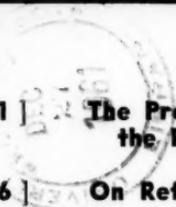


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A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism

Editor: HERBERT APTHEKER

The President and the Rightists

AN EDITORIAL

EVENTS OF THE PAST months have confirmed Gus Hall's analysis in his article "The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and the Role of the Progressive," which appeared in these pages in August. If anything, the challenge from the extreme Right has become sharper, as expressed brazenly by the Texas publisher who told the President at a White House luncheon that what the nation needed in the White House was not a "weak sister" but "a man on horseback" who will make it clear that "we can annihilate Russia."

What is significant is not so much the challenge itself, but the immediate response of the President: "The difference between you and me is that I have the responsibility for the lives of 180 million Americans, which you have not." Thus, the issue was joined on the central point, war or peace. In subsequent speeches in Seattle and Los Angeles the President identified the Rightists with the path to war, attacked them and rejected

their position. His speeches were also significant in other respects. He emphasized that there is no "American solution" to world problems, recognized that solutions would have to be found through the process of accommodation and compromise, pointed to the danger of a sense of frustration as a source of extremism, and rejected the contention of the far Right that any negotiations with the Soviet Union would be paramount to "appeasement" or "capitulation." Thus the President himself differentiated his own position from that of the Ultras.

What is the significance of this development?

It should be noted, first, that the President's attack on the extreme Right arose from certain necessities and pressures which could no longer be ignored. It was clear that having himself threatened war over Berlin, (notably in his TV speech in July), and having obtained the military measures he demanded, he must

now perforce go to negotiations, even if on a limited basis. The Soviet Union was determined that West Berlin should not become a cause for war, although, as the resumption of nuclear weapons tests dramatized, she was ready to meet any danger from that source. Therefore, if the President had in fact made the decision to negotiate over West Berlin, if not over the basic German problem, he would have to mount a struggle at home against those who equated negotiations with capitulation. His open attack on the Ultra-Right thus has the immediate significance of preparing on the home front for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the President's speeches were occasioned by the widespread concern in the country over the growing menace of the war-bent Ultra-Right forces. Many leaders, organizations and periodicals—reflecting opinion in broad public and religious circles—expressed real concern over the fascist menace as shown most sharply by the growing activities of the John Birch Society, the Minuteman "guerrillas," the so-called Christian Crusade of Schwarz, the American Nazi Party of Rockwell, the Citizens Councils and their spokesmen and abettors in both political parties, like Senators Goldwater and Dodd. Even Richard Nixon, angling for the Governorship of California, felt it expedient for the moment to keep

publicly clear of the Ultras, while Eisenhower (after Kennedy had spoken) added his criticism of the extreme Right.

Even more, the mounting concern over the danger from the Far Right was leading to extensive pressures directly upon the Administration itself to ease up the arms race and the cold war, to restore the social welfare measures sacrificed for the military build-up, to take up seriously the civil rights struggle, and to defend elementary democratic principles. These pressures are beginning to touch the very core of Administration cold war policy, with its main reliance upon the military build-up, its alliance with West German militarism, its interventionist actions and threats in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Senator Fulbright's memorandum to the Defense Department asking for curbs upon the Birchite activities of high-ranking military officers, besides resulting in some restrictions by the authorities, raised to prominent public notice the need to restore the traditional democratic principle of civilian control over the military. (In a Special Issue of *The Nation*, Oct. 28, 1961, Fred J. Cook documented brilliantly the key role of the "military-industrial complex" in government policy.) The peace actions in the country—notably by the women—have not only grown into a real ground swell but are directed beyond the immediate issue

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of a test ban to the ban of nuclear arms themselves and to general disarmament. Wide criticism was aroused by the sacrifice of welfare to warfare, as in dropping a budget provision of \$160 million for cancer research and health.

Perhaps the most significant rebuff to the accentuated cold war policy is the bitter controversy roused by the shelter program, the most pernicious hoax ever tried on the American people. Intended to increase the sense of war tension and war psychosis in order to assure the stepped-up arms program, the shelter hoax, by and large, produced the opposite effect, for people now began to realize that there could be no protection once nuclear bombs started to fall. The utter depravity and sheer lying involved in the public campaign to put the shelter hoax across, not to speak of the profit-hunger of the shelter corporations that sprung up to exploit fear and confusion, and the class bias and inhumanity of man to man released by the campaign, shocked and aroused millions.

People were being educated by these events in the underlying relation between the threat to peace and the threat to democracy. Indicative of this is the sustained movement against the House Un-American Activities Committee and particularly the fight for the freedom to hear all views that spread across the tampsus of the nation

when Benjamin J. Davis was banned from speaking at the New York City colleges. Occurring after the Supreme Court had upheld its previous decision in favor of the registration provisions of the McCarran Act, and after the Communist Party had announced it would not register since this would in itself be a violation of the Constitution and of democratic rights, the student actions and wider public support to this position were particularly pertinent. Here was a notice to the Administration that it could expect criticism and opposition in rather broad circles if it were to attempt to apply the political gags provided in the McCarran Act. Such actions, and others by prominent public leaders who warned the Administration against the disastrous effects upon democracy that would result from application of the gag law, cannot be interpreted as pro-Communist. But they certainly indicated that many understood the menace from the extreme Right and of government policies which had the effect of abetting and encouraging the forces of fascism.

Finally, when the President delivered his attacks on the extreme Right he had every reason to feel encouraged by the results of the elections in New York City, New Jersey and in San Antonio, Texas, where a liberal Democrat defeated the Rightists in the contest for a House seat. Although foreign policy

did not figure directly in these elections, they did show a trend in favor of social legislation and other domestic policies associated with the platform on which the President was elected. To varying degrees, these particular contests also revealed an unmistakable trend against the forces on the Right.

Accordingly, these events show that while the Administration is still wedded to the cold war policy and is deeply entangled in the military-business complex, it is obliged to respond to popular and democratic pressures that are exerted upon it. This was a central point made in the article by Gus Hall in discussing the differentiation between Kennedy and the Ultra-Right forces.

This does not mean that Kennedy's open attacks on ultra-Rightism represent a basic shift in Administration policy, particularly with respect to the central component of militarism, "position of strength," and the anti-Communist rationale of the cold war line. The Kennedy position as it is now developing confirms the analysis, contained in Hall's article, which pointed to both aspects of that position: Not only the differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-Right but also the link between them. That link is provided by the general cold war line of the Administration, and particularly by the stepping up of the nuclear arms race, the closer alliance with West Germany and the neo-imperialist policies

towards the so-called underdeveloped or emergent nations. The sharpening of the crisis around West Berlin, accentuated by the military measures of the Administration, and the persisting interventionist campaign in South East Asia and Cuba, along with the accompanying theme of the "menace" of Communist attack upon the United States, fed the soil for the present upsurge of the extreme Right. It should be noted that in the same speeches in which the President criticized the Rightist position he also attacked the "Left extremists" whom he defined as those standing for "peace at any price." He no doubt had in mind the growing demands of the peace forces in the country for disarmament and for a shift to a national policy of peaceful coexistence. Only a President determined to retain the "positions of strength" policy could so define "Left extremists." Among them are to be found elements of various political persuasions, having in common the objective of preventing a nuclear inferno in which this country would be destroyed along with other belligerents. In fact, if the war danger is to be removed, a basic shift in policy is required that would seek mutual disarmament and negotiations of world problems, while also slamming the door to reaction within the country.

The real question we confront today is whether the Kennedy Administration — representing the domin-

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ant monopoly interests of the country — can be made to move in the direction of meaningful negotiations to reduce the danger of war, of disarmament and of disengagement from extended positions that can lead to armed clashes. That this is possible is shown by the hold-off at West Berlin and by the consequent necessity for Kennedy to seek negotiations. It is also shown by the connected development at home which made it necessary for the President to direct some blows at the extreme Right.

Naturally, if one were only to see the danger from the Right, emphasizing only the differentiation between Kennedy and the Ultras, this would be paramount to covering up for Kennedy, and taking the heat off the Administration for a change in course. On the other hand, if the danger from the Right is ignored or played down in favor of an exclusive frontal attack upon Administration policies, the fight for peace and democracy would

be so narrowed as to become ineffectual. It is necessary to recognize fully the danger of the extreme Right, and also the role played by the Administration cold war and pro-imperialist policies in opening the door to the Right. We must see both the differentiation and the connection. And from this grows the tactical orientation, outlined by Hall in his article, of directing the main blow at the most reactionary and belligerent forces and trends while pressuring Kennedy for a change of policy that would create the possibility of defeating the Right and eliminating it as a present danger in American political life. Reaction has to be fought, no matter from what source it arises. The tactical line proposed for the Left and Progressive forces offers the approach that can unite in common action the broadest array of democratic and peace forces now growing in the country for the purpose of blocking the road to reaction and war.

On Refusing to Register

Communist Party, USA

November 30, 1961 was the deadline for registration by officers of the Communist Party, U.S.A., under the McCarran Act. On that date, the Party issued the statement which follows, explaining why it was not possible for the Party to do this.—the Editor:

The Communist Party of the United States has advised the Assistant Attorney General that all of its officers decline to sign or supply the information called for by any registration forms prescribed by the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

In taking this step, the Communist Party and its officers defend not only their own freedoms, but the freedoms of all men.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 is the most repressive single statute in the history of our country. This is not our view alone, but the considered opinion of constitutional experts who are concerned with the fate of democracy in this country.

This statute frontally attacks the process of freely forming opinions and of expressing political views, which is indispensable to the function of democratic government.

More than this, registration under this act would force its victims to confess "guilt" to a series of crimes—such as being a foreign agent, as

part of an international conspiracy ready to use espionage, sabotage, force and violence against the Government of the United States—*crimes* written into this law as a definition of Communist action organizations, but for which they have never been tried in a court of law.

All these crimes and concepts attributed to the Communist Party are base and infamous slanders fabricated by Hitlerism. At the same time the victims would incriminate themselves by such a compulsive admission of "guilt" which can (and inevitably will) be used to convict them of violations of other laws.

The Communist Party challenges the alleged factual basis of the registration order, as a fascist-like edict, with a built-in verdict of guilt. It denies that it is an agent of the Soviet Union or any foreign government and rejects all other accusations made therein, in support of this false charge.

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it both ways. It cannot attach a label of infamy and crime to the Party and demand that its officers and members acquiesce in the judgment thus imposed upon it. This form of compelled confession was an evil which was ousted from our law in the seventeenth century. We will not permit ourselves to be used as an instrument to revive this medieval practice.

This coerced confession of a guilt which we have always denied would be ground enough for resisting the registration requirements. But every form of compelled registration either directly by an officer of the Party or indirectly through an agent, can only lead to compulsory incrimination of those required to sign such registration statement or authorize that it be signed.

We recognize that non-compliance with the statute creates a risk of enormous penalties of five years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine for every day of non-compliance. But we do not propose to be intimidated or terrorized into surrendering our political and constitutional freedoms or to compromise the principles upon which these freedoms rest. President Kennedy has boasted that we are the most democratic nation of the free world. But the requirement that men register and wear a badge of infamy, that they accuse themselves and by compulsion incriminate themselves is not the act of a free nation. These requirements mock our pretensions

to freedom. They are spawned by fear and hysteria; they are a throw-back to barbaric compulsion of the Hitlerian code; their counterparts can be found in no democratic society of the western world.

We thus have no choice but to refuse these demands, not merely to protect ourselves and the democracy which we cherish, but also to bar the creation of a precedent which will permanently shame us in the eyes of history and threaten a new form of political slavery for our contemporaries and those who come after them.

Already the fear which this statute and others like it have inspired, has created and nourished a sinister new ultra Rightist movement in this country. This movement has as its goal the dismantling of American democracy and the creation of a fascist combination which will drive our country to war. The enforcement of the statute will inevitably further the power of this combination and increase its strength. We feel that we must stand guard against the requirements of the statute to save our country from the holocaust which threatens it from the Right.

It must be understood that, contrary to the statements of the Department of Justice, our refusal to sign or file the registration forms is not an act of defiance of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ruled by a 5-4 vote only that the order to register is not unconstitutional. The Court

expressly refused to rule whether the Party or its officers could constitutionally be punished for refusal to register.

We are convinced further that the attempt to apply this repressive Act to our organization or to any other is a violation not only of the First and Fifth Amendments. The fantastic penalties it imposes on its victims — five years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine for each day of failure to register — brings it into direct conflict with the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits cruel and unusual punishment.

History has placed on the Communist Party, small, reviled, falsely accused as a conspirator against American institutions, the responsibility of carrying forward the struggle for the defense of its own constitutional rights and — in so doing — to defend the constitutional rights of every American. Should the Party and its officers comply with this fas-

cist-like statute, they would not only be false to themselves but would betray all liberty-loving Americans, making it necessary for other men and women of courage, whom reaction singles out as its next victims, to take up the battle for freedom.

This we will not do. Whatever the consequences of our challenge to this monstrous statute, we will face them, proud that today the banner of peace, progress, and democracy rests on our shoulders.

Finally, we are confident that labor and all democratic-minded Americans will vigorously defend their heritage, liberty by liberty, and that the infamous McCarran statute will go the way of the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Fugitive Slave Act, and all other repressive legislation which in the past sought to undo the social progress and peace of our nation.

COMMUNIST PARTY,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Dr. Du Bois Joins the Communist Party

DR. DU BOIS' APPLICATION

To Gus Hall,
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
New York, New York

On this first day of October, 1961, I am applying for admission to membership in the Communist Party of the United States. I have been long and slow in coming to this conclusion, but at last my mind is settled.

In college I heard the name of Karl Marx, but read none of his works, nor heard them explained. At the University of Berlin, I heard much of those thinkers who had definitively answered the theories of Marx, but again we did not study what Marx himself had said. Nevertheless, I attended meetings of the Socialist Party and considered myself a Socialist.

On my return to America, I taught and studied for sixteen years. I explored the theory of Socialism and studied the organized social life of American Negroes; but still I neither read nor heard much of Marxism. Then I came to New York as an official of the new NAACP and editor of the *Crisis* Magazine. The NAACP was capitalist orientated and expected support from rich philanthropists.

But it had a strong Socialist element in its leadership in persons like Mary Ovington, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell. Following their advice, I joined the Socialist Party in 1911. I knew then nothing of practical socialist politics and in the campaign of 1912, I found myself unwilling to vote the Socialist ticket, but advised Negroes to vote for Wilson. This was contrary to Socialist Party rules and consequently I resigned from the Socialist Party.

For the next twenty years I tried to develop a political way of life for myself and my people. I attacked the Democrats and Republicans for monopoly and disfranchisement of Negroes; I attacked the Socialists for trying to segregate Southern Negro members; I praised the racial attitudes of the Communists, but opposed their tactics in the case of the Scottsboro boys and their advocacy of a Negro state. At the same time I began to study Karl Marx and the Communists; I read *Das Kapital* and other Communist literature; I hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917, but was puzzled at the contradictory news from Russia.

Finally in 1926, I began a new effort: I visited Communist lands. I went to the Soviet Union in 1926, 1936, 1949 and 1959; I saw the nation develop. I visited East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. I spent ten weeks in China, traveling all over the land. Then, this summer, I rested a month in Rumania.

