA was founded in September 1919, not as one, but as two parties—the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party.

Near the end of 1921 the "legal" organization of

U.S. Communists was the Workers Party of America. In 1925 the Workers Party changed its name to Workers (Communist) Party and in 1929 to Communist Party of the United States of America.

The Communist Party did change its name in 1944—to Communist *Political Association*. Interestingly, during this aberration, which lasted for slightly more than a year, it was not the name Communist which changed.

A Communist Party doesn't *have* to be called Communist. Witness the Communists of the German Democratic Republic who belong to the Socialist Unity Party. Witness our Canadian neighbors where the Communists, coping with a repressive situation, were known for a period as the Labor-Progressive Party.

But in the absence of compelling evidence that the name of the Communist Party, USA is an impediment to its further growth, why should this party, with its proud sixty-one year history, change its name—and, if so, to what?

There is some evidence that the Party's name is attractive to some people in our country. The evidence lies in the number of its imitators: in the last decade a number of "parties" have usurped the name "Communist" or have laid illegitimate claim to "Marxism-Leninism," attempting to lay claim to 61 years of unique organizational contributions, achievements and respect among the working class and democratic masses we have and are working with. Unfortunately, at the present, this effort is aided and abetted by the media, which irresponsibly lump the phony "communists" with the real thing.

Arthur Zipser

Member of the History Commission, CPUSA

Q: How does the Communist Party function?

A: The Communist Party fights for the immediate interests of our multiracial, multinational working class and of all antimonopoly strata in such a way that it prepares people for more advanced, united struggles. It works for a general antimonopoly people's coalition, whose realization could prepare the way for the struggle to win socialism. It works for peace, economic security,

full equality and democracy in a host of ways—by participating in and building struggles, movements and organizations for these demands; by running candidates and supporting other independents; by clarifying the causes of and solutions to problems in the pages of the *Daily World* and *Political Affairs*, and by leaflets, pamphlets, books, forums, public meetings, classes, etc.

The Communist Party's system of organization, principles and rules, methods of selecting leadership and establishing policies, rights and duties of members, etc., are spelled out in its Constitution. (A copy is available on request.—*Ed.*) Its basic principle of organization is democratic centralism, which long experience has proven will make it the most effective vehicle for the realization of its goals.

The clubs are the primary units of the Party, to which all members belong. Admission to the Party is by majority vote of a club, on the recommendation of two Party members. A prospective member must agree to abide by the Constitution, accept the Party Program and be willing to be a member of a club and pay dues.

A national convention, the highest body of the Party, is held once every four years. In preparation for a national convention, clubs elect delegates to district conventions (districts usually comprise one state). District conventions, in turn, elect delegates to the national convention. Draft documents for the convention are circulated in advance and an intensive four-month discussion period precedes the convention. A similar procedure is followed at the district level.

The national convention reviews the previous work of the Party, sets policies for the next four years, and has the power to amend the Party Constitution. It elects a Central Committee by secret ballot to lead the Party until the next convention.

The Central Committee elects its officers and standing committee, the Political Bureau, for day-to-day leadership. In short, all leadership bodies and officers are elected and all policies are adopted by vote after discussion.

According to the principles of democratic centralism, once a policy is adopted no Party member, having voluntarily joined the Party and accepted its Constitution and Program, may act against the

democratically arrived at decision. All members and Party bodies must work in accordance with the established policies, to implement and develop the decisions of the convention and the Central Committee.

Daniel Rubin
Educational Secretary, CPUSA

Q: Doesn't voting for the Communist Party candidates (Gus Hall and Angela Davis) insure getting the worse instead of the lesser of two evils?

A: In other words, doesn't a vote for anyone but the Democratic Party nominee insure a Reagan victory in November?

The problem facing the people is how to defeat the *policies* of the monopolies, not one or another personality. Remember how "different" Jimmy was supposed to be? Yet in the past four years, the Carter Administration has violated or failed to implement every major plank of the 1976 Democratic Party platform. That the Kennedy forces place their main emphasis on the 1980 platform—easily tossed aside once the votes are rounded up—is proof of their lack of a strategy for genuine political independence, for an effective challenge to monopoly rule.

The concept of the "lesser" evil does not fit this period of U.S. state monopoly capitalism. As the main resolution of the 22nd Convention of the Communist Party, USA, observes:

When state monopoly capitalism pursues policies of "give-back" instead of making concessions, the two old parties do likewise. That the Carter Administration...is the most openly pro-monopoly, most reactionary and conservative since the days of the Republicans Coolidge and Hoover is not...a political quirk....These policies are dictated by the more basic reactions of state monopoly capital to the new crisis problems it faces.

Voter response to John Anderson indicates that a great many agree with the assessment that there is no real difference between the two-party "evils." But Anderson, with a 20-year anti-labor

record, offers more of the same, packaged as an "independent" position. He even says he is out to save the two-party system, and hinted that he might withdraw if the Democrats nominated someone other than Carter!

In addition to those who attempt—even if mistakenly—to fight for political independence by relying on Anderson, the tens of millions who abstain from voting for president (45 per cent in 1976!) clearly do not see a significant difference between the old-party politicians.

Even those voters who still think there is a "lesser" of admitted evils can hardly accuse the Hall-Davis vote of being the margin of defeat for one of monopoly's candidates when tens of millions of voters are not convinced to vote at all.

If you struggle against the policies of the monopolies in your organization—trade union, peace, tenant, civil rights, consumer, etc.—why not use election day to deliver the most effective anti-monopoly clout? Use your vote to strengthen the unity of the anti-monopoly forces by rejecting the monopolies' favorite weapon, anti-

Communism. Vote for Gus Hall and Angela Davis.

As Gus Hall stated in *Labor Up-Front*: "Our campaign must be seen as an indispensable element of the people's anti-monopoly struggle...Our platform can make our ticket a real choice for tens of thousands who see no meaningful alternative in the candidates of the two old parties."

And Angela Davis has written, "No matter which party claims an electoral victory in November, Black people and working people in general will be the losers...what is at stake is not immediately a new party, but an anti-monopoly alliance to fight back in the next four years." (*Freedomways*, #2, 1980, p. 83.)

There is no "lesser" evil among the old parties in 1980, but there is the greater good. Vote for Gus Hall for president and Angela Davis for vice president on November 4th!

Betty Smith

Chair, Communications and Media Dept.,
CPUSA

(Continued from page 11)

workers who are conditioned to reach out not to fellow workers but to aspire for dear life to leave their class for greener pastures. Here we have attempted to describe the predominant nature of the ruling class and of the working class.

The answer as to whether the humane product of upper-class life can join hands with the working class lies in whether they truly join the working class in struggle and whether they follow militant and revolutionary working-class leadership. To give charity on the basis of pitying the workers' lot does not make the grade, for it misses the point of working-class pride and dignity. Only by genuinely looking up to the working class as the producers of all wealth, only by fully respecting and accepting the fact that the working class is

engaged in a great historic battle for what is rightfully theirs, can such individuals—in the spirit of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—come to take their place on that road.

In the process of struggling for a better life and for revolutionary transformation, a change occurs in human behavior which produces new strengths and broadens the visions of the working class. The resulting improvement works to consolidate and deepen the class struggle even further.

Many, in the course of the struggle, join the ranks of the Communist Party, USA, recognizing that it is the most consistent, forward-looking, optimistic fighter for socialism, embodying all that good and noble in our class and people.

The 'Rebel Girl's' 90th Birthday

FERN WINSTON

In 1924 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was 34 years old and deeply involved in the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti (two Italian-born anarchists framed on murder charges in Massachusetts) from death in the electric chair. She chanced to meet former New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, who was then in Congress. While talking with her, LaGuardia sensed her great concern and unhappiness and asked, "Elizabeth, why don't you stop mixing up with all these Italian anarchists and go back into the American labor movement where you belong?"

Years later, in 1940, their paths crossed again and this time he remarked, "Elizabeth, I hear you joined the Communist Party!" She answered, "Yes, Fiorello, don't you remember—you told me to leave the Italian anarchists and get back where I belong?" LaGuardia laughed and replied, "Well, I'd rather see you with the Communists than with those freaks."

But, as Elizabeth said in her book, *I Speak My Own Piece*, "I had not been willing or able to take his advice in 1924 because I was too deeply then in a battle for justice for two anarchists who were not freaks but honest workers, against a damnable frame-up in Boston, Massachusetts, fighting for the lives of 'the good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler'—Sacco and Vanzetti." Her life experiences had led her "logically and irrevocably" to join the Communist Party.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was born in Concord, New Hampshire, on August 7, 1890. Her ancestors were "immigrants and revolutionists" from the Emerald Isle. Her father, Thomas Flynn, who worked as a laborer in quarries for many years and was later a map maker, came from a family of Irish revolutionists. Her mother, Annie Gurley, was always interested in public affairs, and was an advocate of equal rights for women.

Before the age of ten, Elizabeth knew the names of the great Irish revolutionary heroes. There was always talk in the Flynn household about the part Irish men and women played in early U.S. labor

history, of the Knights of Labor and the Molly Maguires. Her father was bitterly opposed to the Spanish-American war and joined the Anti-imperialist League of that day, founded by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, to oppose the United States taking over Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

The Flynn family was very poor. They moved around a lot in search of work for Tom Flynn. And from the age of five Elizabeth developed a deep and angry hatred of the poverty she saw in the textile mills in New England. She was ten when they moved to the Bronx, and never forgot the all-pervasive conditions of poverty of the working-class families in their neighborhood.

Elizabeth's elementary schooling was conducted in Public School 9, in the Bronx—a run down building with toilets in the yard. Her teacher in the upper grades organized a debating society which she eagerly joined, and won a gold medal for proficiency in debating. One of the subjects for debate then was government ownership of the trusts. She enthusiastically took the affirmative in a debate which grew out of the 1902 anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania.

The head of the Coal Operator's Association, George F. Bear, had made a statement that "God, in his infinite wisdom gave us possession of the coal mines." While preparing for the debate, Elizabeth recalled a poem by Whittier she had heard her mother recite which went something like:

*When Earth produces free and fair the golden waving
corn,
And golden fruits perfume the air and fleecy clouds
are shorn
Yet thousands cry with aching heart the never-
ending song,
We starve! We die! Oh give us bread!
There must be something wrong!*

Elizabeth was determined that it was this "something wrong" she was bound to search out. And she did.



Fern Winston is a member of the National Council, CPUSA.

Long before they came in contact with the organized socialist movement the Flynn family felt at ease with socialist ideas. In 1900 Thomas Flynn voted for Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for president.

The Flynn's also belonged to a Socialist Club. They went to meetings regularly, and as was the custom in those days, they took the four children with them. It was at the Harlem Socialist Club on W. 125th St. that Elizabeth, not yet 16, made her first speech.

She had been reading *Vindication of the Rights of Women* by Mary Wollstonecraft, and *Women and Socialism* by August Bebel, and the substance of her speech was based on the Bebel book. This speech brought her invitations to speak elsewhere, and thereafter she spoke at many progressive forums in cities on the East Coast.

In August 1906 Elizabeth was arrested for the first time, with her father, for "speaking without a permit" and "blocking traffic" at 38th and Broadway in New York City. The resultant publicity brought an offer from David Belasco, the theatrical producer, to appear in a labor play he was producing.

Elizabeth indignantly replied, "indeed not! I'm in the labor movement and I speak my own piece!" At that time she also met another famous person, though then an obscure and struggling writer, Theodore Drieser, who wrote a piece for *Broadway Magazine* (of which he was then managing editor) entitled "An East Side Joan of Arc." It began: "They call her Elizabeth Flynn, and she is only a girl just turned sixteen, as sweet a sixteen as ever bloomed, with a sensitive flower like face. But she is also an ardent Socialist orator." The caption under the picture read: "She is an orator and a thinker, and believes in attempting to do something to relieve the condition of the poor. Mentally she is one of the most remarkable girls the city has ever seen."

To gain an understanding of scientific socialism and to deepen her knowledge of the basic features of capitalism, she began to read the publications of the Charles H. Kerr Co. of Chicago—she began with *The Communist Manifesto*. She also read *Socialism—Utopian and Scientific* and *The Origin of the Family* by Fredrich Engels, as well as *Value Price and Profit* and *Wage Labor and Capital* by Karl Marx.



The socialist and progressive movement of that day was swept up in the wave of support for the Russian Revolution of 1905, and Elizabeth was in the midst of it. "The revolution" she said in one of her books, "was on everybody's lips in 1906." This included Russian immigrants and Russians who traveled to the U.S. to raise funds, among them Maxim Gorky. A great meeting was held in Carnegie Hall in NYC on March 10, 1907, and a flood of support poured out for the Russian Revolution.

The enthusiasm for this great event across the ocean was suddenly cut across by the sharpening of the class struggle in the U.S. Three leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, William D. Haywood, George Pettibone and Charles Moyer were framed on charges of murdering Governor Stunenberg of Colorado. They were arrested in Denver, Colorado, on February 17, 1907, and kidnapped in the middle of the night and taken to Boise, Idaho. Soon after, they were publicly branded by President Theodore Roosevelt as "undesirable citizens."

Elizabeth entered fully into the defense of these leaders of labor, helping to organize conferences, parades, demonstrations, raising funds, speaking. These activities united all the labor groups, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, locals of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The three WFM leaders were eventually freed and Harry Orchard, the stoolpigeon used against them, confessed to murder in open court and was sentenced to life in prison, where he later died.

Except for periods of illness, from 1906 to the day she died, September 5, 1964, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was involved as speaker, organizer, and fundraiser in virtually every struggle of the U.S. working class for free speech and civil liberties, against racism, for peace, and for socialism. In these struggles she criss-crossed the country innumerable times.

Many of the strike struggles were in the textile industry which employed women predominantly, and many children. She was in the midst of the legendary Lawrence strike in 1912 and the Patterson Silk strike in 1913. She aroused countless thousands with her clear ringing voice. She spoke simply, clearly stating the issue, and all who heard her could sense a deep hatred for the capitalist class, knew she personally felt the misery of the

workers, and recognized that she was with them with every fiber of her being.

Those were the days when capitalism was on the ascendancy—the days of the “robber barons.” Its face was more open and brutal than is the case with today’s state monopoly capitalism and multinational corporations.

Elizabeth knew and worked with many legendary labor heroes and heroines, among them, Big Bill Haywood, John Connolly, Mother Jones, Frank Little, Vincent St. John, Tom Mooney, Charles E. Ruthenberg, then a Socialist leader and known as the “most arrested man in America.” She worked with Lucy Parsons, wife of the Haymarket martyr, Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, Rose Pastor Stokes, and many leaders of the women’s suffrage movement and those in the fight to abolish child labor. She knew and worked with William Z. Foster, and Joe Hill. Before his execution Joe Hill wrote to her, “As you gave the idea for The Rebel Girl, I will now that I am gone [sic] give you all the credit for that song, and be sure to locate a few more Rebel Girls like yourself, because they are needed, and needed badly.” (Philip Foner, *Letters of Joe Hill*.)

When news of the Russian Revolution in 1917 burst upon the world, U.S. workers learned for the first time of a man named Lenin. They were fired with enthusiasm when they heard of the first act of the new Soviet government, a Decree on Peace, calling for a “just and democratic peace—an immediate armistice and the abolition of all secret treaties”—and of the second act of the Soviet Republic, to abolish private ownership of land, mineral resources, forests and waters.