I was early convinced that Socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods. For Russia I was convinced she had chosen the only way open to her at the time. I saw Scandinavia choosing a different method, half-way between Socialism and Capitalism. In the United States I saw Consumers Cooperation as a path from Capitalism to Socialism, while England, France and Germany developed in the same direction in their own way. After the depression and the Second World War, I was disillusioned. The Progressive movement in the United States failed. The Cold War started. Capitalism called Communism a crime.

Today I have reached a firm conclusion:

Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.

Communism—the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute—this is the only way of human life. It is a difficult and hard end to reach—it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help to bring that day.

The path of the American Communist Party is clear: It will provide the United States with a real Third Party and thus restore democracy to this land. It will call for:

1. Public ownership of natural resources and of all capital.
2. Public control of transportation and communications.
3. Abolition of poverty and limitation of personal income.
4. No exploitation of labor.
5. Social medicine, with hospitalization and care of the old.
6. Free education for all.
7. Training for jobs and jobs for all.
8. Discipline for growth and reform.
9. Freedom under law.
10. No dogmatic religion.

These aims are not crimes. They are practiced increasingly over the world. No nation can call itself free which does not allow its citizens to work for these ends.

W. E. B. Du Bois

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GUS HALL'S REPLY

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In reply to your letter of October 1st in which you made application for membership in the Communist Party of the United States allow me to relate the following:

I read it before our National Board on October 13th, where it was greeted with the highest enthusiasm and responded to with many heartfelt testimonials to the titanic labors which you have performed over a glorious span of 60 years of dedicated services and leadership in the cause of human progress, peace, science and culture.

Already in 1906 in your historic *Address to the Country of the Niagara Movement* you had perceived the main line of development of our century, and wrote these prophetic words:

"The morning breaks over the hills. Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer is opening the gates of Opportunity and Peace."

And so it has come, and is coming to pass. And knowledgeable people everywhere are mindful of the fact that your selfless labors and mighty works have been a powerful contribution to the dawn of our new epoch, the epoch of the final triumph of man over all manner of oppression, discrimination and exploitation.

You (the first Negro to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard University, in 1895) are the acknowledged Dean of American letters and most eminent living American scholar.

As editor, sociologist, historian, novelist, poet, publicist, lecturer, and organizer, you have made enduring contributions. Your life is a monumental example of achievement for all American.

For 50 years you have been a tireless champion of the national liberation of the African peoples and new Africa's wise counselor and "elder statesman."

For more than 60 years you have been the foremost philosopher, theoretician and practical organizer of the glorious Negro people's freedom struggle.

You have authored numerous books, each of which is a weapon against colonialism, racism, and imperialism, and for the victory of the cause of peace, freedom and the brotherhood of peoples.

You have raised your voice powerfully and incessantly against war machinations, for world peace and disarmament, for friendship with the social-

ist countries and co-existence between the two world social systems.

Your act of joining the Communist Party at this time not only expresses the recognition of the new world reality, of the great turn of the people of the world toward socialism for the solution of mankind's need for peace, brotherhood and well-being, but it constitutes an invitation and a challenge to men and women of science and culture, to creative thinkers of all countries, to the Negro masses and their outstanding leaders both here and abroad, to avail themselves of the social science of Marxism-Leninism and the fraternity of the Communist Parties to give new wings to their cause and their works.

You have chosen to join our Party precisely at the time when with brazen effrontery to the trends of the times, the most backward ultra-reactionary forces in our country's national life have temporarily dragooned the Supreme Court's majority into upholding the most flagrantly un-Constitutional thought-control laws—the McCarran Act and Smith Act, designed to muzzle free speech, ban freedom of association, persecute Communists and suppress our Party.

This is symbolic of the personal courage and heroic exercise of social responsibility which have characterized your service and leadership to the people's cause throughout your long life.

In joining the Communist Party, you have made that association which was clearly indicated by the very logic of your life.

Dear Dr. Du Bois, welcome into the membership of our party! The title of Party Member is an honorable and worthy title worn with pride by the most dedicated and farseeing, the best sons and daughters of the workers and peoples of all lands in the first ranks of struggle for mankind's happy future.

With comradely greetings,

GUS HALL

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IDEAS IN OUR TIME

BY HERBERT APTHEKER

DR. DU BOIS AND COMMUNISM

The historian of the future, seeking to portray the infamy of the American ruling class in the time of McCarthy-McCarran will require many pages. Should he want to pick one scene most reflective of the depths this infamy reached, his choice might well fall upon a day during Negro History Week in 1951 when, in a Federal courthouse, in the nation's capital a man was being arraigned, one amongst several such "felons." This was a Negro man, rather slight of build, dignified, handsome, impeccably dressed, and 83 years old.

The prisoner himself etched the scene for us in one of his books:

After the arraignment I was told to follow the marshal, and walk down some narrow stairs at the back of the courtroom into a small basement room, perhaps ten feet square. There I was fingerprinted and asked details as to my life and work; told to remove my coat and empty my pockets, and then examined carefully by an orderly for concealed weapons! As I turned to go upstairs where the matter of bail was to be arranged, the marshal put handcuffs on me. . . .

Thus did the Government of the United States mark Negro History Week in 1951 — Virginia celebrated, too; its rulers executed the Martinsville Seven — by arraigning and mugging and searching and fingerprinting the twentieth century Frederick Douglass — William Edward Burghardt Du Bois! Du Bois was to be tried as a "foreign agent"!

Yet the handcuffs remained on Dr. Du Bois' wrists a few moments, and our future historian will note particularly what caused their removal. Not the government's acknowledgement of its wrong — it was not and still is not capable of this — but rather, as Du Bois writes, when the handcuffs were fastened on him:

A stir and murmur rose sharply from beyond the grated partition where I heard one of our attorneys protesting sharply. The marshal grumbled, looked disconcerted, but finally unlocked our handcuffs. . . .

Ten years ago, the Government indicted Dr. Du Bois and four co-workers as "foreign agents" under the provisions of the McCormick Act, because it insisted that he and they, as leaders of the then existing Peace Information Center, were in fact agents of a foreign power — the Soviet Union was meant — but that they had refused to register as such. Dr. Du Bois and his fellow-defendants persisted in their refusal to so

register, affirming that they were not foreign agents and could not swear to what was not true no matter what the penalties. As a matter of fact, after Dr. Du Bois refused to register, the Government sought to make a "deal" with him; the Government informed Dr. Du Bois that if he would not fight its case — not plead guilty, but simply offer no defense, *i.e.*, enter a plea of *nolo contendere*—he would have his freedom. Steeped in racism and the ethics of imperialism, the government officials did not know with whom they were dealing. As Dr. Du Bois states: "I immediately wrote my attorney and said flatly that *before I would enter such a plea I would rot in jail.*"

Of course, under the McCormick Act, the Government had to try to prove its charge of "foreign agency" in a court of law — even if its own court — and had to offer some actual proof sufficient to stand up before a judge and jury. The Government tried — it tried to manufacture the necessary evidence, it used provocateurs, it offered its corrupt witnesses — but it did not succeed and the Judge directed the acquittal of Dr. Du Bois.

It is, in considerable part, because of the difficulties of proving "foreign agent" charges against the Left, in general — stemming from the very simple fact that the charge is false — that the McCarran Act was concocted and passed; this Act begins with a "legislative finding" affirming that, on the basis of a Hitlerian definition of Marxism and Communism, Communists and "Communist-action" organizations and "Communist-front" organizations, *are* "foreign agents" and then declares that this finding is not subject to debate or argument or refutation. Given that "finding" and the direction that its validity is not subject to questioning, then, to convict for "foreign agency" becomes a much simpler task indeed!

It is now, at the moment in history that such a legal monstrosity has found its way upon American statute books, and has in one part and very narrowly, even as to that part, been held not to be unconstitutional—by a 5 to 4 vote—it is at this moment that Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois chooses to announce publicly his wish to become a member of the Communist Party. One recalls the story of Emerson's visit to the jailed Thoreau—in prison because of his opposition to the U.S. war with Mexico—and Emerson greeting the gentle criminal with the words: "David, what are you doing in prison?" and Thoreau's immortal reply: "Ralph, what are you doing out of prison?"

Yes, in part it is reflective of the unbreakable courage that has marked Dr. Du Bois' more than nine fruitful decades of life, that he chooses this moment to join the Communist Party. But the heart of the meaning of Du Bois' choice lies in the fact that it represents the logical culmination of his fabulous life; the heart of the meaning for our time and our country lies in

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the fact that this man—descendant of a soldier who fought in Washington's army, born and reared in the Berkshire Mountains of Massachusetts, rooted in the soil of America with his own life beginning three years after Lincoln's assassination, pre-eminent scholar of American life and history, friend, adviser and teacher of very nearly every eminent American figure—Negro and white—to appear in the past fifty years, founder of the modern Negro liberation movement, inspirer and organizer of the Pan-African Movement, accomplished novelist and playwright, sensitive poet, and one whose very name has been synonymous with integrity, honor, service, and the implacable search for Truth, whose honors run the gamut of honorary degrees from a dozen universities here and in Europe to having been Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the United States—it is this man who finds the logic of his life bringing him to the decision that he, too, is a Communist. I think that if one sought the single person in the United States whose career and attributes and character were exactly the reverse of the stereotyped view of the Communist—as legally "found" in the McCarran Act—he could do no better than to select Dr. Du Bois, newest member of the Communist Party.

* * *

When a younger man, William Du Bois was in the habit, at his birthday, of recapitulating the meaning of each year's experience. In 1893, while a student at the University of Berlin, Du Bois confided to himself, in a diary entry, that he felt a certain strength. He dedicated himself, then, to the search for Truth; he promised himself in this still unpublished personal commitment, that he would carve out a name in literature and in science, and that he would devote every ounce of his strength to the vindication and the liberation of his People. The next year—still in Europe and outside the damnable confines of Jim Crow—"free of iron bands," as Du Bois wrote, again in his annual self-examination, he vowed to himself and put in writing to himself, that the past year had not been without use, that during it he had "gained for my life work new hope and zeal." In the most sacred oath that a man can make—talking to and for himself and pledging himself in his own soul—Du Bois swore that he would yet be "a man worthy of my race and my fathers."

It is likely that many young men and women, in their twenties, lay out for themselves similar noble and high endeavors, but—after the corruptions and temptations and trials of life—how few are those of whom one may say, after seventy years, that the promises of youth are the records of history!

* * *

The iron bands, the search for truth, the fight for freedom—in three phrases the life of a man and a people. Three phrases and one reality: the search for truth forged by and forging the fight for freedom from the iron

banks. The unity has been ever present, but its recognition has been a process of growth—of individual and social growth.

Young Du Bois set himself the task of study. 'Truth, is it? Very well. He would conquer this. He would study and study again—languages, literature, sociology, economics, anthropology, history. The appetite was voracious and insatiable.

And while discovering the truth, he would broadcast it. He would teach. There was Wilberforce (a telegram inviting him to Tuskegee arrived August 25, 1894, eight days after the one from Wilberforce; had the dates been reversed one might well have had the interesting phenomenon of Booker T. Washington employing—for how long?—W. E. B. Du Bois!), and then Atlanta University.

And he would write; *Harvard Historical Studies Number 1, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896)—an enduring piece of pioneering in historiography; *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899)—an enduring piece of pioneering in sociology; the still indispensable Atlanta University series of eighteen studies covering most phases of Negro life and issued in the course of almost two decades (1896-1914); the searching, hauntingly beautiful and classical *Souls of Black Folk* (1903); a trail-blazing examination of the history of the Negro peoples in Africa and in the New World—*The Negro* (1915); and—joining Chesnut and Dunbar as a forerunner of the modern Negro novel—*The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911).

And there was the periodical press. True, here one was very apt to meet rebuff. The *Philadelphia Ledger* would find, as it did in June, 1905, that it had "no room" for a piece on the Negro—by Du Bois—for, asked the editor, "are you disinterested?" Bliss Perry of the old *Atlantic*, while more cordial nevertheless wondered if Dr. Du Bois was not harming himself by excessive devotion to the Negro "problem," and even *McClure's*—then the leading magazine of the muckrakers—at first shied away from publishing Du Bois as one who was, said its editor, "too controversial."

Yet, one did break through once in a while with shattering impact, as in the magnificent *Litany at Atlanta*, written by Du Bois in a train, as he was hastening back from a research project in Alabama to his family in the Atlanta ravaged by the awful mass lynching outbreak of 1906. Here, in a very early example of free verse from an American Negro, the relatively enlightened readers of *The Independent* could hear his urgent questions;

*Surely Thou, too, are not white, O Lord, a pale,
bloodless, heartless thing? . . .*

*North is greed and South is blood; within the coward, and
without the liar. Whither? . . .*

These were questions for Dr. Du Bois, too. One thing he was coming to see more and more clearly: the search for disembodied truth, *per se*, truth detached from present socio-economic reality, truth sought as an individual prize and to be broadcast as a personal discovery, *was* not omnipotent—and, indeed, was not truth.

Truth was to be hammered out, truth was to be fought for and fought for collectively. For while the scholar probed, others organized; while the searcher mused, others acted. And truth, while real, was dynamic. To keep up with it, to grasp it, meant to use it, and using it meant unity with others.

This was not simple for one of Du Bois' proclivities, temperament, and training. To get along with others, to persuade face to face, to overcome shyness (an acute trait in the man, often confused with aloofness) to resolve nice doubts, to compromise on non-essentials, and to keep on exerting pressure, while all the time being drawn to one's first and deepest love—research, study, the ineffably individualistic act of creation—these things were not easily done.

Dr. Du Bois did them, not all of them with complete success, but he did them. Here lies his greatest courage, his profoundest giving of himself—and finding of himself—to and in "his race and his fathers."

* * *

In the Georgia of some sixty years ago, Du Bois wrote the "Address of the First Annual Meeting of the Equal Rights Association." Speaking for two hundred delegates representing a million people, he had insisted:

We must agitate, complain, protest and keep protesting against the invasion of our manhood rights; we must organize these million brothers of ours into one great fist which shall never cease to pound at the gates of opportunity until they fly open.

This was his challenge to the then-young American imperialism and to the Tuskegee Machine. No, he said, we Negro people will not acquiesce in second-class citizenship. We must not take the crumbs of absentee financial overlords of our South, sorely troubled by the great Populist Movement—and how we need even those crumbs!—in return for docility, passivity, and a divided, disorganized working class.

The Niagara Movement, led by Du Bois, was the organized expression of that challenge. "We refuse to allow," said its Declaration of Principles drafted by Du Bois in 1905, "the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults . . . the voice of protest . . . must never cease."