Elizabeth too was fired with enthusiasm by these events and eagerly read all the newly translated books and publications. In her book *I Speak My Own Piece* she wrote, “It would be hard to describe today the impact of this news on the outside world—the consternation of the militarists, the imperialists, the capitalists, in short, the ruling classes of the world—and the thrill of satisfaction among the poor and lowly, the downtrodden and heavily laden in all lands.”



During the years following the revolution in Russia and World War I, many thousands of men and women were arrested under espionage and

sedition acts and criminal syndicalist laws, and often sentenced to long years of imprisonment. Socialist legislators were excluded from their seats. There was a burning need for an organization to defend those arrested and to work for amnesty.

On December 18, 1918, the Workers Liberty Defense Union was organized at a conference attended by 163 organizations, including the Socialist Party, the IWW and many trade unions. This organization was a delegate body of the National Civil Liberties Bureau. Led by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the Workers Liberty Defense Union organized defense and amnesty campaigns, not only for the Socialist, IWW and trade union leaders, but also for many conscientious objectors. They did yeoman work to ease the life of those in prison by organizing visits, letters, and working to better their conditions. Elizabeth deeply felt the hardship the prisoners suffered, and displayed great ingenuity in finding ways to make their life easier.

In October 1917 the U.S. Congress passed the “Deportation Act,” the granddaddy of all subsequent repressive legislation. It was administered by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer who, according to Elizabeth, “would be entirely forgotten except for one thing—that shameful happening in American history named after him—the Palmer Raids.” His young assistant was new to the department. The assistant’s name was J. Edgar Hoover.

In 1919 raids were conducted in 18 cities, especially directed against the Union of Russian Workers. Two hundred forty-nine people were deported.

On January 2, 1920, brutal raids were carried out without warning or warrant on meetings, headquarters and homes in about 70 cities from coast to coast. Some 10,000 men and women were reported arrested that night. Before this delirium ran its course and was finally stopped by public opinion, over 500 foreign-born workers were deported—some to certain death in their homelands. Elizabeth was completely immersed in the defense campaign of the victims of this hysteria.

In 1920 the National Civil Liberties Bureau dissolved and was succeeded by the Civil Liberties Union as a permanent organization to deal with

post-war civil liberties issues. The Workers Defense Union became a local affiliate and continued as such until they dissolved in 1923.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was a founding member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in January 1920 and remained there until she was expelled in 1940 because of her membership in the Communist Party. Many years later, in 1976, the ACLU, acknowledging that they had acted wrongly, reinstated her posthumously.



William Z. Foster and Elizabeth had long been friends, and she had been sympathetic with his effort to bring the unorganized millions of basic workers into the AFL. She watched with admiration Foster's organization of the packinghouse workers in Chicago. This was the first time Black and white workers were organized side by side. Later she followed closely his leadership in the Great Steel Strike of 1919. During this period she worked closely with many U.S. Communists, growing out of her friendship with them, and cooperation with them as "Left Wingers" in the Socialist Party.

Elizabeth had followed with great interest the fight within the Socialist Party over support of World War I. She was sympathetic to the Left Wing, which characterized it as an imperialist war and was solidly against supporting it.

Prior to the 1919 convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, the Left Wing had won the leadership of a majority of the SP members, but the national office refused to seat their delegates and had them ejected by the police. They went to another hall and organized the Communist Labor Party. The next day another Left Wing group which had been expelled from the Socialist Party organized the Communist Party of America. These two joined together in early 1920 as a united Communist Party, with Charles E. Ruthenberg, another long time friend of Elizabeth's, as its Secretary. Some of the finest elements of the IWW later came over to the Communist Party, among them were Bill Haywood and Art Shields.

It was in 1920 that Elizabeth first learned of the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and from that day on she threw everything she had into the fight for their vindication and freedom. Despite this, however, she found time for other work in defense of work-

ers, Black and white.

In 1927 she was elected, along with Mother Bloor and Lucy Parsons, to the National Committee of the International Labor Defense at its second national convention.

After 1927 she was inactive for a number of years because of illness. Those were years of rest, reflection and evaluation of the past 21 years of activity which led her to "logically and irrevocably join the Communist Party," in 1937. That same year she made her first speech as a Communist at Madison Square Garden.



She now re-entered the struggle, most effectively armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism. During the 1940s Elizabeth was active in many fields, including civil rights. During that time, together with Claudia Jones, a leading young Black woman Communist leader, she led the Women's Commission of the Communist Party. This commission published a paper called *Working Woman*; conducted educational work around the fight for the equality of women, especially on the question of the triple oppression of Black women; and participated in building a large mass movement of women around the fight for peace and for a Women's Charter, a sort of Bill of Rights for women.

For a number of years during World War II and after, she wrote a column for the *Daily Worker*. She wrote as she spoke, with a sharp, discerning pen. Many of her columns were on the problems of women, from many angles—as workers, or organizing and joining unions, care of home and children—always very down to earth, and always offering personally-felt ideas and suggestions. She was in great demand as a speaker, and often wrote of her meetings in workers' homes, parties she had attended, where it's said that she joined in the dancing with great enjoyment.

When the Smith Act indictments were handed down in 1948 Elizabeth was a member of the National Board of the Communist Party. On a hot day in June 1951, at the height of the McCarthy period, she was arrested in her home by the FBI in the second wave of Smith Act persecutions, charged, as were other national leaders of the party, with "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence."

During the trials she spent a great deal of time in the Women's House of Detention, together with Claudia Jones and Betty Gannett, (former editor of *Political Affairs*). They had many dehumanizing experiences there, but also made friends among many of the women, Black, Hispanic and white, who were touched by their humanism in an inhumane atmosphere.

After their appeal to the Supreme Court had been turned down, on January 24, 1955, Elizabeth, Claudia Jones and Betty Gannett were taken to Alderson Women's Federal Prison in West Virginia.

As in the Women's House of Detention in New York, they made friends in Alderson. Many of the other prisoners knew they were "special prisoners" in the sense that they kept their humanism, no matter how inhuman their conditions. Elizabeth worked mostly in the sewing shop, but she also wrote poems for the *Eagle*, a publication put out by the prisoners. And in the July 4, 1956, issue she also wrote an essay on the Declaration of Independence.



On May 25, 1957, Elizabeth was released from Alderson under conditional release until July 6. Again she threw herself into the struggle to help rally the growing democratic movement for the repeal of the Smith and McCarran acts. She entered fully into the fight to free the remaining Smith Act victims, especially in the fight to free Henry Winston, now the national chairman of the Communist Party, USA, who was blinded in prison.

She ran for Congress from the East side in NYC in the late 'fifties—the first Communist to run for public office since the outbreak of McCarthyism. In 1961 she was elected National Chairperson of the Communist Party, a post she held until her death. At the time of her death she was directing the work of the Gus Hall-Benjamin Davis Defense Committee, which was helping to organize the

fight for the complete elimination of the McCarran Act.

A few days before leaving Alderson, when reflecting on her feelings about leaving, she wrote to her beloved sister Kathie, "Nothing and nobody can take my country away from me. I sit in prison, thinking of its beauty, its breadth, its people. It is ever in my heart, my thoughts, my eyes...I love my country and her varied peoples and I know them well. For over 50 years I have traveled back and forth across the broad bosom of my country, to make it a happier, more peaceful, more prosperous place to live in for our people, children of pioneers, immigrants, all colors, races, religions, origins; I know its poets and its fighters for freedom—Socialists, IWWs, Communists, builders of unions, strike leaders, political and labor prisoners; I know its potential for a full life, in science, technical skills, know-how; I know its capacity for courage and knowledge; I take pride in Americans—a basically kind, good, generous people."

Yes, Elizabeth loved her country very much, and this love and concern for the true interests of her country made her a true internationalist who fought for the liberation of all nationally oppressed peoples. She traveled widely and was well known and loved in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. After leaving prison she dedicated the rest of her life to speaking, writing, and organizing, to carry the message of the struggle against class exploitation and national oppression, for peace, equality and socialism to the people of her country.

On International Women's Day, March 8, 1980, a memorial observance was held at the site of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire. Some 40 women's organizations participated. Each organization honored a woman of its choice by placing flowers at the sight of the fire...the representative of the Oral History Project of New York University placed a red rose on the plaque and said—"We honor Elizabeth Gurley Flynn."

The Struggle Over Southern Africa

TONY MONTEIRO

Profound changes have occurred on the African continent during the past twenty five years. In this period the vast majority of African nations have achieved political independence. The enormous mass upheavals that have swept the continent since World War II have almost ended the system of classical colonialism. This stage of struggle was for the most part complete by 1966.

The main exception was the southern part of the continent, the "mineral treasure house," which remained under direct colonial rule. There, the Portuguese colonialists continued their war of subjugation against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. The South African fascists intensified the system of apartheid, assisted by investments from and trade with the main citadels of imperialism. South Africa also expanded its colonial occupation of Namibia.

In 1965 the Rhodesian racist minority led by Ian Smith declared their "independence" from Great Britain and cast their lot with the South African fascists. This colonial beachhead in the south of the continent developed as a part of the world capitalist economy and established increasingly close links with the imperialist system of aggression, specifically NATO. Consequently, this colonial beachhead, with South Africa at its center, became a brake on the liberation struggle throughout the continent.

Imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, felt so secure about this situation that in 1969 President Nixon's National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, declared in the infamous "Tar Baby" memorandum (officially entitled National Security Memorandum Number 39) that the racist minority regimes were in place and the national liberation forces were incapable of overthrowing them. History has proven this a gross underestimation of the determination of the African

peoples.

Based on this thinking the "Nixon Doctrine" as applied to Africa meant the strengthening of Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian colonialism. To realize the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine, the U.S. increased its military support to South Africa. In 1971 the U.S. and Portugal signed the Azores Agreement, which allocated \$431 million to finance Portugal's wars in Africa. (This was in addition to the arms, chemical agents and napalm shipped through NATO.) In the same year the Senate, with the support of the Nixon Administration, passed the Byrd Amendment mandating the purchase of Rhodesian chrome and nickel, breaking the international sanctions against Rhodesia.

From 1970 to 1976 the U.S. doubled its investments in South Africa. By the latter part of the decade, U.S. bank loans to South Africa reached \$2 billion. At the UN the U.S. increasingly positioned itself against the African nations seeking firm action against the apartheid regime. UN Ambassador Daniel Moynihan responded to the resulting isolation by flailing out at some alleged "tyranny of the majority."

The imperialist assault on the African liberation struggle has gained growing assistance from Beijing (Peking). Beijing has offered direct support to neocolonialism in Angola, Zaire, Ethiopia and elsewhere. Its military assistance to counter-revolutionaries has gone hand in hand with that of the U.S. and South Africa. Beijing has worked hard to split the liberation movements in Southern Africa, to create reactionary splinter groups and to oppose the legitimate liberation movements of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It calls for the strengthening of NATO and supports the U.S. naval buildup in the Indian Ocean. Beijing opposes radical socio-economic transformations which would weaken neocolonialism and is vehemently opposed to detente. Beijing supports the "Carter Doctrine" and the reinstatement of the cold war. Moreover, Beijing continued to trade, without interruption, with Rhodesia and South Africa in violation of international sanctions.

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By 1970, 43 African nations had achieved sovereignty. In 1974, as a consequence of the joint struggles of the African peoples of the Portuguese colonies and the Portuguese people themselves, the Caetano-Salazar regime was brought down. Portugal's 500-year empire quickly crumbled. This was a strategic defeat for imperialism and its allies in Southern Africa. The borders of liberated Africa had been brought to the frontiers of racist South Africa. The successful outcome of the anti-imperialist struggle in Angola headed by the MPLA and the victory and consolidation of the Ethiopian revolution occasioned a fresh upsurge in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. By the mid-1970s a most positive situation obtained for the African liberation forces. The strengthening of world socialism, the defeat of the U.S. military aggression in Vietnam, the change in the international situation away from cold war and towards detente, registered in the signing of SALT I in 1974 and the Final Act at Helsinki in 1975 and the deepening anti-imperialist fight globally were the chief factors creating a new offensive moment in Southern Africa.

By 1976, 49 nations had become independent, increasingly shifting the balance of forces to the side of independent and progressive forces on the continent.

Economic Importance of Africa

On the ruins of the defeated system of classical colonialism, imperialism and its transnational monopolies have constructed the system of neocolonialism as a means of continuing to plunder the natural resources and the labor of the newly sovereign states. Its guiding centers are New York, London, Paris and Bonn. However, neocolonialism is itself a system of colonialism. *It is colonialism in the period of ascendance of the world revolutionary forces.* Lenin had previously carefully distinguished between the colonialism of the epoch of primitive accumulation and colonialism in the epoch of imperialism. He held, "Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, you might say, force in all economic and all international relations that it is capable of subjecting and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest independence." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p.

233.) Among neocolonialism's chief objectives are:

1) to maintain the place of the African states as sources of cheap raw materials and energy resources within the world capitalist system and its international division of labor;

2) to expand capitalist relations of production in the new states and to bring them more intimately into the capitalist cycle of reproduction;

3) to make the new states instruments in the politico-military front of imperialism.

Neocolonialism is an evolving system. In Africa it experienced a sharp crisis as a result of the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the heightened fight for economic independence, which saw a growing number of states choosing the non-capitalist, socialist-oriented path of development.

In the 1970s profound crises emerged in the structure of the world capitalist economy. This structural crisis is symptomized by the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system in 1971, the deepening crises of overproduction in 1973-75 and 1980 and crises of raw materials and energy. These have occurred alongside the territorial shrinkage and growing instability of the capitalist world market. In this period raw materials and energy have emerged as a weak link in the international capitalist market.

The U.S. and Western Europe have since the 1950s relied on developing cheap energy and raw material sources in the "Third World." In the U.S. this has meant the underdevelopment for almost thirty years of domestic sources of oil and especially coal and a careless squandering of precious materials.

By the mid-1970s the capitalist countries' dependence on imported fuels and raw materials had reached new levels. The general level had come to 25 per cent in the U.S.

The Liberation of Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe the struggle has now passed a watershed. Unable to throw back the armed liberation movement headed by the Patriotic Front, the racist regime, Britain, the U.S. and South Africa were compelled to accept proposals for a negotiated settlement. They hoped that the advantages granted to the Smith-Muzorewa regime during a transitional period before elections

would permit it to maintain itself in power. They calculated that the transition would not be to a people's government, but simply to a more internationally acceptable facade for the minority regime. The *New York Times* of December 22, 1979, reported that Muzorewa "is generously financed by local and South African businesses." S.F. Andrews of Allegheny Ludlum Steel reportedly transferred \$1 million through South Africa to Muzorewa. The British governor during the transition period, Lord Soames, cooperated with Smith and Muzorewa and refused to enforce the cease fire agreement, instead using the minority regime's troops to "keep order."

In spite of many difficulties, the demonstrations of support for the PF shook the nation. In less than a week in separate rallies almost half a million people turned out to welcome home the leaders of the Patriotic Front. Although they ran separately in the February elections, the two parties comprising the Patriotic Front, ZAPU and ZANU, captured 77 of the 80 seats in Parliament reserved for Blacks. This show of support effectively rebuffed the threat of South Africa to use military forces to undo election results not to its liking. Thus a new nation, Zimbabwe, was born after a long and difficult labor.