It is important to understand that Du Bois' courage and his vision came organically out of his people. They have never ceased to fight for equality and dignity and full manhood; Du Bois knew it historically, knew it per-

sonally, and saw it every day in the life and in the people around him. That courage and vision and the fantastic tenacity with which Dr. Du Bois held to his militancy for seventy years, came too from the iron melted into his blood by the actual experiencing of the unspeakable indignities of Jim Crow. Thus, to mention but one experience: a particularly horrid lynching occurred near Atlanta, shortly before World War I. Du Bois wrote a letter of condemnation and appeal for action, and decided to bring it personally to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, a newspaper published a few blocks from his own home. As he proceeded down the main street of Atlanta on this mission, he noticed in a butcher shop the display of human fingers, and a large poster announcing that these belonged to the lynching victim. Du Bois went home that day—his letter undelivered—but with his soul afire and his purpose in life once again reinforced.

Of course, the Niagara Movement was weak. It was hounded, slandered, at times divided. It was poor, but it kept alive and articulate the militant resistance of the Negro people.

And it helped produce the National Committee on the Negro in 1909 which in turn resulted—with Du Bois' leading participation—in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The latter event signalized the advent of the modern period of American Negro history; from then on, for twenty-five years, Dr. Du Bois was the most consistent and militant and productive component of the leadership of that organization. Through the *Crisis*, which he founded and edited for over twenty years—and which, under his leadership reached a circulation of 100,000, at its height—Dr. Du Bois brought month after month the banner of struggle, and the symbol of pride and dignity. Thousands of Negro families made a ritual of Du Bois' *Crisis*: when it arrived, the family gathered and the head of the house read its contents—and especially Du Bois' own column—aloud. Through the *Crisis*, with its baby-photo contests, its poetry contests, its short stories and one-act plays, its photographs of outstanding Negro college graduates, and its leadership in the battle against Jim Crow, Dr. Du Bois exerted a more profound influence upon the lives of the entire Negro people—and did this for decades—than any other single figure in the three hundred years' history of that people.

In a hundred additional ways, Du Bois' life is interwoven with that of his people. There is not a Negro man or woman, of any distinction or prominence during the past fifty years, who did not turn to Dr. Du Bois for aid and guidance and support, and there is none he turned away: here is the young Langston Hughes delighted with the news that a poem of his had won a prize and would soon appear in *The Crisis*—his first published work; here are George E. Haynes, Carter G. Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier, L. D. Reddick, Ralph J. Bunche, Eugene K. Jones, Robert C. Weaver, Jessie Fau-

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set, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Ruth Anne Fisher, Alain Locke, Charles S. Johnson, Walter White, Ernest Just—there is literally almost no end and no exception.

Du Bois' leadership pressing the Negro forward was in every sphere—in music, in the theatre, in the novel, in science, in education. This was not a formal matter; his correspondence shows an astonishing awareness in all these areas and almost unbelievable time devoted to group and individual needs. At the same time, that correspondence shows his basic commitment always to the struggle against oppression, and hundreds are the letters he received—often written by people who were barely literate—telling him of this or that injustice, indignity, crime, and atrocity. Everyone carries with it Du Bois' careful reply and each reply is infused with a sense of kinship, of encouragement, of real help.

And Du Bois—increasingly a world figure, as the years rolled on—addressed tens of thousands of people in every city in the United States; he spoke to Negro and to white and probed to the quick the Negro question, and the whole complex of a decent human society. He took his message abroad and thousands heard him and read him in England, France, Germany, Russia, India, Japan, China. Again, in his correspondence, there is rarely a man or woman of distinction—from Jane Addams to Albert Einstein, from H. G. Wells to Gandhi—who were not brought within the ken of Du Bois' fight against Jim Crow, colonialism and racism.

* * *

In politics, too, Du Bois has pointed the way; has lived it, in fact. One of his first public addresses, delivered in 1887, while a nineteen-year old student at Fisk, entitled "Political Serfs," is an appeal for Negro independence from both major parties, and the adoption of a technique of a movement that would hold most promise for Negroes as a people. From that day, through his support of Bryan, Wilson, La Follette, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and after World War II, of the Progressive Party, Dr. Du Bois attempted to follow, according to his best lights, an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and, at times, consciously socialist, political path.

Dr. Du Bois saw, fifty-five years ago, with the prevision and clarity of genius, an essential element in the unfolding of this twentieth century in the United States: "The cause of labor is the cause of black men, and the black man's cause is labor's own." It was he, too, who, over a generation ago, saw the anti-imperialist liberating potential in a world unity of Negro peoples, and so founded the Pan-African Movement.

The essence of his life, as writer, thinker, educator and organizer, has been the call for Peace—for dignified, decent, secure, fraternal living-together by a creative humanity. "I believe that War is Murder," he wrote in his "Credo" of 1904—one of the most influential essays in the history of Amer-

ican letters: "I believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations white and stronger but foreshadows the death of that strength."

Increasingly, Dr. Du Bois saw that the good things of life—based, as they must be, on Peace so that the good things may be created, shared and enjoyed—could be obtained only by organized struggle. And increasingly he has moved to the conclusion that the main role in this struggle falls and must fall—if the struggle is to be a principled and effective one—to the working class and its allies. As he has put it: "Naturally, out of the mass of the working classes, who know life and its bitter struggles, will continually arise the real, unselfish and clear-sighted leadership." That to which the whole logic of his life has been moving, is caught and is confirmed in Dr. Du Bois' act of joining the Communist Party of the United States.

Du Bois is a poet and is in love with poetry; his favorite, perhaps is Shelley. There are lines from Shelley that he often has cited which, in fact, form the motif of his own melodious life:

*To defy power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear, to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the things it contemplates;
. . . This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.*

Langston Hughes wrote in 1951 in the *Chicago Defender*, when Dr. Du Bois was being tried as a "foreign agent":

Somebody in Washington wants to put Dr. Du Bois in jail. Somebody in France wanted to put Voltaire in jail. Somebody in Franco's Spain sent Lorca, their greatest poet, to death before a firing squad. Somebody in Germany under Hitler burned the books, drove Thomas Mann into exile, and led their Jewish scholars to the gas chamber. Somebody in Greece long ago gave Socrates the hemlock to drink. Somebody at Golgotha erected a cross and somebody drove the nails into the hands of Christ. Somebody spat upon his garments. No one remembers their names.

In the United States, today, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois has chosen to register his name, in the face of Mankind and before History, as a Communist; he has chosen to take his stand with the "criminals." Let those who will, hurl the first stone upon him; every human being of honor in the whole world knows who, in this scene, is the criminal and who is the Man of Principle.

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Impressions of the XXII Congress

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Coming from the most powerful and highly developed capitalist country in the world, it was an exciting and inspiring experience to attend the Congress of the builders of communism, in Moscow, last October. It was like a wondrous space trip in a different dimension—up the river of time into the future. We were witnessing the birth of a new civilization, which will come to maturity in the next two decades. It will bring to fruition the age-old dream of mankind of a planned society, free from exploitation and oppression and the horrors of war; a society of abundance, equality and happiness for all. A new Communist Manifesto charts the course—the program of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When, at the end of prolonged discussion, the nearly five thousand delegates held up their red cards to vote unanimously for its adoption, we visitors felt we were witnessing heroic history in the making. In this spirit, millions around the world have greeted the program as a beacon light for “the bright future of mankind.”

The delegates came largely by plane, the favorite mode of travel, from every part of the vast Soviet

Union—from Siberia to Leningrad, from the Arctic Ocean to the tropical borders facing Iran and Afghanistan. They were pleasant, healthy-looking, confident, well-dressed, the majority in European suits and dresses. Only a few were in native costume which today appears to be reserved for the stage, opera and concert halls. Quite a number were in uniform, from Party units in the army, navy and airforce. They were of all ages, but predominantly young. They came from field, shop, office and factory; railroads, virgin lands and the great steppes; from laboratories, class-rooms, newspapers, foreign service, from the sky, the sea and the frozen North. Two hundred and sixteen million people were actually represented there. All had somehow participated in pre-Congress discussions in thousands of meetings, in press, on the radio and TV. Criticisms, suggestion, amendments were made, many were accepted, all are being studied. Such an organized nationwide popular discussion on proposed public plans is unheard of in any capitalist country. Imagine a political party convention in the U.S.A. that would discuss such a phenomenal range of subjects as the industrial uses of atomic energy, au-

tomation, cybernetics, waterways, geological research, styles, irrigation of arid lands by changing the course of great rivers, agriculture, livestock breeding, chemistry, textiles, architecture, aviation, education, shopping facilities, art, literature, development in all the sciences, abolition of night work for women, weather control, and countless others! They discussed in practical details how the plan could be carried out in every field of human endeavor. There was not much oratory. It was a working gathering, eager to get started.

The Congress met in a beautiful new building with glass walls, constructed inside the Kremlin. It is white, modern in style, skillfully blended into the skyline and background of the ancient towers and churches of the Kremlin. To do this so that it would not be higher than the other buildings, the first floor was built below the level of the ground. The great auditorium seats 6,000 and will be used for operas and ballets. Each red-cushioned seat is equipped with audiphones that can relay fourteen languages. There are escalators, up and down, tearooms, innumerable smaller meeting rooms, and it is air-conditioned, even occasionally wafting perfume into the air. The opening affair after a year's construction work, was to honor the building workers, and Nikita Khrushchev and all members of the Presidium were present to greet and commend them. This crew of work-

ers is now constructing a magnificent palace of youth in Moscow that will occupy five city blocks. Moscow will be a dream city in a few more years. It is quiet, clean, the air is pure. There is little smoke or dust, thanks to central heating.

In addition to the friendly Soviet delegates, there were present eighty fraternal delegations and visitors from Ghana, Guinea and Mali. When the Africans addressed the Congress, they wore their picturesque highly colored national dress. The general press was admitted during the two days' report of Khrushchev. After that, only the Communist press was admitted, but it is an impressively large worldwide group today. Digests of all speeches, many in full, were printed in the Soviet press. So-called sensational "discoveries" of the capitalist press reporters were their own distorted versions of material available to everyone in the morning and evening papers.

This was a regular Congress of the Soviet Party, the first since the 20th in 1956. The 21st was a special gathering to launch the 7-Year Plan and to discuss the lag in agriculture. The planned agenda was based on what is necessary for their welfare and progress. They cannot regulate or curtail their discussions to suit the wishes or needs of others elsewhere. The agenda called for the report of their Central Committee on what has transpired since 1956. This included reports of secretaries,

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ministries, departments and of all responsible Party organizations. It called for final action on the draft program and the new Party rules. Officers and leading organs of the Party were to be elected. Whatever subjects came up were in this general framework. The vicious malice of the capitalist press, especially here in the U.S.A., which played up all the periphery issues purposely, suggesting "splits" and divisions, was done deliberately to obscure the breath-taking program and the enthusiasm it evoked. It is amazing the credence placed in such alleged "reports" and the preoccupation with them, even in progressive circles. I have heard much of this and little of the program since my return.

But even as they ridiculed the program as "pie in the sky" and a utopian dream, *Fortune* magazine also referred to it as "*this challenge to destiny.*" *Life* magazine bewailed the fact that capitalism could sound no such clarion call of hope to the people of the world. Editors and commentators revealed, even as they expressed their faith in the capitalist system as the best of all possible worlds, their fears as to the attainability and feasibility of the program. They know as the plan unfolds this must be revealed to the American people. As the program states it: "*It is not through war with other countries, but by example of a more perfect organization of society, by rapid progress in developing the produc-*

tive forces, the creation of all conditions for the happiness and well-being of man, that the ideas of communism win the minds and hearts of the masses."

* * *

The report of the Central Committee, delivered by N. Khrushchev, included in addition to the program, relations with other countries — foreign policy, the Berlin crisis and the danger of nuclear war. It dealt also with relations with other parties; with unfinished business in relation to the cult of the individual and the crimes it had developed during Stalin's later years. New revelations since 1956, which have come to light in opening up the archives and from living victims and families of the dead were reported. It is the firm conviction of Khrushchev and his co-workers that an accounting must be made to the Soviet people.

Since Albania was the **only** Socialist country not invited to the Congress, an explanation was made as to the worsening of relations between not only the two countries and parties, but between Albania and the majority of the Socialist camp. This little country of 10,629 square miles and a population of one and a half million is situated in a strategically important military area, with access to the Mediterranean. It is poor and has been aided by the Socialist camp ever since the end of the war. Diplomatic relations with all other Socialist countries (except China) are

strained to the breaking point in Albania at present. It is regrettable that the Chinese Communist Party gives support to the position of the Albanian leaders by praising their "courage" and broadcasting their statements, although at the Congress the Chinese delegation was extremely circumspect, adhered strictly to protocol and comradely relations and expressed only the doubt that such questions of interparty differences should be discussed publicly. But Albania has been blown up out of all proportions as a matter of discussion at the Congress, although her leaders are naturally a source of irritation and concern to the Socialist camp.

* * *

A new strong wind is blowing into every nook and cranny of the Soviet Union, helping to get rid of past evils which originated in the cult of the individual. It is evident in a full, free and frank discussion with no holds barred. There was anger and indignation but no hysteria. A cleansing process that will get rid of bureaucracy, red tape, extravagance, waste, inefficiency, dishonesty, careerism, inertia, procrastination, resting on one's laurels — is vigorously under way. Criticisms were made, by names and districts, from the top leaders to the *basic units* or *primary organizations* of the Party. The framework of all such criticism was unbounded determination to clear away all the debris of the past and all dead wood in the ap-

paratus, from the path to communism. Youth is in the ascendency everywhere. Older people are being retired with honor and credit to less exacting posts where their experience can be utilized but they no longer make policy or direct administration.

Another subject which was reported in full was the development of the anti-Party group after the 20th Congress. Its members had been determined to maintain the status quo as inherited from Stalin, resisted new ideas in foreign and domestic policy, opposed reform of abuses, possibly due to fear as to what the archives would reveal as to their own complicity. It was deemed necessary to report the full details to the Congress and to clear up every known vestige of the situation. Some good people here ask with great concern: was it necessary to discuss all this? That was their business to decide. The determination to restore in every particular the Leninist norms of Party work and aims, and that "It must never, never happen again!" was the motivating factor. Guarantees are now established in the new rules which provide drastic refreshment of leadership, greater Party democracy and accountability on every level. Guarantees of collective rather than individual leadership are assured by the method of elections which will systematically renew the composition of all bodies, and by inner-Party democracy which allows for Party-wide discussions, activity

and initiative. Many young people were elected to the Central Committee and some to the Presidium. With posts limited to not more than three successive terms and with the right of recall, a firm check is established on all elected personnel. It is proposed to reduce salaried government staffs and subject them to regular refreshment. Such work is no longer to be considered a profession.

* * *

Many new fascinating theoretical propositions were formulated in the program and discussed at length, which should be of great interest there and in all Communist circles. They deserve serious study and discussion. The disappearance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as no longer necessary, and the emergence of a socialist democracy of the people as a whole, is discussed in the program. The state, it asserts, has become the state of the whole people and will survive until the complete victory of communism. It is necessary for external defense and for internal order and the supervision of organization in the transition period. But a process will continually take place of transforming present organs of state power into organs of public self-government.

Organizations which already are taking over and whose functions and responsibilities will increase, are, firstly, the trade unions and the Young Communist League, and secondly, the cooperative societies,

etc. It is envisaged that housing management, cultural and health centers, theatres and concert halls, clubs, libraries, and the like, will be taken over by organizations.