The government of Zimbabwe headed by Robert Mugabe faces major problems, the resolution of which will decide the nation's future. Enormous pressures are being brought to bear from the West (and Beijing) to move Zimbabwe in a neocolonialist direction. The aim is to: a) split the Patriotic Front and separate ZAPU from the masses and limit its positions in government; b) separate Zimbabwe from the socialist nations, especially the Soviet Union; c) force Zimbabwe to rely economically on Britain, the U.S. and South Africa; d) promote the idea of "Zimbabwe exceptionalism" and isolate it from the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. The crucial problems of land reform, building a new army, restructuring the judiciary and civil service, foreign policy, etc. must be viewed from the standpoint of the necessity of unity with the natural and traditional allies of the Zimbabwean people. Any other path would play into the hands of Zimbabwe's traditional enemies.

South Africa's Special Role

The South African economy's leading sector is manufacturing, followed by mining. Foreign, and especially U.S., investment is concentrated in this sector. There is also a powerful state sector that includes state-controlled steel, electricity, gas and coal industries. The manufacturing sector is highly militarized, giving South Africa a blossoming military industrial complex.

The total magnitude of foreign investment in South Africa as of 1977 has been estimated as high as \$24.5 billion. (Center Against Apartheid, "The Role of Transnationals in Financing Apartheid," Nov. 1979, p. 2.) The largest amount is British, followed by the U.S. and West Germany. Of the almost 400 U.S. corporate subsidiaries in South Africa, 13 are responsible for 75 per cent of the investment. They include General Motors, Chrysler, Firestone, Goodyear, 3M, IBM and Caterpillar. (Center Against Apartheid, "Activities of Transnation Corporations and their Collaboration with the Regime in South Africa, July 1977, p. 9.) U.S. corporations account for one-third of auto production, 60 per cent of electrical equipment production, 70 per cent of computers, and have a large share of nuclear technology and rubber production. Englehard Minerals and Chemicals plays a major role in gold and silver mining; other U.S. corporations engaged in mining in South Africa are Union Carbide, Newmont Mining, AMAX and U.S. Steel.

Many U.S. banks play an important role in the South African economy, both in the financing of state and corporate projects and in organizing international capital for the South African economy. They are led by the Rockefeller-controlled Chase Manhattan and Citibank, and include Morgan Guarantee Trust, Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank, Continental Illinois, First National of Chicago and Bank of America.

The fact that South Africa is third behind the Soviet Union and the U.S. in possession of the richest and most varied resources gives it a special place in the world capitalist economy. The apartheid system which controls and organizes the superexploitation of African labor makes these resources more inviting to the monopolies. The exist-

tence of a large and experienced Black working class has been a lure for foreign manufacturing capital. Thus, South Africa is not only the cheapest source of gold, diamonds, copper, nickel, tin, manganese, asbestos, zinc and coal; it also produces the cheapest steel, electrical appliances, cars and automobile parts, as well as other industrial commodities.

As a result, the major monopoly circles of all the imperialist countries have a common economic strategy towards South Africa. In the competition for economic advantage, the U.S. and West Germany made the most significant gains in the 1970s. British and U.S. capital remains dominant in mining, with the U.S., Britain and West Germany leading in manufacturing and finance. U.S. direct investment in South Africa doubled between 1970 and 1975 from \$778 million to \$1.57 billion; in the same period exports went from \$228 million to \$1.27 billion and imports rose from \$568 million to \$1.54 billion, making the U.S. South Africa's main trading partner.

South Africa is therefore a strategic center of the transnational corporations. It is a decisive center for the neocolonialist penetration of the rest of Africa. South Africa sees itself as the center of an economic zone that includes Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Zambia, Botswana and other nations in the southern part of the continent.

South Africa's military forces are awesome, a significant power in world terms. Its arsenal includes advanced aircraft, tanks, naval and artillery forces. These formidable forces have a long-range strike capability. South Africa has the capacity to mobilize 250,000 persons in the event of war. Alongside the conventional forces, there is now the development of a nuclear strike capability.

Although South Africa is expanding its capacity to produce its own military hardware (a great part under license from the U.S.), it is still heavily dependent on sales from the imperialist countries. The South African air force has more than 600 combat aircraft, including nearly 150 Mirage III and Mirage F-1s, 300 Aermacchi MB 326 strike trainers and strike jets, 40 Lockheed F104G fighter bombers and 50 F-51D Cavalier counterinsurgency strike aircraft. The army has over 500 tanks and a large number of self-propelled guns,

including a very sophisticated model produced by the Space Research Corporation and financed by First Pennsylvania Bank of Philadelphia. (Sean Gerrasi in *U.S. Military Investment in Southern Africa*, "Breakdown of the United States Arms Embargo," South End Press, Boston, 1978, pp. 147-8.)

The nuclear capacity of South Africa has been a direct consequence of U.S., British, West German and Israeli aid. South Africa is well along in missile development. This is not to be separated from the West German missile base in Zaire, which tests the cruise missile.

A testament to its aggressive designs, South Africa maintains colonial occupation of Namibia with over 30,000 troops. The fighting against the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) has had the cooperation of Chilean and Israeli troops. The Israelis have aided South Africa in building an automated battlefield in the north of Namibia.

From 1967 until the 1980 victory of the Patriotic Front, South Africa fought alongside the neocolonialists in Rhodesia. In the aggression of the Smith and Muzorewa regimes against Zambia and Mozambique, South Africa provided air and helicopter support. In 1975 South Africa massively invaded Angola and has since continuously violated Angolan territory, carrying out savage raids against Angolan civilians and SWAPO refugee centers. Furthermore, in 1976 South Africa declared all of Africa south of the equator as its "defense perimeter." These actions established aggression as the *raison d'être* of South African policy towards the rest of Africa.

South Africa is NATO's southern flank. It is the centerpiece of the planning for a South Atlantic Treaty Organization which is to include several Latin American nations. The South African naval forces based at Simontown are also connected to the U.S.-British naval and air forces at Diego Garcia. Also the South Africa-Israel connection is important in this regard. Besides conventional military cooperation, this alliance is more and more orienting on joint nuclear collaboration.

What is Genuine Solidarity?

The struggle for national liberation in South Af-

rica is a component of the global struggle against imperialism and the multinationals. The relationship between the white minority and the racist regime on the one hand and the Black majority on the other is a colonial relationship. Colonialism in South Africa is of a special type. Within the context of one geographical entity there are two South Africas. One is white, with the main characteristics of state monopoly capitalism; the other is non-white, with the main features of colonial life, administration and rule. The South African Communist Party, proceeding from this position, states in its program that it "strives to unite all sections and classes of the oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination. The main content of the revolution will be the national liberation of the African people."

The seizure of power by the majority is the strategic objective in the struggle to terminate colonialism and to build a democratic state. Because of the intense penetration of monopoly capital this seizure would also basically alter the economy of South Africa. This victory would end South Africa's role as imperialist aggressor.

Due to the enormous economic and military presence of world imperialism in South Africa, international solidarity is a key component of victory. In this regard *social reformism*, acting on behalf of the giant monopolies, has proposed measures that would both blunt the blows of liberation delivered by the South African Black majority and of the solidarity movement. The failure of Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in Southern Africa led to a different approach by the Carter Administration. Andrew Young, former ambassador to the UN, became the main spokesman for this approach.

Certain concessions of a non-essential character were offered to the patriotic forcers of Namibia and Zimbabwe. There were more vocal expression of sympathy with respect to the people of South Africa. President Carter, for instance, in 1978, on a visit to Nigeria, said he was determined to eliminate South Africa's "evil and oppressive system of apartheid." This, however, has not been accompanied by actions to impose sanctions or to even reduce U.S. economic and military support to apartheid. In fact, such ties have intensified. This

posture is, however, a recognition that open support to South Africa imperils U.S. policy in Africa and Black support for the U.S. monopolies' neocolonial policies in Africa.

Young has erroneously compared the South African liberation struggle to the civil rights struggle of the 1960s. Following this reasoning, he has called for reforms which would leave intact the positions of the U.S. monopolies, while modifying white minority rule. In 1977 Young, while in Maputo, Mozambique, called for the termination of the armed struggle. A week later in Johannesburg he met with mining billionaire Harry Oppenheimer and a number of business and Black "leaders" on whom he urged cooperation between the Black majority and the U.S. and South African monopolies. Young has openly identified his proposals as neocolonialist.

In line with this, at the UN Young opposed economic sanctions against South Africa, voted against efforts to restrict the multinational corporations' assistance to South Africa's war production, and even went so far as to oppose sanctions against the shipment of nuclear materials and technology.

The Sullivan principles call on U.S. corporations to adopt a code of conduct based on equality of working conditions and training for Black and white workers. In practice, however, such voluntary "codes of good behavior" change nothing. For example, General Motors, on whose board of directors Rev. Sullivan sits, has not only continued to support apartheid, but has aided South Africa's military buildup and agreed to "emergency measures" that would put its plants under gunpoint rule in the event of a Black uprising.

Social reformism prettifies the role of the multinationals. It pictures them, not as exploiters, but as saviors of the South African people.

At the present time the Botha regime and the monopolies are seeking means of uniting their tactics. The objective is to modify apartheid while preserving the system in its essentials so as to permit continued exploitation of Black labor.

Genuine solidarity must base itself on support for the liberation movement headed by the African National Congress. It must call for economic, diplomatic, military and cultural sanctions against

South Africa. It must call for an end to trade and financial ties between the U.S. and South Africa. The object must be to strengthen the position of the liberation forces while weakening the racist regime.

The argument of the reformists that sanctions would hurt the Black majority fails to understand that international ties strengthen the racist regime and prolong its life. The increase in U.S. trade, investment and financial support to South Africa has gone hand in hand with savage oppression such as the massacre at Soweto in 1976, the invasions of Angola, the widening of the income ratio between Blacks and whites to 1:14, the removal of Blacks to barren "bantustans" and the official murders of Steve Biko and Solomon Malanga. The Black majority does not have the right to vote, to organize in trade unions or other associations of their choice or the right to education. They are being systematically deprived even of their citizenship. They are viciously discriminated against in every facet of life. And the proposals of Young, Mondale, Sullivan and others do not deter the racists for one minute from continuing down this bloody path.

In the face of all this, the South African people have intensified their freedom struggle. Demonstrations, strikes, armed actions of the ANC and politicization of the masses are growing. The people of all countries are responding with heightened solidarity. The world trade union, peace, youth and student movements as well as the UN, the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement have called for sanctions against the racists and solidarity with the people. In the U.S., the trade union, student and solidarity movements have deepened their support through resolutions, petitions, material aid, concerts, etc.

The fight for sanctions combines the class interest of the multiracial, multinational U.S. work-

ing class and broad antimonopoly masses with those of the South African majority. The struggle focuses on the same corporations which are wreaking economic disaster here. This form of solidarity accords with the interests of all of our people, for peace and economic security.

The Carter Doctrine has special meaning for Africa. In substance, the Carter Doctrine proclaims the right of U.S. imperialism to declare the resources of other nations to be in its vital interests, and to intervene to protect its claims to them. In other words, the U.S. is deemed to have the right to declare sovereignty over the resources of developing countries. This is a contravention of international law and a grave threat to international peace and security.

This "doctrine" is an ill-conceived and adventurist attempt to reverse the inevitable tendency of the waning influence of imperialism, an attempt to regain its once-held geo-strategic advantage over world socialism and national liberation. The prelude to the Carter Doctrine in Africa were the NATO-sponsored invasion of Zaire and the Carter-Brzezinski support for the Somali aggression against Ethiopia. This is being followed up by the agreement to establish U.S. military bases in Somalia.

Therefore, developments in Southern Africa, and Africa generally, confront the liberation movements, the new nations and their international allies with the task of staying the hand of the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism. This task places special weight on the peace, democratic and antimonopoly forces in the U.S. International solidarity is becoming an increasingly important factor in world politics.

In the 1980s the African liberation struggle will pose the question of mobilizing the maximum solidarity for the final assault against apartheid in South Africa.

Revolutionary Turmoil in Latin America

MILTON RENE PAREDES

The revolutionary upheavals in Central America are evidence of the mounting crisis of the system of domination imposed on our countries by the local oligarchy and imperialism. The Nicaraguan people's victory over the Somoza tyranny and the external forces backing it was a telling blow to that system. The Sandinista revolution was undoubtedly the overriding socio-political event of the past 25 years in Central America and it confirmed the Communists' conclusion that the balance of forces in the region was changing in favor of the liberation process.

The events in El Salvador are a new, important stage of the Central American revolution. It would be wrong to believe that the Romero dictatorship fell because a small group of military men willed it. They would never have brought themselves to undertake the coup of October 15, 1979, had the popular movement not reached a high degree of maturity. A section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and the U.S. State Department (in the person of Viron Vaky, then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs) may well have believed that Romero's elimination would be enough to stop the revolutionary struggle. But they miscalculated. The Salvadoran people did not take the bait. They demand tangible changes, primarily the removal of the oligarchy from power, the purging of fascist elements in the state apparatus, the granting of democratic freedoms and radical social and economic changes.

The situation in El Salvador bears little resemblance to what obtained in Nicaragua. There is no dynasty comparable to the Somoza clan, against which virtually the whole nation rose. This lends the conflict in El Salvador a more clear-cut character. Besides, the domestic situation is compounded by the headstrong behavior of groups of ultras, especially in the armed forces, and by the inflexibility of the ruling quarters. But there also

are characteristics in common. As in Nicaragua, El Salvador has no liberal bourgeoisie or strong centrist organizations. The influence of the reformist Christian Democratic Party has been sapped by its conciliatory stance in the current events. Many of its adherents have gone over to Left-wing organizations. For the Christian Democrats the option is either to join in the common struggle or serve as a political cover for the oligarchy.

Also common to the two nations (the Nicaragua of the Somoza reign and present-day El Salvador) are the massive, unspeakably brutal repressions, the efforts to leave the opposition leaderless. There is a striking resemblance between the summary treatment of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, chairman of Nicaragua's largest democratic group, on the eve of the Sandinista victory, and the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, head of the Salvadoran Catholic Church known for his courageous pronouncements in defense of patriots. However, both murders backfired, signalling an intensification of the strike movement and spurring the armed actions of the Left-wing organizations.

The struggle in El Salvador is characterized by an extreme polarization of forces. Politically, the popular movement now has a tremendous advantage because the junta has completely lost the confidence of progressives. The revolutionary consciousness of the workers and peasants is higher now and the middle strata are in ferment. New revolutionary organizations have sprung up. Operating jointly or in parallel with the Communist Party, they have roused the people to courageous actions. Left unity is growing and this has found expression in the formation of a Revolutionary National Coordinating Committee, which comprises the Revolutionary People's Bloc, the United Popular Action Front, the February 28 People's Leagues and the Nationalist Democratic Union Party, or all the main mass alignments of the country. This is a result of the rapid advance of the Salvadoran revolutionary process over the past decade.

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A statement signed by the leadership of the main underground organizations (Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces, Armed Forces of National Resistance and the Communist Party of El Salvador) points out that the "the Salvadoran people did not seek violence—it was imposed on them by the oligarchy and the criminal military tyranny obedient to it. In recent years, legalized violence, which dooms the working people to hunger, poverty, illiteracy and unemployment, starves our children and robs the citizens of elementary rights, has been supplemented with constant military aggression against an unarmed population...This has made our people realize that the only road Left to them is to arm and organize themselves to repulse the aggression, defend their gains and maintain their right to transform society." (*Patria*, January 26, 1980.)