Law and order is more and more administered through people's volunteer squads and comradesly courts. Judges are elected, court proceedings are public, there is a concentration on crime prevention through education, public opinion and influence, and through medical care. A country where an honor system can be instituted on buses, self-help in stores, and where time-clocks can be eliminated in factories, is producing a new type of human being, capable of great heights. It is with such people in a developing socialist society, that the state will go over to public self-government, ensuring the greatest possible participation of all citizens in what Engels called, "The management of things and the conduct of the processes of production."

Marshal Malinovsky, reporting as Minister of Defense, spoke of *peace* and military preparations, in relation to the Program. It is refreshing to hear a general speak the language of peace. But at the same time, while the Soviet people are not belligerent and will go to great lengths to achieve a lasting peace, they will not sit idly by, turning the other cheek. They could not be indifferent, early this Fall, to the growing menace of West German imperialism, egged on by its U.S. allies, the war prepara-

tions, the mounting threats, the secret plans which came into Soviet possession for a deliberate attack upon cities, with exact dates, bases and forces spelled out.

The steady flow of military supplies to overseas American bases was not the language of peace. In September the Soviet Union felt there was a real danger of war. Its leaders said they "prefer the language of humanism," but they felt the rising tide of fascist-like threats of aggression from Bonn and the Pentagon — where the language of strength is better understood even than the language of diplomacy. In this atmosphere, military reserves were not released from the Soviet army, preparations for defense were stepped up, and the tests were undertaken. Their many peace proposals did not end with the tests. But as one said to me: "*We want them to think again and again before they start a war!*"

But even more important, the Soviet leaders need to assure their own people and all the people of the socialist camp of their ability to defend adequately themselves in case of attack. Their prime object was *military*, not political, namely, to guarantee protection against attack to the whole socialist world — including China.

Tensions have reduced in the interim. The Soviet leaders point out that *tests* are not the real issue, but disarmament, general and complete, with the destruction of all bombs and

control not of armaments but of disarmament — that there lies the real issue. Peaceful co-existence is the aim of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. We who are friends of the Soviet Union should not permit ourselves to be maneuvered into an anti-Soviet attitude, but should try, at all times, to understand its position, as a socialist country. All our pressures should be on our own country to negotiate, and help establish peace in the world.

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There is tremendous interest in the Soviet Union in what goes on in the United States, and a warm feeling of friendship for the American people. One Soviet official, F. Koslov, who visited our country, said the two peoples are very much alike — informal, friendly, prone to joking, and liking song and sports, and not being afraid of hard work, and wanting to be first in all competition.

I made seven speeches, mostly in schools. We Americans spoke on the radio, appeared on TV, and visited many factories. Henry Winston was received with affection and deep sympathy. The Congress accorded him a standing ovation. It may very well be that the average American worker may not fully accept the analysis of declining capitalism, in the Program, although we have a thermometer of the breakaway from the capitalist camp in the changing vote in the UN, from year to year. He may not be clear, however, because

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all he reads is to the contrary, as to the responsibility of American monopoly for the resurgence of West German and Japanese militarism. But he is aware of the obvious consequences: the danger of war.

However, the section of the Program which deals directly *with the shortcomings of capitalism in the United States* is "up his alley," so to speak. Especially impressive is the comparison of what is possible under socialism and impossible under capitalism. Here the Program is on familiar ground to workers and can be a tremendous lesson in socialism — to the housewife harrassed by the high cost of living, to the Negro American denied full social, economic, and political rights, to the American tormented by unemployment, speed-up, taxes, and the high cost of medical care. Automation is destroying the myth of full employment here, while it is a blessing in the Soviet Union, paving the way to abundance. That capitalism cannot avail itself of full use of productive forces, that plants are not used to capacity, and that agriculture is artificially restricted—all this amazes the Soviet peoples, who are determined upon an opposite course.

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The Congress ended in a magnificent concert in the new hall; here the fifteen Republics vied with each other in presenting their national dances, songs and music. Gorgeously staged, the costumes beautiful beyond description, it was a great treat, better than any Soviet ensemble that has yet to come to our country. The Soviets are wonderful hosts; nothing was too good for their fraternal guests: is it any wonder I felt like Cinderella coming back to face the ghost of Pat McCarran?

The Soviet delegates returned home swiftly, to report to the millions of the Party and the People. Immediately after November 7, celebrating the 44th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, that indefatigable man, N. Khrushchev — the personification of energy, enthusiasm, efficiency, and communist comradeship to the Soviet people, went on a trip to all the agricultural areas, to participate in planning conferences to carry out the Program. There is no doubt in the Soviet Union, nor with anyone who met and heard these remarkable people, that they will now carry out in life what they decided upon in their historic XXII Congress of the Builders of Communism.

Towards Communism: The XXII Congress

By James E. Jackson

Months before the convening of the Twenty-Second Congress, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had proclaimed to the world that it was undertaking the responsibility of leading the nation to a new stage in the history of society — to complete the advance from socialism to communism in the span of the next twenty years.

This resolve of the Party was contained in The Draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the program for the building of Communist society upon the territory of the Soviet Union. From beginning to end, the Congress participants gave their undivided attention to this loftiest undertaking in the history of man — the construction of a society "where peace, labor, freedom, equality, fraternity and happiness for all people will reign."

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Speaker after speaker worked in the details around the broad strokes of the Draft Program which had dramatically outlined the image of tomorrow's world and denoted the mileposts toward its attainment. The realization of the overall principle of communist society — "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" — requires the attainment of an Age of Abundance

in the production of material values adequate to satisfy every socially necessary need. It is natural, therefore, that the greatest part of the discussion centered upon the ways and means of filling the cornucopia of goods, products, and services to overflowing in the course of the relatively short span of the next twenty years. The dimensions of the program's vast projections in the areas of production were graphically depicted by Chairman Khrushchev when he indicated that "the target figures in industrial production are equal to the creation of five more Soviet Unions, and for agriculture the equivalent of creating two more Soviet Unions!"

In the period which passed in review at the Congress, the period 1955 (from the 20th Congress) to 1961 (the 22nd Congress), it was noted that industrial production in the Soviet Union had grown an average of 10% annually, with agriculture experiencing a 6% annual increase. In the same period in the United States industrial output increased but 2.5% annually on the average and agriculture some 2.4%. As a result of such a higher rate of growth, industrial output in the USSR has climbed from 40% of the U.S. level in 1955 to better than 60% today; and for agriculture, from 60% in 1955 to nearly 80% to date.

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The Program of the CPSU calls for an increase in volume of industrial output of 150% by 1970. This means that if the rate of industrial output increase that the U.S. has experienced since 1955 is sustained, the Soviet Union will still overtake and surpass by some 20% the volume of U.S. production and slightly exceed U.S. per capita production levels as well. As far as production in agriculture is concerned, the Soviet Union will exceed U.S. per capita output in 1970 by some 30%. By 1980, the end of the 20 year program, the USSR will be manufacturing double the amount of industrial goods which is at present manufactured by all the non-socialist countries taken together, according to the estimates of the Economists Yoffe and Pokatsyev of the USSR Economic Research Institute.

On the foundation of such an enormous growth in the economy, real income per capita in the Soviet Union will attain a level that will be approximately 75% higher than the present per capita income in the United States. The Soviet citizens' real income is reckoned in two parts: That is, his wages which are based on the quantity and quality and social value of his work, and a second part — which is equal to about one half of his real income — that is, his share in the *commonly owned funds of consumption* which are distributed freely and equally to the entire population. The latter (commonly-owned

funds of consumption) portion of his income will increase ten times during the next twenty years, and to his already impressive list of free services and social welfare benefits such as free education, medical care, recreational facilities, pensions, etc., will be added: rent-free housing, free public transportation, free main meals at place of work or study, free care of pre-school and school children, and cost-free full care of all incapacitated and aged people.

That the astounding production goals will be attained and the Age of Abundance will be ushered in on schedule was attested to by delegate after delegate who took the platform in the Congress to report on progress made and experience encountered in connection with the current Seven Year Plan. In every key district of the country it was reported that the Seven Year Plan was being fulfilled at a tempo that projects completion of it from one to two years ahead of the plan. The key economic factor in these recorded successes lay in the stepping up of labor productivity, it was pointed out. In the socialist Soviet Union this means not more muscle strain and sweating of the working people, but the application of more brain-power to the problems of production. This higher productivity of labor is being attained through the rapid development and general introduction of automation into industry and the all-sided mechanization and scientific rationaliza-

tion of man-power use in agriculture. Through such growth in the application of technical innovations to the problems of production, the Soviet Union is experiencing an unprecedented growth in labor productivity at the same time that the Soviet workers' working day and working week is being shortened—already, it is the shortest working day in Europe.

BUREAUCRACY AND LEADERSHIP

In order to summon forth all the productive forces in Soviet society to carry through on schedule the stupendous tasks of communist construction it was necessary to subject to a profound analysis and criticism all negative phenomena in methods of organization and leadership, of planning and management, which fettered the initiative of the masses and were an obstacle in the way of the building of the material and technical basis of communism. In this connection, the noxious weeds of bureaucracy which clung to socialism's mighty growth were roundly pummeled.

What is required in the way of style of leadership, system in management, methods of popular controls to carry to completion the task of the construction of communism which has become the cause of the entire Soviet people?

It was in response to such a question posed by the new moment in

its history, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, manfully undertook to reveal in all of its ugliness the full consequences of its prolonged toleration of the appearance in its leadership of a "system" that was alien to Marxism and the antithesis of the Leninist principles of Party and state leadership—that is, the glorified eminence of a single individual leader, the "cult of personality." Although the 20th Congress of the CPSU had made its historic decision on this question in response to the report of N. S. Khrushchev, it was necessary that the 22nd Congress definitively make its judgment on the work accomplished in the liquidation of the evil consequences of the personality cult period, and once and for all lay the ghost of the personality cult distortion in the history of the CPSU, and the deviation from the Leninist norms of democratic, socialist, legality in the Party and state system of leadership.

It is unthinkable that a people could set their faces toward accomplishing in twenty years such a height in human progress as is projected in the Party Program for the Building of Communism, without ridding itself of the superstitious affliction of the "god image" of the cult of personality with all of its accompanying dogmatism and ritualism. Such a distortion of the function and forms of leadership as was exhibited in the near deification of Stalin, was a mockery of science and a brake on

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the creative initiative of the people. The bad methods of leadership that had radiated from the "standard" of Stalin's practices and methods had to be scored again and again, precisely at the time when the Soviet people will encounter new, creative challenges and opportunities on the road to communist society. For along this road many State functions become transformed into self-administered activities of the people. The function of the dictatorship of the proletariat having been completed with socialism's triumph and the disappearance of antagonistic classes, the socialist State structure will develop an evermore profound democratic content, gradually yielding its portfolios to *communist public self-government* in one area after another in domestic affairs.

The 22nd Congress produced an abundance of materials, of documentation, of the terrible price that was paid by the CPSU, the Soviet people and the world Marxist movement, when one man, J. V. Stalin, succeeded in establishing the cult of his personality above the collective of the Party and beyond the control of the people. Communist and workers parties in all countries will find meaningful lessons and stern warnings in the study of this body of "negative experience." But the 22nd Congress did not limit itself to a muck-raking exposé of the dirty linen beneath the Stalin image. It came forward with a whole set of

profound measures for effecting reform of the Party Rules and State law to establish dependable safeguards against the recurrence of a situation wherein an individual or group—no matter the merits—could command uncontrolled authority and abuse the power delegated to them. "Stalin is no longer among the living, but we considered it necessary to denounce the disgraceful methods of leadership that flourished in the atmosphere of the cult of his person," said N. S. Khrushchev at the 22nd Congress. "Our Party," said Khrushchev, "does this to ensure that such practices never recur . . . We have for ever put an end to a situation in which one man was able to decide at will the most vital questions in the life of our Party and our country."

MEASURES OF CORRECTION

Besides the blanket exposure and detailed cataloging of the evils committed under cover of the personality cult, what are some of the measures that have been effected to ensure against the abuse of power or the employment of arbitrary methods on the part of leadership in the future? The 22nd Congress counterposed to the harmful practices and methods of the cult of personality, the restoration and further development of the Leninist norms of leadership with its great stress on inner-party and State democracy, collective decision making, criticism and self-criticism, and

modesty in self-estimation on the part of individual leaders. Frol R. Kozlov, Secretary of the Central Committee, in his report on amendments to the rules of the CPSU, indicated those new measures which have been introduced into the system of leadership which enlarge the members' control of their leaders and which signal a strengthening of democracy in the Party and in Soviet life in general.

"Changes in the Party rules," said Kozlov, "are based entirely on the requirements of the new Program of the CPSU and reflect the changes in the life of the country and the Party . . . they reflect the requirements of our further development." Thanks to socialism's victory in the USSR and the resulting moral and political unity of Soviet society where there no longer exist antagonistic classes, "the Communist Party, the party of the working class, has become the Party of the entire Soviet people." Kozlov reported that a number of changes in Party rules were made to provide proper conditions "to ensure Party members the unhampered exercise of the right to criticise any Communist, irrespective of the post he holds." And the corresponding Party rule states that, "Those who commit the offence of suppressing criticism or victimising anyone for criticism are responsible to and will be penalized by the Party, to the point of expulsion from the CPSU." And Kozlov stressed that "For a

Marxist-Leninist party that is in power there is no more reliable and sure means of perfecting its work, training cadres, rectifying errors and removing shortcomings than the tried and tested method of criticism and self-criticism."

For the further development of inner-party democracy within the unitary frame of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the Party rules give a special significance to "collective leadership as the supreme principle of Party leadership, one that guarantees the Party and all its bodies against unilateral, subjective decisions and actions." Kozlov added:

Leninist standards in Party life, the principle of collective leadership and the regular renewal of the composition of Party bodies preclude the concentration of excessive power in the hands of individual functionaries, and prevent their placing themselves above the control of the collective, they ensure an ample influx of fresh forces into Party bodies and the correct blending of old and young cadres.

While not negating the need for continuity in leadership, the Rules were changed to provide for periodical renewal of personnel on all leadership bodies, in accord with the following formula:

At each regular election the composition of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of its Presidium shall be renewed by not less than one-quarter; that of the Union Re-

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publics, territorial and regional Party committees by not less than one-third; that of area, city and district party committees and the party committees or bureaus of primary Party organizations, by one-half.

Furthermore, the new Rules stipulate that members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU be elected for not more than three successive terms. The same limitation on tenure in office is imposed at the Union republic, territorial, regional, city and district committee levels; and at the Primary level a member may not be elected for more than two successive terms. The only exception to this new standard for renewal of leadership is a provision that will allow exceptionally deserving individuals to be retained in their posts beyond the normal tenure when they are given over three fourths of the votes in a secret ballot.

In addition to these vital guarantees against the recurrence of a personality cult in the leadership and against leaders abusing their powers, the Rules call for all Party bodies giving regular information on their work to Party organizations in order to insure that the membership can intelligently supervise and control the activities of the leading elective bodies. Also, that all substantive questions of Party policy changes or controversy be submitted to the membership for "a free and business-like discussion."

Such are some of the measures which the 22nd Congress built into the law of the Party to guarantee against a rise of a personality cult in the leadership ever again occurring, and to ensure the rapid flourishing of new communist style and method in leadership. The new Party rules are already reflected in important reformations in Soviet Law and administrative and managerial practice changes which are consonant with the requirements for the construction of the first communist society in the history of man.

However, as good and viable as these rules and laws against bureaucracy and abuse of power by leaders are, N. S. Khrushchev declared that it is the integrity of the members of the collective that must provide the further guarantees "that the ugly phenomena of the personality cult never recur." Comrade Khrushchev said:

But there is one thing no clause in the rules can provide for — the collective of leaders must understand well that a situation must not be allowed to arise, where anyone, albeit the most deserving authority, may cease to head the opinion of those who advanced him.

The inception and development of phenomena where the merited prestige of an individual may assume forms in which he gets the notion that he may do anything he pleases and no longer needs the collective, must not be allowed to arise. . . .

The changes which the 22nd Congress made in the Party rules and the rectifications to be made in Soviet law and legal procedures will provide the people with democratic safeguards against the usurpation and abuse of power and "preclude the possibility of the recurrence of the personality cult." At the same time, Khrushchev pointed out, leaders should beware of ostentation and "indulging in extolling their own merits." He said:

While firmly opposed to the revolting effects of the cult of the individual, Marxists-Leninists have always recognized the authority of leaders, and will continue to do so.

But it would be wrong to single out any leader, to set him apart in any way from the leading collective, to indulge in excessive praise. This is contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Any inclination to self-praise and any special accentuation or excessive exaggeration of the role of the individual leaders is profoundly alien to true Marxists-Leninists. It is simply insulting when someone importunately tries to set them apart, to isolate them from the guiding nucleus of comrades.

We Communists highly value and support the prestige of correct and mature leadership. We must safeguard the prestige of leaders recognized by the Party and the people. But every leader must bear in mind the other side of the matter — never to plume himself on his position, to remember that by occupying an office he merely performs the will of the Party, the will

of the people who have invested him with power, but never lose control over him. The leader who forgets this pays severely for such mistakes. A man like that, properly speaking, cannot be called a real leader. There is no room for such "leaders" either in the Party or in the state apparatus.

To be sure, for many reasons a great deal of power is concentrated in the hands of the individual holding a high office. A leader appointed by the Party and the people must not abuse his powers.

THE ANTI-PARTY GROUP

The severe indictment which the 22nd Congress made of the anti-Party group centered about Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov was not merely revulsion at the revelation of their complicity in criminal acts of arbitrariness and abuse of their power, but a judgment against their efforts in practice and theory to "re-establish the harmful methods of rule that were dominant at the time of the personality cult." They were the advocates and practitioners of those distortions in the Leninist standards of Party life for which such a heavy price has been paid. As Khrushchev stated: "Stalin elevated curtailments of inner-Party and Soviet democracy to the level of norms of inner-Party life and the life of the state. He grossly violated the Leninist principles of leadership and permitted arbitrariness and abuse of power." And it was precisely to re-

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turn to this "system of leadership" that the anti-Party group headed by Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov carried on their unprincipled struggle for power.

That the lessons of the painful experience suffered by the CPSU and the Soviet people with the personality cult of Stalin needs further study and digesting by all Parties in the van of the peoples who have already taken the high road to socialism is given special point of emphasis by the evident degeneration that has been exposed in the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor. It is not for nothing that its leaders persist in draping themselves in the mantle of Stalin for indeed they have been indulging in the worst practices that occurred in the period of Stalin's leadership. There are lessons here also for Parties such as ours which work under difficult conditions in the capitalist countries: the moral is clear — no difficulties can justify, no accomplishment no matter how brilliant gives license to violation of the Marxist-Leninist standards of leadership, ethics and party life.

While devoting its major attention to the internal requirements for the fulfillment of the gigantic development program for the building of communism in the Soviet Union in the course of the next two decades, the Twenty-Second Congress also contributed a profound analysis of the course of world developments.

For, as powerful as are the resources of the great Soviet people, the successful building of Communism in their country requires a favorable world atmosphere. Above all, Builders of Communism require a world environment of peace.

FOR A PEACEFUL WORLD

The judgment of the Congress was that notwithstanding the new and dangerous provocations being perpetrated by the imperialists in regard to the Berlin question (as well as other alarming foci of armed conflict — Viet Nam, Cuba, the Congo, Algeria, etc.); notwithstanding the fact that the imperialist powers are now noisily charging the international atmosphere with war tensions, still war is not fatalistically inevitable, and the world forces of peace do command the power to thwart the drive to war of the imperialists and impose world peace.

Relying upon the evergrowing strength of its socialist system, the Soviet Union will continue its foreign policy of working for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In this connection, Premier Khrushchev said:

In the sphere of international relations, it is necessary to pursue the realistic policy of peaceful coexistence. . . . The most reasonable thing for states with different social systems would be to coexist peacefully, to establish good-neighborly relations . . . You must

not interfere in the affairs of your neighbor or allow him to interfere in yours.

That is not to say, continued Khrushchev, that there does not exist "a grim struggle, a dispute, going on between the two social systems as to which system is the best and which provides more in the way of benefits for man." But this dispute must not be settled by recourse to war. This way to a decision must be rejected by all who have a regard for man. "The socio-political system of each country is the internal affair of its people," said Khrushchev, "and the people themselves should so decide this issue as they see fit."

As a consequence of the strengthening of the peace forces in the world and their mighty struggle to free mankind from the dangers and burdens of the armaments race, the conditions will be created for additional nations to depart from the jungle path of imperialism and take the broad highway toward socialism. The Soviet Union will aid this process, not by its superior military might but through the power of its example. As Khrushchev stated, "The successes of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist countries have a great force of attraction. Like the rising sun, they illumine the right road for other peoples to achieve the victory of the most just social system in the shortest historical space of time."

Thanks to the new world relation of forces, the Congress foresaw the ability of the enslaved masses in the remaining colonial world to smash their chains and put a final end to colonialism (that vital reserve of imperialism) in the next years. And the peoples who so recently experienced the bloody yoke of colonialism upon their backs will look not to their former imperialist home centers but to the lands of socialism for the prototypes of the new life they want to build for themselves.

Surveying the outlook for world developments in the decade ahead, the 22nd Congress foresaw the prospects of a great advance in the peoples age-old struggle for the triumph of peace, for an end of colonialism, and for a great upsurge in the progressive activities of toiling masses under capitalism for economic justice and freedom.

Their confidence that the developments on the world scene will correspond to the requirements for a favorable international environment for the building of communism in the Soviet Union is solidly grounded in the basic conclusion set forth in the Program of the CPSU:

The main content, the main trend and the main peculiarities of mankind's historic development are determined by the world socialist system, the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist remodelling of society.

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The Historic Program of the CPSU

By William Weinstone

THE 22ND CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marks an historic advance for the peoples of that country and the entire world. The Congress adopted an epoch-making program which for the first time in history sets forth a scientifically grounded plan for the building of communism. Within a period of two decades it aims to create the material and technical conditions for the next higher stage of society—communism.

The supreme goal of the program is not only to attain the higher level of Communism—the most just system in history, a society of universal sufficiency and abundance, but also to mold a new man free from the debasing restraints of class society, a society which for the first time will afford the human individuality the fullest opportunity for a completely rounded-out development.

Everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man—that is the motto of this program. It thereby aims to fulfill the age-old dream for a just and humane society without want, poverty, oppression—a social order in which peace, work, freedom, equality and fraternity will be the way of life.

The program has been called the Communist Manifesto of the new epoch in which we live, an epoch

in which world socialism increasingly determines the course of history. The famous Manifesto drafted by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1847 analyzed and described capitalism, then still on its upgrade, and forecast the inevitable victory of socialism under the leadership of the new class—the proletariat. "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." This was the historic message of the great Manifesto which is already a reality in a large part of the world.

Written with great depth and beauty, it brilliantly illuminated the path of the working class of the world, raised its consciousness as to its historic mission and organized the more advanced sections to fulfill the role of vanguard in the struggle for socialism. From 300 members in several countries — Germany, Belgium and France — that belonged to the Communist League in 1847, the number of adherents of the Communist Manifesto grew to millions within a few decades and spread over the world. Under the inspiration of these ideas the working class broke with the sectarianism of its infantile days, organized big political parties and trade-union organizations, united its ranks internationally and made

tremendous advances in its struggle for socialism.

A NEW EPOCH

The Manifesto formed the basis of the ideas of V. I. Lenin. In the creative spirit of Marx and Engels, he developed and further enriched their teachings and applied them to the new period of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, its period of decline. With Marxism-Leninism as a guide, the working class of Russia, led by the Communists, won political power, over-came incredible difficulties and almost insuperable obstacles and built socialism which since completely triumphed in that country. A new world of socialism has come into being, embracing one-third of mankind. The oppressed peoples of the colonies have cast off their fetters, have won their independence politically and are moving forward to full freedom from imperialism. The working classes in the capitalist countries have grown into a powerful force.

The building of communism, therefore, takes place in the conditions of a new epoch of history. The main content of that epoch is, in the words of the Draft Program, "the transition from capitalism to socialism, an epoch of struggle between two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of the transition of more peoples to the

socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale."

That is why the new program does not limit its analysis to the Soviet Union and the socialist world alone but also describes the conditions existing in the world of capitalism. The program is therefore comprehensive, embracing all aspects of the life of the Soviet people, the world socialist system and the most important processes of the national-liberation struggle and of international working-class developments. It is rich in theory, drawing new major conclusions, both with regard to the problems of the construction of communism and also to questions of the world labor and liberation movements. It is a confident, forward-looking program of great magnitude. It sets a majestic course, not only for the Soviet Union but for all socialist countries, which, working in mutual cooperation, despite differing present levels of development, will pass over to communism more or less at the same time. It also throws a powerful light on the future perspective of all mankind which fights for peace, freedom and progress and which will sooner or later travel the highway to socialism and communism.

The program is receiving the widest study by millions throughout the world. It has already drawn the fire of the monopoly-serving press and commentators. Many articles are required to do full justice to its sweep

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and comprehensiveness. In this article I wish only to deal with some aspects of the program that touch directly and immediately on a number of questions confronting the progressive and communist movement in our country.

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Karl Marx conceived the development of communism in two stages. The first stage is that of socialism which, as Marx said, comes into the world out of the womb of capitalism; in all respects it bears the stamp of the old society. Under socialism the means of production are socially owned but the products in terms of wages are determined on the basis of work performed. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his deed," is the motto of socialism.

Socialism abolishes the exploitation of man by man and opens the way to a gigantic development of the productive forces. It raises the education, culture and living standards of the people, frees them from oppression, but it does not yet wipe out all the inequalities springing from the past. It does not yet abolish all class distinctions between the working class and peasantry, nor the distinction between physical and mental labor, nor the limitations placed upon the status of women, who have equal rights but are still heavily burdened by the drudgery of housework which still survives in the first period. The socialist system for all

its outstanding achievements is still only the first stage of the new fully-just society. That is why, on achieving socialism, the working people proceed to the construction of communism. There is no dividing line between socialism and communism. They are not two different types of society but only two phases of one and the same social formation which differ from each other only in degree of maturity. The transition from socialism to communism is therefore a gradual process effected without friction and class struggle.

TWO DECADES

Communism is defined by the program as follows:

Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society: under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology: all sources of public wealth will flow abundantly, and the great principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,' will be implemented.

Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially-conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, in which labor for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.

The building of communism will be carried out in successive stages.

In the current decade (1961-1970), the Soviet Union, in creating the material and technical basis of communism, will surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country, the U.S.A., in production. The people's standard of living and their cultural and technical standards will improve substantially, everyone will live in easy circumstances, all collective and state farms will become highly productive and profitable enterprises, the demand of the Soviet people for well-appointed housing will, in the main, be satisfied, hard physical work will disappear, the U.S.S.R. will become the country with the shortest working day.

In the next decade (1971-1980) the material and technical basis of communism will be created and there will be an abundance of material and cultural benefits for the whole population. Soviet society will come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs, and there will be a gradual transition to one form of ownership—public ownership. Thus, a Communist society will, on the whole, be built in the U.S.S.R. The construction of Communist society will be fully completed in the subsequent period.

Space does not permit discussion of the sections of the program which follow and which concretely detail the immense economic, social and cultural aims to be achieved in these two decades. It is important to point out, however, that in the sphere of production and material goods the productivity of labor by 1980 will

rise four and a half times and per capita production will double that of the United States. Steel production will rise to 250 million tons yearly, almost three times U.S. current production. Electric power will reach three trillion kilowatt hours, which is three and a half times present U.S. production. There will be complete automation of industry. The national income will rise three and a half times and the real income of the people by 1980 will increase approximately 200-250 percent.

In general, at the end of twenty years, free services will include free maintenance of children at children's institutions and boarding schools (if parents wish); free education in all respects at all educational establishments; free maintenance of disabled people; free rent and later free public services; free public transport; gradual introduction of free public catering. To improve the health of the entire population, there will be an extensive program designed to sharply reduce and finally eliminate many diseases, and further increase longevity. High targets also are set in cultural, educational, social, national-relations, and other spheres.

The Soviet state will thus demonstrate to the world a society which fully satisfies the growing material and cultural requirements of man. This will have a tremendous impact on the peoples of the entire world including our own. As pointed out by Lenin, in the last analysis, it is mainly through economic achieve-

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ments that the superiority of socialism over capitalism will be demonstrated.

NEW TYPE OF DEMOCRATIC STATE

The state in the Soviet Union has evolved from a dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people. "The state of the whole people is a new stage in the development of the social state, an all-important phase on the road from socialist statehood to communist public self-government," said N.S. Khrushchev in his Congress report on the program.

Some hasty and erroneous conclusions have been drawn from this new concept to the effect that the program renounces the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat in general and that it will no longer exist in socialist states which have not completed the construction of socialism.

The program states: "The dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party are indispensable for the triumph of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism." Again, discussing the possibility of a variety of forms of a new people's state power in the period of socialist construction, the program states that "their essence will be the same—dictatorship of the proletariat—which represents genuine democracy for the working people."

Answering the slanders that the

dictatorship of the proletariat contradicts democracy it states:

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority; it is directed against the exploiters, against the oppression of peoples and nations, and is aimed at abolishing all exploitation of man by man. The dictatorship of the proletariat expresses not only the interests of the working class, but also those of all working people; its chief content is not violence but creation, the building of a new, classless society, and the defense of its gains against the enemies of socialism.

From this it is evident that the program does not renounce the necessity of each state passing through such a transition on the road to a classless society—though in each case the *form* of the dictatorship of the proletariat will not be identical. It will be different in the U.S.A. from that of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, however, has completed the building of socialism and is now setting out to construct communism. In the period of the construction of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat underwent changes.

The program describes these changes: "After the exploiting classes had been abolished the state function of suppressing their resistance ceased to exist. The chief functions of the socialist state—organization of the economy, culture and education—have developed in full measure. The socialist state has entered a new phase."