The formation of the Revolutionary National Coordinating Committee has given the Left a political advantage and it can now operate more effectively. But it is still weak militarily, faced with a huge repressive machinery, primarily the army and numerous paramilitary organizations. This makes it vital for the revolutionaries to receive military training and learn to rouse the masses to resolute action and make the utmost use of the revolutionary situation.

The Left has learned much of late. Ana Martinez, leader of the People's Revolutionary Army, said in an interview that a searching political and economic analysis of historical conditions and creative application of key Marxist-Leninist principles allowed the guerrilla movement to rectify mistakes springing from its uncritical use of models of the revolution in other countries. The Nicaraguan revolution was further evidence that no victory can be won without the people's participation.

Reaction will certainly try to strike back, hence the imperative need for solidarity on the part of world-wide progressive opinion. U.S. imperialism is planning a frontal attack on the Salvadoran revolution. An indication of this is the growing frequency of the visits William Bowdler, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, is making to Central American countries. An objective of these visits is to form a

cordon sanitaire around Nicaragua and prevent El Salvador from following what the *New York Times* describes as the Marxist example of Castro-led Cuba. Nor is direct armed intervention ruled out. We believe the U.S. will resort to such intervention in spite of the risk of "Vietnamizing" the region.

According to the *Washington Post* the Carter Administration plans military aid to the Salvadoran junta in order to head off the people's revolution. This plan, approved by the National Security Council and by Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security adviser, provides for a \$7,000,000 package of arms and other counter-insurgency means, as well as for the dispatch of U.S. advisers to train the Salvadoran army. But the ultimate goal of the Pentagon, the newspaper notes, is to land Marines, as a demonstration that they can win a guerrilla war.



Last February, Shafic Jorge Handal, General Secretary of the CPS Central Committee, noted that real danger was looming over the nation. On the one hand, he wrote, U.S. imperialism, allied with the Salvadoran finance and landed oligarchy, is out to impose a "reformist" regime, and on the other hand it is backing the most reactionary elements in the army, supplying arms to gangs of ultras and forming new gangs from remnants of Somoza's guardsmen and soldiers of the Guatemalan dictatorship. At the same time, the USA is planning to invade El Salvador, preferring to drench the nation in blood rather than to put up with the emergence of another Nicaragua in Central America. Accordingly, the U.S. troops in the Canal Zone and the newly-established Caribbean task force, with headquarters in Key West, Florida, have been placed on stand-by alert.

An uptrend in popular struggles and a desire for unity of action on the part of Left and democratic forces are in evidence also in other Central American countries, primarily in the most developed of them, Guatemala, which has for decades been ruled by one of the most hated dictatorships in the region. Mass resistance there has increased under the impact of the Sandinista victory and the current intensification of Left activity in El Salvador.

The rulers of Guatemala, who are terrified by what is for them an adverse trend of the domestic political situation, are using their pet method—repression—more and more often. Not long ago the world was shocked by the murder of a group of peasants who had occupied the Spanish Embassy to make public the outrages committed on their lands by the official security force. It is worth recalling in this connection that last December the Guatemalan capital was visited by Pentagon experts. There is no doubt that they advised a “cleaning and warning operation” against “subversives.” Guatemala’s Communists stress that “the fascist character of the Guatemalan military dictatorship is accentuated more and more as part of a global process in which the oligarchy and imperialism are closing ranks in a desperate bid to block the people’s growing struggle and curb their discontent by an all-out escalation of repression and terror against the people in general and mass, progressive organizations in particular.” (*Declarations of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Workers Party*, Paris, February 4, 1980.)

In this case too, Washington would have preferred a “reformist” way out of the crisis since the semi-fascist dictatorship does not justify its hopes. However, the problem is, according to the *New York Times*, to find a Center, since all prospective Centrist leaders have been killed.

If you look back, Manuel Colom Argueta, a leading Guatemalan politician, said in March 1979, you will see that the victims of each crime were prominent persons. These people by no means had one and the same ideological orientation. They had simply belonged to one or another movement or social stratum and had had the ability to unite the people for a common cause. A few days later, Colom Argueta was shot dead. Little wonder the masses are toughening up their struggle. Every time the regime’s punitive units kill a peasant or a worker, dozens of others step in to support revolutionary organizations.

There is also the example of my own country, Honduras, where a reformist-type military coup in 1972 ended the traditional bipartisan system. For a time there was a climate of political tolerance which enabled diverse currents to fight one

another, in spite of the absence of elections, without going to extremes. But the reformist regime soon spent its possibilities. It resumed repressions against the workers and the popular movement. The government, under Colonel Melgar Castro, which took over in 1975, shelved the National Development Plan announced earlier for the modernization of the economy and the restructuring of society through a series of reforms, including an agrarian reform.

At present, attempts are made to restore an outdated form of government in order to assure the dominant role to the National Party, the country’s most reactionary political organization. The Communists of Honduras feel that this will bring nearer a situation similar to that in Nicaragua.

Unlike reactionary regimes, representative democracy in Costa Rica is a fairly solid and flexible political system making it possible to strike something in the nature of a balance between the diverse trends born of the deepening socio-economic crisis. Official policy swings alternately to the Left and Right. But its fundamental orientation is Centrist and since the 1948 civil war the political struggles have never been excessively sharp and there has been no extreme polarization of the contending forces. However, recent events—the action of banana plantation workers and its brutal suppression, as well as the adoption of an undisguised anti-Communist attitude by the Carazo government—show that deep crisis phenomena are in the making even in “tranquil” Costa Rica.



The crisis of the system of domination in Central America affects diverse classes and population groups. Two alignments may be tentatively singled out among the big and part of the middle bourgeoisie; one calls for more repression against the popular movement, while the other has to some extent learned Nicaragua’s lessons and considers that since a hard line is likely to hasten the revolution, democratic changes would be advisable.

As for the petty bourgeoisie, it is in a state of political unrest. The growing socio-economic crisis is having a disastrous effect on the condition

of small and medium employers, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, members of the liberal professions, intellectuals and students, whom it prompts to join the opponents of the political and social status quo.

Most important of all, the political consciousness of Central America's working class is growing, the various trade union currents are looking for closer unity and the strike movement is expanding, the strikes taking both legal and illegal action, such as the seizure of factories or armed self-defense.

The progressive Unity Confederation of Salvadoran Workers has come to play a bigger role in the labor movement. Its entry into the People's Forum, an alignment of democratic political and public organizations, has quickened the revolutionary process in El Salvador. The Trade Union Unity Committee of Honduras and the National Trade Union Unity Committee of Guatemala have gained in importance. The latter comprises all the main confederations.

In estimating the potentialities of the peasant movement in Central America it is essential to remember that most of its organizations are persecuted with increasing beastliness, hundreds of its leaders have been killed by the security services or paramilitary gangs, the agrarian problem is more acute than anywhere else in Latin America and the big landowners wield enormous power. Even so, the peasants and agricultural laborers have not been broken. Their fighting potential as allies of the proletariat is great and goes on growing.

A democratized political structure could certainly ease the impact of the socio-economic crisis in Central American countries. However, the oligarchy and imperialism realize that democratization would exacerbate the contradictions in the ruling bloc to bursting point, put the reactionary military clique in greater isolation than ever and give the working people the possibility of forming, building up and staunchly defending their organizations. This is why the ruling classes reject out of hand even moderate reformist projects.

It follows that profound democratic changes in Central America can only be brought about by an anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist democratic revolution that would sweep away murderous

military dictatorships, destroy their political, legal and repressive institutions, end foreign oppression, dependence, poverty and exploitation and solve the nation's pressing problems. An active role by the masses in the revolution would make it possible to form really democratic governments, give the working people a larger say in government and set about building socialism.

Democratic, revolutionary changes would provide the basis for the subsequent unification of Central American countries, a dream of Francisco Morazan, Augusto Cesar Sandino and our other national heroes.