Explaining this new phase Khrushchev said:

It stands to reason that when socialism triumphed *completely and finally* in our country and we entered the *period of full scale communist construction*, the conditions which necessitated the dictatorship of the proletariat disappeared, its internal tasks were fulfilled. . . . the working class of the Soviet Union on its own initiative in view of the tasks of communist construction transformed the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people. That, comrades, is a fact unparalleled in history! . . . Until now the state has always been an instrument of the dictatorship by one class or another. In our country a state has taken shape which is not a dictatorship of any one class, but an instrument of society as a whole, of the entire people.

Explaining future perspectives the program points out that the dictatorship of the proletariat ceases to be necessary before the "state withers away," but the state as an organization embracing the entire people will survive until the complete victory of communism, the state will wither away fully and completely only after communism is established on a world scale.

Such are the important new features of the theory on the state.

How does this view stand in relation to Lenin's teaching? It follows its main direction but further develops and enriches it in the spirit of creative Marxism. In *State and Revolution*, Lenin wrote that social-

ism would not stand still and that the question would inevitably arise of going farther to communism.

Not being utopian, Lenin did not state how and in what way this next phase would be reached. "By what stages, by means of what practical measures, humanity will proceed to this next higher aim—this we do not and cannot know," wrote Lenin. But it is important, he added, "to realize how mendacious is the usual bourgeois presentation of socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once and for all, whereas in reality it is *only* with socialism that there will commence a rapid real mass advance in which first the *majority* and then the whole of the population will take part—an advance in all domains of social and individual life."

FULLEST DEMOCRACY

What Lenin could not describe specifically for lack of material and experience is now given in the program. The new stage of statehood is that of one of the whole people, embracing as he foresaw "the whole of the population."

To ensure the further development of the new type of state the program calls for measures for the fullest development of democracy. Communism can be built only if all citizens take part in public life. Considering the great objectives of the program, the huge undertakings in production, culture and in the fight for

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peace, the greatest initiative and effort will be necessary on the part of the entire population. The road therefore **must be cleared of every encumbrance** from the past. This explains the continued struggle to eliminate all survivals of the cult of the individual which prevailed in the latter Stalin period. The cult of the individual not only grossly violated socialist democracy and legality but stifled mass initiative and creativeness.

New millions of working people will be brought into leadership of government and social organizations by the proposal of the program for a systematic renewal of all elective bodies, one-third of whose members are to be replaced at every election of Soviets, trade unions and all social organizations. The Communist Party itself will widen inner party democracy by a number of measures provided in the program and the new constitution of the party. These are intended to ensure greater activity and influence of the rank and file and to provide for the inflow of new forces into all leading bodies by a similar replacement of officials and by limitation of terms of office which will prevent concentration of power into individual hands and strengthen collective work and leadership.

More and more, government bodies will lose their political character and public affairs will be decided directly by the people. The great aim of the new program is ultimately to end all coercion and to

establish self-government based on moral principles, conscious self-discipline and intelligent, educated public opinion.

The action of the Congress in further destroying the cult of the individual and the perspective of the program of immensely extending democracy will help to change the widely held view that socialism is in contradiction to democracy. Coming at a time when the monopolists are undermining democracy and establishing police state rule, the program will aid the battle for democracy in our country.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The program raises high the banner of peace and international friendship. Communism's historic mission, states the program, is to abolish war and ensure everlasting peace on earth. This is of colossal significance today when the world faces the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

The program embodies the conclusions of the 20th Congress that in the new epoch in which we live, war is no longer inevitable. A program is the basic document of the party, the ideological foundation for its activity.

The proposition that war is no longer inevitable does not contradict Lenin's teaching on imperialism as dogmatic-minded interpreters of Marxism hold nor is it based on any concept that imperialism has changed its nature, which is the view of the revisionists. The nature of im-

perialism remains aggressive and tends to war. The danger of war will continue to exist so long as imperialism lasts. The program warns that the imperialists are preparing a world nuclear war and that the question of war and peace has become a life and death problem for mankind. The main thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war, to prevent it from breaking out.

This can be done by the present generation because of the radical changes that have taken place on a world scale. Alongside of the imperialist states there is a world of socialist states whose combined efforts, with that of the peaceful non-socialist states, the world peace movement and the international working class, are strong enough to prevent war. In the view of the program, the the growing superiority of the socialist states over the forces of imperialism, of the forces of peace over the forces of war, will make it actually possible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism surviving in a part of the world.

It must be stated that this will not occur automatically. It will require the most persistent, resolute and militant struggle of the forces of peace directed at present against the danger of war over West Berlin.

The program declares that the policy of peaceful co-existence is the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It is possible and

necessary to have the peaceful co-existence of capitalist and socialist states. Peaceful co-existence is winning the upper hand because increasing numbers of people, including sections of capitalists, recognize that there is no alternative — either co-existence or mutual annihilation.

The opposition comes from the big monopolists and the militarists who desire war to overcome the crisis of their system and who make fabulous profits from war economy. They also fear that in a peaceful competition between the two systems, capitalism would lose out.

That is why the *New York Times* (August 1) called the program "a new declaration of war" and the *US News Report*, Oct. 23) wrote that "Khrushchev's secret weapon is peace". These are indeed the statements of freinzed people.

DISTORTED VIEWS

Joseph Lash, in the *New York Post* (Aug. 4, 1961) echoed these organs of big finance in stating: "The co-existence proffered (by the program) is anything but peaceful. It is in fact a euphemism for continued cold war. Peaceful co-existence, the document cautions communist militants, in no way implies 'discontinuance of the ideological struggle.' It is rather a 'specific form of class struggle.' "

It is true that in the view of the program peaceful co-existence will not end the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism and that it is a specific form of class

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struggle between them. But why does that mean that co-existence cannot be peaceful?

The class struggle in society cannot be stopped by any pact between the classes. Such an object is beyond the power of even the strongest government or political party. Reactionary labor leaders have made class collaboration pacts over the years but they were never effective because as long as one class oppresses another, the struggle between the classes will go on. And so too between antagonistic social systems.

But the form of the struggle between nations of different social systems need not be that of war. A clash of ideas is one thing. A war with military weapons is quite another matter. Peaceful co-existence means renunciation of war as a method of settling international disputes and their solution by negotiations between countries. Why cannot this be attained and still the ideological struggle go on?

The program calls peaceful co-existence a *specific form* of class struggle, because with peaceful co-existence, economic competition would be enlarged as would other forms of competition—arts, sports, education, etc.—a struggle to decide which can ensure a higher standard of living, freedom and culture. Such forms of peaceful competition create more favorable conditions for the struggles of peoples of the capitalist countries and those of the colonial and dependent nations. They

strengthen their movements for democracy, independence and socialism. It is understandable therefore why the multimillionaire monopolists who are losing faith in their cause fear this specific form of class struggle. But why should Joseph Lash or other Social Democrats and liberals, who espouse a belief in peaceful progress, deride and oppose it?

IMPACT UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The new stage in historical advance of the Soviet Union—the building of Communism—will have a great impact upon the people of the U.S.A. This will become evident as the gains are registered and become visible to the broad masses of our people. This cannot escape them because the progress toward communism takes place in the setting of a deepening general crisis of capitalism, sharpening contradictions among the capitalist nations, increasing reliance on war economy, mounting armaments, growing reaction toward fascist methods of rule at home and abroad, in which the U.S. plays the role of an international *gendarme*.

U.S. capitalism has passed the zenith of its expansion and is declining. The decay of U.S. capitalism is expressed in recurring crises, low rate of growth of production, chronic mass unemployment, real hunger and privation for large numbers of people in depressed areas, worsen-

ing social conditions, the undermining of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the growth of a police state. There is a growing destruction of labor's rights, the continued cruel oppression of the Negro people and the terrible danger of a nuclear war which Big Business and Big Brass are preparing.

Concern for the preservation of the capitalist system is the central aspect of capitalist policy and ideology. It relies for this in the main upon the use of its state and military apparatus — upon intimidation and repression. But the imperialists are also employing new devices, new methods to sustain its rule and expand its influence. These include neo-colonial methods in the colonial and dependent countries, i.e., indirect, concealed methods of penetration and domination. Also, they include the development of the Common Market and the possible setting up of the "Atlantic Community;" the stepping up of automation, mechanization, speed-up and possible concessions to some sections of the working class to split and divide it. Despite possible temporary successes along these lines, such measures will not halt the general decline of U.S. economy.

U.S. capitalism is still strong and a section of the working class and middle class still live in relatively comfortable material conditions, but the general conditions — economic, political, social, as indicated above, worsen for the broad masses of people—workers, farmers, intellectuals,

and other middle strata and even sections of the capitalist class feel the terrible weight of the oppression of the finance oligarchy.

Under these conditions the advance of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries will powerfully strengthen the struggles of the working class and other sections of the people. Increasingly they will compare their deteriorating conditions with the improving material, social and cultural levels of the socialist countries. The superiority of socialism over capitalism is no longer a matter evident only to the more advanced workers; it is no longer beneath the surface but is visibly showing itself to the broad masses — in space flights, science, sports, theatre, education, culture, etc. It will now become evident to them in spheres most palpable — material goods and democratic freedoms.

NEW STAGE OF STRUGGLE AHEAD

It can be expected, therefore, that a new and much higher stage of struggle will develop in our country. This is already evident in the militant fight of the Negro people for liberation. It is also expressed in the growing activity of youth, in the widening struggles against suppression of political rights, such as the militant mass fight against the House Un-American Activities Committee, in the growing unity of progressive forces against the McCarran Act, in the ever-widening movements for

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peace, in the mounting strike struggles of labor and in the first beginnings of independent political organization by the trade unions as reflected in the formation of the Brotherhood Party in New York. These economic, social and political struggles will undoubtedly grow in the coming period.

We must also expect that the ideas and movement for socialism will gain ground in the country — a perspective already foreshadowed by an awakening interest in socialism and communism, particularly among youth. The monopolists are aware of this and they are setting all their propaganda machinery into action to distort and lie about the nature of socialism, communism, Marxism. The spreading of a true knowledge about communism has become an extremely important and urgent matter for America.

Socialism in the U.S.A. was a mass movement in the period before World War I. It declined to a degree in the period of reaction following that war and rose again with the crises of 1929-1932. With the upsurge of the trade unions after 1934, which attracted many millions of hitherto slumbering workers, the labor movement broadened in breadth. At the same time it narrowed in depth — in socialist consciousness. The unions and people's organizations—under the influence of the New Deal reforms, together with improved conditions and a relatively long period of employment—became dominated

by labor reformism and class-collaboration ideology. This will change in the direction of socialist ideology as a result of the deepening crisis of capitalism, rising struggles and the powerful advance of world socialism and communism. It will require however, energetic battles for the ideas of socialism. The objective conditions create the necessity for socialism, but the ideas of socialism must be brought to the masses of people and explained. They do not arise spontaneously.

It will entail a strong and sustained battle against bourgeois ideology — particularly "anti-communism" which is the chief weapon to mislead and divide the people. Anti-communism is a sign that capitalism cannot defend its system. It can survive only by intimidating, frightening and persecuting the views of democratic, peace and socialist minded forces.

Considering the relatively low level of class consciousness of the American working class, the still dominant capitalist ideology and the power and oppression of the monopolists, *the main direction of the struggle in the immediate period will be a heightened movement against the monopolists—an anti-monopoly movement—to curb and check their despotic power economically and politically.*

MONOPOLY, THE MAIN ENEMY

In its analysis of the situation in the capitalist world, the program of

the CPSU sees the struggle to curb the power of the monopolies as the strategic task of the present stage of development. It states: "The Working class directs its main blow against the capitalist monopolies. All the main sections of the nation have a vital interest in abolishing the unlimited power of the monopolies. This makes it possible to unite the democratic movements opposing the oppression of the financial oligarchy into a *mighty anti-monopoly torrent*".

The anti-monopoly struggle has been in fact the kernel of the long-range program of the C.P.U.S.A. since World War II. It formed the main line of policy adopted at its 17th Convention at the end of 1959. Other Communist Parties, — Italy, France, Britain, Belgium, etc., — also centered their fight against the monopolies, a position incorporated in the statement of the 81 Workers and Communist Parties. The program of the C.P.,S.U., therefore incorporates, as it states, the experiences of the world revolutionary movement.

The program further declares that this anti-monopoly struggle involving working class and other strata, including even a section of the middle capitalists, is in the main a fight for democracy. The struggle for democracy, far from being in contradiction to socialism, states the program, is "a component part of the struggle for socialism. The more profound the democratic movement, the higher the level of political con-

sciousness of the masses, the more clearly they see that only socialism clears for them the way to genuine freedom and well-being."

Today, the main fight is for democracy because it is a battle against the despotic power of the monopolists, because it is a struggle for peace involving people of all classes, and because of the growing threat of fascism.

Extremely important in regard to this struggle is the view of the program that in the new historical situation the working class of many capitalist countries even before capitalism is overthrown, can carry out measures that transcend ordinary reforms and are of vital importance to the progress of its struggle for socialism. These include the cessation of preparations for a new world war, renunciation of the idea of starting local wars and use of the economy for peaceful purposes. Also it is possible to beat back the offensive of fascist reaction, to implement a program for peace, national independence, democratic rights and to achieve a certain improvement of the living standards of the people.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNISTS

These are indeed far-reaching gains which while not doing away with exploitation nor overstepping the bounds of the capitalist production system, nonetheless check the autocratic power of the monopolists, impose democratic controls and create more favorable conditions for the

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advance to socialism. The struggle for peace, equal rights for the Negro people, for a revival of the Bill of Rights, and for a general advance of the living conditions of the people can be victorious in the present period.

This calls for a heightened attention to the everyday needs of the people in regard to wages, prices, taxes, working conditions, for jobs, etc. These are of key importance particularly for the trade unions. Increasing importance too attaches to the political demands—the rights of the Negro people, abolition of Jim Crow, job opportunities for youth, radical improvements in the educational system, social demands for the aged, for greater aid to the crisis areas. Of greatest importance is the fight for restoration of democratic freedoms and for peace specifically, for general and universal disarmament, against militarization of the economy, for an alternative peace-economy program, for nationalization of the armament and other industries under democratic control—these and other peace issues are and will be central demands in the present period.

The program discusses the conditions for the advance of labor in capitalist countries and underlines above all the need for a leading role of the working class in every sphere of struggle. It points out, however, that this demands unity of the working class which cannot be achieved without a struggle against the Right-wing labor leaders and Social-Demo-

crat. It requires a rallying of all who oppose these reactionary labor and social-democratic elements on all levels of leadership, but above all on the grass-roots level of the rank and file. The program, therefore, emphasizes the call of the 81-Party Statement to "go deeper" into the main masses of the people and unite their ranks.

Unity of all progressive forces, of all Left and socialist forces in labor and people's ranks, is decisive to the wider mobilization of the democratic forces in the country for the fight against the monopolists and against the mounting danger of the ultra Rights—the fascist elements in the country.

This does not lessen but emphasizes the importance of the heightened activity and initiative of the Communist Party as a main force for the unification of the working class and the people in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism—a Communist Party which is close to the masses and fights on the basis of its Marxist-Leninist principles free of revisionist and sectarian ideology and practices. Small as it is, its role is great because no other force can fulfill it. The Communist Party of the United States, with a long heritage of struggle and a history of great service to the American people, can fulfill the role of foremost fighter in the interest of the people. It will not be destroyed by the monopolists. It will survive and grow steadily despite all difficulties.

How Bulgaria's Jews Were Saved from Hitler

By Nesho Davidov

One of the least-publicized elements in the history of World War II, is the fact that of all the countries in Europe, in only two were the Jewish inhabitants substantially preserved from the genocidal onslaughts of Hitlerism, namely, in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria. In the former, the saving of over two million Jews was accomplished through the heroic efforts of the Government; in the latter, the saving of some 50,000 Jews was accomplished by the people of Bulgaria themselves. That latter story is told, in some detail, in the following article, which appeared first in a fortnightly magazine, Bulgaria Today (Number 9, 1961), published in Sofia.—the Editor.

Terrible memories of the bloody crimes committed by fascism in the years of the Second World War have been recalled by the trial of Eichmann, the nazi hangman, in Jerusalem. The world press has given details which reveal new pages in the book of nazi crimes.

Among much else a map of Europe appeared in a number of papers and periodicals, marked with black figures, like dark stains on each individual country. These figures mark the number of Jews from each of these countries who were slaughtered under Eichmann's direct leadership. As is generally known their total number reached the figure of six million.

There is one country on this map, however, on which no such stain is shown. That is Bulgaria. Is this a

printer's error or is it true that the Jewish minority in this country did not fall prey to nazi vandalism?

UNITY IN OPPRESSION

The answer to this question demands more thorough historical research. It will show that the roots of Jewry in Bulgaria go far back to the Middle Ages, that the Jews have always been inseparably linked with the life, customs, culture, ideals and struggles of the Bulgarian people.

The close cohesion between Bulgarians and Jews, which proved such a hard nut to crack for those who preached race hatred and anti-Semitism, came into being on this historic foundation of centuries.

The vast majority of the Jewish population shared the hard fate and

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scanty means of the poverty-stricken Bulgarian people, deprived of rights and cruelly exploited by their own and foreign exploiters. This united the minority and the majority in one indivisible mass, which rose resolutely against the intention of the fascist authorities to send nearly 50,000 persons to the gas chambers and crematoriums of Auschwitz.

The deportation plan was worked out in February, 1943. It was the common work of Bekerle, the nazi minister in Sofia, a certain Captain Danecker and the Bulgarian fascists. It was to take place in March 1943, simultaneously with the deportation of the Jewish population from Greek Thrace, and the Yugoslav part of Macedonia.

VICTIMS WERE MARKED

By virtue of the martial law in these occupied countries the plan was fulfilled in two of these countries. In Bulgaria, however, the operation failed. It failed because it met with the unanimous resistance of the Bulgarian people.

Those March days of 1943 have remained memorable, when in a number of towns, mainly in the southwestern part of the country, the deportation of the first several thousand marked victims was being prepared.

The open indignation of the people was so great, the organized protests so numerous that they swept

away even part of the more hesitant representatives of the ruling top crust. Deportation was put off for a "more appropriate" date.

But this date never came, because the triumphant advance of the Soviet Army, and the victory of the people's uprising on September 9, 1944 defeated all the plans of fascism in Bulgaria and overthrew fascism itself.

THE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE

In order to realize the strength of the people's resistance, we should remember that this occurred in 1943, when the Soviet Army had inflicted a crushing defeat on the nazi troops at Stalingrad, when nothing could possibly have stopped the scope of the Bulgarian people's armed anti-fascist resistance, organized and led by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

This struggle paralyzed every attempt made by the Bulgarian fascists to fulfil to the end the obligations they were under to their nazi protectors.

One result of this struggle, for instance, was that no Bulgarian troops were sent to the Eastern Front. Sabotage and resistance in all fields of economic and public life hampered every action of the fascist authorities in that respect.

This was also the case in the attempt to deport the Jews of the country. The signal given by the Communist Party for mass resistance

was responded to all over the country — from the smallest town in the provinces to the fascist parliament.

CAMPAIGN OF PROTEST

In the towns of Kyustendil, Dupnitsa and other deportation centers, in which compact masses of Jews had been concentrated, mass protest demonstrations took place and there were thousands of public manifestations of solidarity and support on the part of the local population with regard to their Jewish fellow citizens.

Under the pressure of the people, the official leadership of such organizations of the Bulgarian intelligentsia as the Unions of Writers, Doctors and Lawyers sent written protests to the government. Individual public figures openly protested. Representatives of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church also expressed their disapproval of the intended crime through some of the bishops.

A group of 43 government deputies in the National Sobraniyé sent a letter to the Prime Minister demanding that the order for deportation be rescinded. Threats and pressure on the part of the authorities forced some of these deputies to withdraw their signatures from this letter.

Dimiter Peshev, the vice-president of the National Sobraniyé, the originator of the letter, was immediately dismissed from the government. The king and the government gave way under the pressure of public opinion.

FATHERLAND FRONT'S DEMANDS

Certain people try to attribute the saving of Bulgaria's Jewish population to individual personalities, and more especially to the former king. This, however, is a lie. The king's responsibility was linked with the entire pro-nazi policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. He was inseparably linked with all the fascist undertakings during the entire period following the First World War.

As for the anti-Jewish actions of the authorities, they were always prepared and carried out only from above, from the supreme organs of government, and the plan of deportation itself was worked out by an interstate agreement. The king, the ministers and their entourage of the fascist clique were the authors of all this. Their failure was due only to the people's anti-fascist resistance on a mass scale.

Let us recall that in the very first program of the Fatherland Front, a program of national resistance, which was drafted in 1942, one of the 12 points demanded that "fascist obscurantism and racial hatred" should be eradicated, and another point called for the annulment of all anti-popular and fascist laws, including anti-Jewish legislation.

In considering the question of the saving of the Jewish people in Bulgaria one other decisive factor should be indicated. The majority of the

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Bulgarian Jewish population did not allow itself to be influenced by the defeatist line of the Zionist leaders in seeking the forms and means of propitiating the hangmen. It is known that such a line made the situation of the victims harder in certain other countries and increased their number.

JEWS FOUGHT BACK

In Bulgaria, the Jews, particularly the Jewish youth, actively joined in the resistance struggle. They contributed a big percentage of daring fighters to the ranks of the Communist Party and the Youth Union, and those of the Partisan Movement, and many of them fell heroically in the struggle.

The first big piece of sabotage in Bulgaria — setting fire to the German petrol cisterns in 1941 — was the work of the Jewish Communist,

Leon Tadger. The active participation of the Jews in the resistance, instead of defeatism in the face of the enemy, played no small part in keeping the fascist criminals in order.

It was a Jewish woman, Violetta Yakova, who killed one of the ideologists of Bulgarian fascism, General Loukov, in the center of the capital.

The line of resistance and struggle was the line of the Communist Party. More than once in its manifestos and materials of this period, the Party indicated the road of struggle as the only means of saving the Jewish minority. The Bulgarian Jews correctly understood this line and followed it with all their might.

These are the factors which prevented fascism from consummating the crime of slaughtering the Bulgarian Jewish population of nearly 50,000 people. The opposition was led by our heroic Communist Party.

VERBLEN AND MARX

By Eric Bert

The republication of Thorstein Veblen's *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization* (it first appeared in 1919) affords the opportunity of examining a substantial sector of the work of an outstanding American social scientist.*

The years at the turn of the century, when the essays in this volume were written (1892 to 1909) marked roughly the transition from competitive capitalism to monopoly capitalism. The dominant feature of the change, as Veblen saw it, was an increasing monopolization of industrial production. Among the population at large there was a "lively apprehension" of the new trend. Some of the "wisest" men of the nation were considering desperately how the course of events might be reversed. Veblen, however, saw that in this "inchoate new phase of capitalism" society had stepped far down a new highway and could not retrace its steps. Competitive capitalism had given birth naturally to monopoly, monopoly was a "normal outgrowth" of competitive capitalism, it was capitalism on a new, "higher," level, he said. Great streams of profits flowed through new channels. These were the profits arising from the monopolization of industry; profits associated with non-industrial capital; and the profits that resulted from the manipulations of great aggregates of capital. All of these were distinct from the "old fashioned . . . system of investment in industrial enterprise." Great trusts and holding companies had

been formed through merger or conquest. A widespread demand arose for increased supervision, or control, of the great aggregations of capital which seemed on the verge of overwhelming all existing social relations.

Beyond the demand for reform there was, however, the "new departure" recommended by the socialists. The foes of socialism denounced this advocacy as immoral and perverse; many of its advocates proclaimed it as a system of justice. To Veblen, however, the key question was neither the popular "discontent," the "feeling of injustice," nor the legitimacy of dissatisfaction, but whether the rising resentment arose out of the "nature of the social system" itself.

In the international socialist arena it was the "theoretical position of avowed Marxism" which charted the course. There were, however, rifts and tendencies within the movement; among them the "revisionist" trend in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, then the dominant organization in the international socialist movement. The main change, Veblen felt, was the discarding of the Hegelian dialectic and the adoption of what he described as "Darwinism," not only by the "revisionists" but by the leading circles of the Social Democratic Party. He felt this reflected "growth."

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The adoption of what Veblen called the "Darwinism" viewpoint among the German socialists had thrown "a shadow of doubt on every conclusion that once seemed secure," and put into question the validity of the "theoretical structures of Marx." Veblen associated himself in the discussion with the position taken by Eduard Bernstein and other "revisionists."

The main victim of this "revisionist" infection was the theory of the class struggle. The existence of the class struggle, its efficacy in achieving the social revolution, and the seizure of power, were all placed in doubt, says Veblen, "with relatively few ill-defined theoretical preconceptions." Within a dozen years after this was written, German Social Democracy, rejecting the class struggle, betrayed the German revolution to the monopolists. The fault lay, however, not with Darwin but with opportunist corruption which had cloaked its mission in non-Marxist, neo-Marxist, and anti-Marxist theories.

Veblen landed in the contradictory position of ascribing the dissolution of the theory of the class struggle, on the one hand, to the infiltration of Darwinism, which he favored, and, on the other hand, to the operations of the opportunist politicians. He did not associate the adoption of anti-Marxist concepts with the betrayal of socialism through opportunism.

But, he did lay bare, as no other U.S. bourgeois scholar did, how the policies of German Social Democracy had been corrupted by imperialism. In contrast to the "socialism of Karl Marx" and the internationalist position adopted by the First International during the Franco-Prussian war, the leaders

of German Social Democracy had become infected (by 1908) with "jingoism" and "national aggrandizement." Veblen saw the terminal of the official German socialist movement as "imperialist democracy." His harsh prognosis was confirmed within a few years at the outbreak of World War I. It was climaxed in 1960 when at the Godesberg congress, in Western Germany, the renunciation of Marxism was written into the program of the Social Democratic Party.

Peculiarly, again, Veblen saw no connection between the imperialist chauvinism which he laid bare and the "Darwinian" outlook which they had adopted. On the contrary, he identified the adherence to Marxist principles as orthodoxy which failed to take account of the changes in the world since Marx's death. By seeing revisionism as a "Darwinian" attempt to update Marxism, Veblen failed to understand its ideological corruption. By seeing adherence to Marxist principles as blind orthodoxy, he failed to understand its loyalty to the working class and to socialism.

SOCIAL DARWINISM

Veblen's central objections to Marx's materialist conception of history are that it conceives of social development as progressive, posits socialism as the next stage in social evolution, and sees this goal being attained by the conscious activity of the working class. Veblen's "Social Darwinism" can be summarized in a few words: "cause and effect," and "brute force." In contrast to the Marxian view, he said, the "Darwinian" scheme of social evolution

is of the nature of a "mechanical process" in which "brute creation unfolds itself," and there is no goal. He disagreed with Marx and Engels, not primarily because they, as he wrongly alleged, believed that the class struggle is always a conscious struggle; but because he believed that the conscious struggle of the working class is in contradiction to the materialist conception of history. He argued, in effect, that the materialist conception precludes the possibility of conscious class action. A truly materialist sequence would require, apparently, that the "attitude of the interested party," of the working class, for example, should "result . . . immediately . . . from the material forces," that is, without reflection.

MONOPOLY, CAPITAL, VALUE

Veblen held that the "dominant feature" of Marx's economics was the "labor theory of value" with its "corollaries: the doctrines of the exploitation of labor by capital; and the laborer's claim to the whole product of his labor." Marx held, he said, that the laborer should, but does not, get the "full" or "whole product of his labor." Veblen countered that "there is on Darwinian ground no place for a natural right to the full product of labor;" that the three doctrines are "nothing but a development of the conception of natural rights;" and that only "under a socialist regime" would the laborer "get the full product of his labor."

Veblen was not debating with Marx, though he thought he was. Marx had explicitly denounced the "full value" doctrine, in the form of the "undiminished proceeds of labor," as an unscien-

tific "Lasallean catchword;" and had rejected it as an impermissible formula for a communist society, let alone for a crusade under capitalism. He had rejected also, the "natural rights" doctrine in the "equitable distribution" slogan in which Lasalle had presented it. Is not "present day distribution . . . the only 'equitable' distribution on the basis of the present-day mode of production?" Marx asked. As Engels had pointed out, where the socialists prior to Marx had sought to repair the inequitable distribution under capitalist society by ingenious contrivance. Marx found there the "key to understanding of all production." By ascribing to Marx the "full product" doctrine which was not his, Veblen closed one avenue to understanding the object of Marx's inquiry.

Veblen's theory of capital reflects the explosive expansion of what he called "capital-at-large," evident in the emission of securities on an unprecedented scale, in the creation of great corporations, and in the emergence of so unique a phenomenon as 'good will' as a major factor in business. He saw in these developments at the turn of the century the widening disparity between "industrial" and "pecuniary" activity, and the jungle-like growth of "intangible assets." The "industrial" character of employment, of capital goods, and of capital, has its foundation in the process of production, he held, while "pecuniary" activity has to do with profit grabbing.

From this vantage point Veblen probed capital as a "pecuniary category." What determines the value of capital? Veblen answered: the capitalist's assets yield him an income, this in-

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come is capitalized, and this capitalization is the "value" of the capital. The "income streams" are "attributed" to one or another item of ownership; the "value" is "imputed" from the "income streams" to the owned assets, via capitalization. In short, "all value is a matter of imputation."

This is not a theory of value, that is, of the terms on which commodities are exchanged under capitalism. It is a theory of capitalization of surplus value.

Veblen distinguished in line with current business practice, between "tangible" and "intangible" assets. Tangible assets, he said, are the material equipment of production. Intangible assets on the other hand, include such diverse "immaterial items of wealth" as preference of consumers for a given commodity or for a particular store, or the "monopolistic control or limitation of price and supply." Both tangible and intangible assets yield an income to their owner. This is transmitted, through capitalization, into the "capitalized value" which is "imputed" to the assets. Tangible assets "capitalize the processes of production," whereas intangible assets "capitalize certain expedients of acquisition . . . affecting only (the) distribution" of wealth. This brings us to the question: how does Veblen explain the source of the "income streams" whose capitalization becomes "value"?