The revolutionaries of Central America, who want to bring that day nearer, see as their chief task uniting all democratic opposition groups which would have the support of the majority of the people. Nicaragua's lessons are unmistakable in this respect. The main accomplishment of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the leading force of the Nicaraguan revolution, is that in spite of political and ideological differences, it united virtually all forces opposed to the dictatorship and nullified the U.S. maneuver to preserve Somozism without Somoza. Broad-based anti-dictatorial unity helped to oust the tyranny and the external forces backing it—a movement comprising diverse political and social forces—has developed on the continent. Fidel Castro has said that "around the Sandinistas' struggle there tacitly developed an alliance which we might call a great democratic anti-interventionist independence front in Latin America." (*Information Bulletin*, Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba, No. 3, 1979, p. 8.) This indicates that the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the region now have greater opportunities for cooperation.



We consider that the struggle for democracy can bring together the Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Christian-Democrats, liberals, priests, patriotic military and even some groups of the bourgeoisie whose economic interests and political rights have been curtailed. A broad democratic front can take shape on this basis despite differences in programs and political objec-

tives of the various parties and social groups. Its formation would give our struggle unprecedented scope, for it would involve the masses.

The revolutionary experience of Central American countries shows that in striving for democratic unity it is necessary to proceed with the greatest flexibility and circumspection. We believe the issue of who is to guide the process of change or what the substance of this process is to be need not be a stumbling block. Joint action by diverse social and political forces does not imply that any of them has renounced its program. The issue of leadership of the democratic movement must be settled in the course of struggle. The working class has a most important part to play, for it must do all in its power to carry revolutionary processes deeper and unite other exploited population groups under its leadership.

We wish to stress that while democratic anti-imperialist unity is important, Left unity is a requisite of victory. Operating on the Central American political scene side by side with the Communists are other Left-wing organizations proclaiming their adherence to Marxism-Leninism. We owe this to the growing prestige of scientific socialism as a theory inspiring the masses with optimism. Some of these organizations spare no effort to bring down dictatorships. We do not deny that we differ, sometimes, greatly, on this or that issue. This makes dialogue the most suitable way of achieving unity of action against the common enemy. At the same time, we Communists take a stand against groups which use revolutionary talk as camouflage to attack Communist Parties, thereby making common cause with the oligarchy and imperialism.

The acuteness of the class contradictions and the depth of the crisis of dependent capitalism in Central America prompt me to touch on a further key problem, that of power. We Honduran Communists know that the forms of assuming power may vary, depending on how far the class struggle has developed. At some point in history, when the national and international situation is favorable, the non-violent path can be used. We consider however, that as matters stand in our countries (possibly with the exception of Costa Rica), the armed path is the likeliest. To be sure, every effort

must be made to win power with the minimum of bloodshed. However, says our Party program, "bitter experience shows that in the long run it is the ruling classes that impose the most savage forms of class struggle on the masses."

The choice of the way of winning power certainly does not imply that the Communists commit themselves to only one option. Now as in the past, they must be prepared to use any way (or even several ways at once) depending on the political situation, the actual strength and intentions of the enemy, the militancy of the masses and the position of the Left-wing parties and their allies.

From this point of view, the Communist Parties of Central America consistently follow a clear-cut line. El Salvador's Communists hold that their country is going through a historic stage of revolution and only the unity of revolutionary and democratic forces taking the path of armed revolution will transform this possibility into victorious reality.

Guatemala's Communists are convinced that "there is no alternative to the non-peaceful road for the Guatemalan revolution; it is within its framework that we will use the most diverse forms of organization and struggle according to the circumstances." (*The Road of the Guatemalan Revolution*, Mexico City, 1972, p. 63.)

Late in 1979, we Honduran Communists discussed these problems in line with the December 1978 plenum of our CC, which changed the composition of leading party bodies as well as the forms and methods of party work. We came to the conclusion that in view of the government's swing to the Right and the deterioration of the domestic political situation, armed struggle would be the likeliest way of coming to power.



The formula of armed struggle gives rise to heated debates that often lead to mistaken conclusions. There are those on the Left, including people in our parties, who absolutize one of the ways of winning power. On the one hand, the opinion is expressed that armed struggle can be used in any situation, irrespective of the organizing work linking us with the masses; on the other hand, it is argued that one "must first carry on

political work and then military work." We believe both approaches are simplistic and disregard the existing situation.

A lesson we have learned is that we can not confine ourselves to general statements, such as "we must be prepared to use any form of struggle." Political agitation and military training should become our standing tasks. We will not be lulled by the declaration that no revolutionary situation exists at the moment, for when it does develop it will be hard or even too late to make up for lost time. The situation in Central America today demands continuous and effective work among the masses, primarily among the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students, to ensure that no class or social group is outside the orbit of our influence. Not until we have won over large sections of the population shall we be able to use this or that form of struggle and win, that is gain political power, which is our main goal.

U.S. imperialism will no doubt do all it can to prevent such an outcome and cling to its political, economic and military positions in Central America. This is the purpose of every step and every political move it makes in our region.

Nevertheless, we think the main factor in this case is not what the United States does or plans to do but the deep crisis of the prevailing system of domination. We are far from under-rating imperialism's strength but we consider that to regard

it as the sole maker of the processes going on within the ruling classes and the institutions set up by them (primarily the army) is to ignore our people's long, persevering struggle and the rise and existence within the ruling circles of currents that are in a sense autonomous in regard to the USA. Nicaragua is an instructive lesson to us in this respect as well.

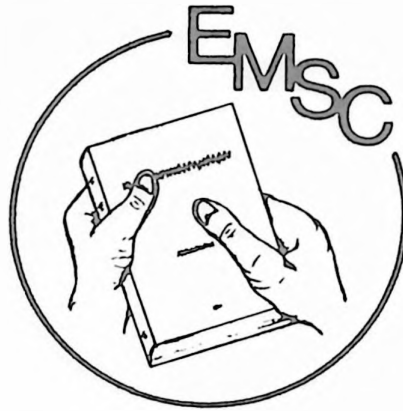
Every process going on in Central America or for that matter, elsewhere on the continent is linked with the USA directly or indirectly. This is an objective reality and it would be very dangerous to discount it. But it would be just as dangerous to attribute to imperialism an omnipotence which it lacks in today's world.

Once again we recall the old truth which says that a nation can win freedom only through its own effort backed by the solidarity of other nations. Central America's peoples are fighting courageously for their freedom and a better future. Leading the way next to Nicaragua is El Salvador. They have the sympathy and support of progressive mankind. And difficult as it may seem in view of the geographical proximity of Central America to the USA and its colossal strategic importance to the latter, this struggle is certain to be crowned with success.

We Communists must be both worthy of this historic moment and equal to its requirements.

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Panels, while following the main theme, will cover a wide range of disciplines. A partial listing of panels and participants follows:

Feminism, Marxism and Socialism with Alva Buxenbaum, Renate Bridenthal and others.

The Individual and the Myth of Individualism with Howard Parsons, dept. of philosophy, University of Bridgeport, James Lawler, SUNY at Buffalo and William H. Truitt, University of Southern Florida.

The Concept of Activity for the Theory and Practice of Psychology with Dr. Ethel Tobach, curator at the Museum of Natural History, New York, Prof. David Adams, Wesleyan, Dr. Gerald S. Coles of Newark, N.J.

Toward a Marxist Sociology with Bertell Ollman of New York University, Prof. Robert Mast of Detroit and Prof. Gwen Michael Remy.

Other panels will include: **Jobs and Plant Closings; Latin America and the Caribbean; Education—Ideology, Aesthetics and Academic Repression; Ethics, Health and Welfare, Technology and International Policy, Imperialism; Black Nationalism on TV; the Electoral System; the Productivity Myth, Inflation and the Energy Crisis.**

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