The "capacity" of both tangible and intangible assets to yield an income, he says, depends on the "preferential use of certain immaterial factors." (They "depend for their efficiency" on certain "material objects.") What are these "immaterial factors?" Veblen answers: in the case of tangible assets they are

the "technological proficiency" of the community; in the case of the intangible assets they are a "differential advantage" resulting from "usage, convention, legislative action." Implicit in this explanation is that the gains which the owners of the intangible assets appropriate do not have their sources in the "expedients and processes" of the intangibles' arena, but in the "processes of production" where the tangible assets are domiciled.

How does the capitalist latch on to his share of the profits? Veblen answers: through "advantageous bargaining." The capitalist is able "by force of ownership of the material equipment . . . to induce the industrial community" to turn over to him the excess of the product over the industrial community's livelihood. The individual capitalist has "working arrangements" with the workmen which give him the difference between the "aggregate product" and their wages. This is the situation under competitive capitalism.

Monopolization of the means of production makes it possible for the monopoly capitalists to turn a "differential business advantage" into an extra profit. Veblen calls this monopoly advantage an intangible asset. His reasoning is this: the tangible assets, the material equipment of production, yield a certain income; these same tangible assets when monopolized yield a higher, extra income; only the ordinary share of the income can be ascribed to the tangible assets; the extra income, the bonus due to monopoly, must be ascribed to intangible assets.

Whence flows this something-extra that monopoly reaps? Veblen answers, in part, in discussing the gains of the

pecuniary magnate which are higher than the ordinary profits accruing to capital. The "modern pecuniary magnate" grabs an extra profit at the expense of his fellow capitalists through a "transfer of capitalized wealth" from the "business community" as a whole to himself as the result of a successful maneuver on the financial front. This represents a "redistribution of the aggregate capitalized wealth."

The more significant monopoly profits are those which are appropriated annually. Veblen deals with this situation when he contracts the activities of the ordinary capitalist and of the pecuniary magnate. "The old-fashioned capitalist employer becomes a mediator, an instrumentality of extraction and transmission, a collector and conveyor of revenue from the community at large to the pecuniary magnate. In other words, the gains of the "pecuniary magnate" are a "tax" on the "gains," on the "ordinary profits and interest" which "commonplace business" appropriates from "industry."

The profits of the individual, ordinary capitalist arise from the "advantageous bargaining" with the workmen whom he employs. The monopolists, however, are able, by virtue of the economic power that they wield, to appropriate more than the share of the profits which would rightfully be theirs if all profits were distributed to capital at the average rate.

Which brings us to the question: whence arise the collective profits of the capitalists, the profits of the capitalists collectively? Veblen answers: the "gains of investment in the aggregate are drawn from the aggregate material productivity of the community's

industry," from the "community's industrial efficiency," that is, it is the "excess of the product above the industrial community's livelihood."

Veblen deals with the question also by assuming the existence of a single monopoly of all material assets. Now the "advantageous bargaining . . . is . . . bargaining between those who own . . . industrial wealth and those whose work turns this wealth to account in productive industry." The single monopoly would own the aggregate product from which would be deducted the "livelihood of the working population." (Depreciation, raw materials, auxiliary materials would also be deducted.) The all-embracing capitalist monopoly owns the total product and attempts to retain as much as possible by restricting wages to whatever it can get away with.

The fact is: Veblen has barred the doors to inquiry into production, on the ground that it is a "technological" process having nothing to do immediately with the creation of "value." He declares, thus, that the "economic forces which go into the (industrial) process" and the "product which emerges" are "incommensurable magnitudes," and that the concept of commensurability is based on "metaphysical grounds." That is, that the "foundation" of Marx's "theory of labor value" is the "metaphysical equality between the volume of human life force productively spent in the making of goods and the magnitude of these goods considered as human products."

Actually, Marx's theory of value has nothing to do with "metaphysical life force"; it has very much to do with the exercise of labor power under cap-

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italism. Marx's theory explains the basis on which men have exchanged their products during the whole period of commodity production. It uncovers the material condition for the exchange of commodities, the equality of the labor contained in them. This essential equality undergoes a thousand amendments before the commodities are exchanged in a developed market system, and many more by the time they are exchanged in a capitalist society, but the amendments do not transform labor into metaphysics.

If Veblen's view, that the means of production (we exclude land) and the product are incommensurable is accepted it means that the surplus which emerges from the production process cannot be compared with the values which were consumed in the production process; the value of the surplus cannot be compared with the value of the labor power which was consumed in the process; there can be no ratio of exploitation.

He asserts, as we have seen, the existence of a differential between the net annual product (net of depreciation) and the livelihood of the workers. But its source, in the case of even the tangible assets, is the "immaterial" factor of "technological proficiency" of the community.

For Marx, the human element in the process of production was represented potentially by labor power and actually by the exercise of that power—in laboring. For Veblen, labor power and labor consist, on the one hand, of the "brute forces of the human organism" and, on the other hand, of the "specifically human factors that make technological efficiency," the "immat-

erial residue of the community's experience."

It might seem that Veblen has in mind only the difference between unskilled and skilled labor. That is not so. He rejects the conception that the production process consists of labor acting on or using raw materials (including mechanical, chemical and other power) with the aid of instruments of production. He presents instead a combination of (a) "human" and "non-human" "brute forces"; (b) "the specifically human factors that make technological efficiency"; and (c) raw materials. By lumping "human and non-human" "brute forces" into a single natural force, he deprives economics, as the science of human production, of any meaning. This combination can have meaning from the viewpoint of physics, as a study of indiscriminate "forces"; it is meaningless from the viewpoint of economics. It represents the application of Veblen's cause-and-effect doctrine—both the "human" and the "non-human" "brute forces" are "causes"—but it is an evasion of the study of the conditions under which human labor power is exercised in capitalist society—which is the substance of economic science.

MARXISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The "program of Marxism has come into conflict with the run of events" in three major areas, Veblen said, that is, in relation to "the labor movement, the agricultural population, and the imperialistic policy." Imperial Germany, where the Marxist movement had achieved its greatest influence, was the locale for his argument.

The adaptation to imperialist policy was a betrayal of Marxism, of socialism, Veblen pointed out, as we have seen. A different situation confronts us in relation to the trade union movement. Marxism, Veblen says, as expounded in *Capital* and earlier works, "has no place and no use for a trade union movement." That is not true. In the *Condition of the Working Class in England*, the *Poverty of Philosophy*, and the *Communist Manifesto*, to cite a few sources prior to *Capital*, Marx and Engels analyzed the origins of the trade union movement and stressed the proletariat's need of such association for the struggle against the capitalists.

Veblen concedes that the First International, and the Gotha and Erfurt programs of the German Social Democratic Party, supported the organization of the trade union. But this concession is only part of the truth. Marx berated the *draft* Gotha program for saying "not a word about the organization of the working class as a class by means of the trade unions," the "real class organization of the proletariat, in which it carries on its daily struggles with capital, in which it trains itself . . ." He declared it was not only "absolutely necessary . . . to mention it in the program" but "if possible to leave open a place for it in the party organization" ("Critique of the Gotha Program," in Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, I, p. 590).

Since the written word belies Veblen's contention, he resorts to the charge that Marx's and Engels' statements in support of the trade unions "were in good part perfunctory," were "made for an ulterior purpose," were intended to "conciliate the unionists, and make

use of the unions for the propaganda." Marx did harbor an "ulterior purpose." It was to advance the political and revolutionary struggle and rejection of the even as he supported the organization and the struggles of the trade unions.

Veblen's view was: either support of the trade unions and rejection of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class; or support of the revolutionary struggle and rejection of the trade union movement. Those are the views which the "pure" trade unionists, on the one hand, and the anti-capitalist sectarians, on the other hand, have preached for over a century. Because Marx had an "ulterior purpose" he became the guide of the international working class in its struggle for emancipation.

The Social Democratic trade-union leaders of Germany accommodated themselves to what Veblen called the "new and changing situation" which wrought "substantial changes . . . in theoretical outlook." It was not, as he suggests, that they adapted "the principles to the facts of the time"; they subverted the socialist movement to the purposes of German imperialism.

MARXISM AND THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

The third area in which Marxism came into conflict with the course of events, in Veblen's opinion, was the agrarian question. According to the Marxists, Veblen said, the advance of industrial capitalism will transform the small farmers into agricultural wage workers who will ally themselves with the other wage workers and join in the struggle for socialism. But this

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has not occurred, said Veblen, large scale production has not invaded agriculture, nor expropriated the small farmers to the degree that the Marxists had expected. The agrarian population has not been converted to wage labor, and has not been won for socialism. And, so, perforce, the Marxist theory has been revised to meet the situation in the real world.

Veblen's discovery that the expropriation of the peasants did not proceed at as rapid a pace as the Marxists had predicted was a poor victory for it permitted him to be led astray by his own conceit. He neglected to examine the peasant question seriously. Engels, on the contrary, did examine it (notably in the *Peasant Question in France and Germany*). Engels dealt with the question in its totality, both theoretically and practically, since he sought to win the peasants for socialism. Veblen had no such orientation.

Veblen contended that since the situation did not conform to the Marxist view, the socialists had changed their views. It is true that socialist leaders in France and Germany did seek to accommodate the party program to the individual property ideas of the peasants. But it is equally true that the Marxists, in the first place Engels, fought such accommodation, even while they pressed for struggle by the socialists in behalf of the small peasants.

Thus, Engels warned against those 'practical' tactics that won peasant votes, but betrayed Marxism and deceived the small peasants. He cited the French Marxists whose electoral platform promised the peasants security, while their basic program pronounced the peasants' doom under capitalism.

They were ready to embrace even the peasants who exploited wage labor, though theirs was a party that opposed exploitation. They were ready to encompass the entire peasantry, including the employers of wage labor, though theirs was a party of social revolution. Engels held that it was treachery to both the small peasant and to Marxism to obscure the tendency of capitalist production to destroy peasant agriculture, and to offer a false hope of security under capitalism to the peasant. The aim of socialism is not to maintain small production, but to transform it into cooperative large-scale production, Engels pointed out. The socialists do pledge, he said, that they will work without letup to convince the small peasants of this and will not deprive them of their property by force.

Veblen's view, even if correct about the pace of capitalist envelopment of agriculture, was without social perspective. Engels' was the Marxist viewpoint that has won hundreds of millions of peasants to support a socialist transformation of society. What is more, the last 40 years' experience in the U.S. has proved that it was Engels, not Veblen, who was right. The elimination of two of every five farmers between 1920 and 1960 is evidence that the small farmer is doomed under capitalism even though the increased-scale production has not developed mainly in the factory-type pattern.

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

Veblen contended that "the expediency and the chance of ultimate survival" of capitalism is an "open question," a question that is "to be answered by a

scrutiny of the forces that make for its survival or alteration." It was not the task of the economist, he held, to provide "advice as to the best method of sustaining and controlling" capitalism. He rejected the views of those economists who believed that the stage of social development now reached "is, or at least should be final."

His outlook was anti-capitalist. It is a matter of indifference to capital, he pointed out repeatedly, whether the results of business enterprise are beneficial or detrimental to society. What is more, a degree of malignity is built into the system. Thus, there is a "presumption" that intangible assets (which embrace monopoly, the present stage of capitalism) are "in the aggregate, or on average disserviceable to the community." Capitalism is a destructive and wasteful system. Half of the "labor we now put forth" is designed for unnecessary expenditures. The life purpose of the capitalist is to reap as much profit as he can. "The maxim of 'charging what the traffic will bear' is only a special formulation of the generic principle of business enterprise." Explicitly associating himself with Marx's analysis in *Capital*, Veblen emphasized that the "businessman's activity" is "not to be classed . . . as productive or industrial activity at all." It is in fact "somewhat problematical" whether the businessman's "furthering" or "inhibitory" activities have the "more serious or more far-reaching consequences"; and "there is no warrant . . . for claiming that the work of highly paid business men is of greater substantial use to the community than that of the less highly paid." The instruments of war-making are designed

to "enable the owners of capital goods with immunity to inhibit or pervert the industrial processes" for profit. These instruments also provide a means for the "diversion of a livelihood from the community at large to the military, naval, diplomatic, and other official classes."

In contrast, there is that important sector of the population which is the subject of socialist "disaffection" or "vagaries." They embrace those persons who are engaged in the modern industrial technology and who reflect its cause-and-effect relations in their own thinking. They are the more intelligent and skilled workers in the mechanical industries. The "only other fairly isolable element of a radical socialistic complexion," he said, referring to Germany, is to be found "among the students of modern science." The "classes . . . who are habitually employed in the specialized industrial occupations" are brought, "by the circumstances of their daily life . . . to do their serious and habitual thinking in other than pecuniary terms," he said.

The "circumstances of their daily life" are, to Veblen, the mechanical operations of the production process, not the great agglomerations of capital which confront the workers, nor the fact that large masses of them find themselves in a common destiny and opposed by a common enemy. There is no reason to conclude from historic experience that the more skilled employments in modern industry are, by reason of their being mechanical, more provocative of socialist thinking. In fact, the more skilled workers have often been the victims of capitalist corruption, because their skills have won

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Veblen shared the views of the contemporary socialists that under socialism labor would enjoy a different status than it does under capitalism. "Common labor would no longer be a mark of pecuniary necessity and consequent low economic rank," he said. "It is even conceivable that labor might practically come to have that character of nobility in the eyes of society at large, which," he added ironically, "it now sometimes assumes in the speculations of the well-to-do, in their complacent moods." "With the abolition of private property" the capitalist forms of emulation should logically be replaced by "other, perhaps nobler and socially more serviceable activities," he said.

IN CONCLUSION

The key to understanding the economic situation, Veblen believed, lay in understanding "cumulative change." The essential difference between Marx and Veblen did not lie in this area. The difference lay in that Marx understood that it was essential to know not only that there is change but, equally important, to know *what* is changing, that is to understand the material content of dialectical or historical materialism, not merely the manner of its change. That is why Marx sought out not only the "genesis, growth, variation, process" of capitalism, as Veblen described the fact of change, but the innermost nature of the system, without knowing which Veblen's "ques-

tions of dynamic import" end in superficial inquiry.

That is why at the heart of Marx's analysis of capitalism there is: the analysis of the commodity (for capitalism is basically a system of commodity production), and the analysis of that unique commodity, labor power (for capitalism is a system of commodity production through wage labor). To Veblen this was all obscure metaphysics.

Veblen remained trapped in the meshes of the most complicated, the most elaborated forms of capitalist development. Marx, on the other hand, sought always to peel off the superficial layers, to penetrate to the core of the capitalist economy in order, by this means, to provide a fundamental explanation of the modes in which capitalism appears. While Veblen showed a keen appreciation of the most recent phases of capitalist development, his analysis was unsuccessful in penetrating the surface phenomena.

His outlook was deeply anti-capitalist, but his appreciation of the class nature of the proletariat was far from adequate. He exposed the betrayal of socialism by the opportunists, but did not understand the ideological corruption which had fastened on the socialist movement in the form of "revisionism." He identified the content of his own strivings to emancipate economics from the bourgeois shackles, with that of the "revisionists" who sought to purge the working class of Marxism.

He was America's keenest bourgeois analyst of capitalist development.

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