



Historic Days, Historic Tasks

We are living in historic days. Events which, early in this autumn of 1959, are to us "the news of the day," rise above the common plain of life. Centuries hence, students looking back will still point out the deeds of these our days that mark the march of science and social progress.

These days have been shaped and stamped by the most powerful force so far developed in human history: **The solidarity of the workingclass**, specifically in its highest form, the socialist sector of the world, headed by the USSR, and in its general form, embracing its allies in a determined front demanding in a volume that will no longer be denied: **NO MORE IMPERIALIST WAR!**

Let those who doubt take another look at the moon. If their eyes be sharp enough they will see, winking back through the night Marx-and-Engels' immortal slogan: "Workers of the world, unite!", inscribed in fifteen languages of the Socialist Soviet Union, on the shining pennants of mankind's first real rocket to the moon!

Let those who doubt take a deeper look into the meaning of the Khrushchev visit to our country. If their insight be keen enough, they will see that also as the fruit, first of all, of the efforts of those who are guided by that historic Communist slogan of workingclass solidarity, and who today "regard the struggle for peace as

their foremost task." (Declaration of Twelve Communist and Workers Countries, Moscow, 1957.)

"Study War No More!"

The hope was already old when the mystic Hebrew prophet gave it voice almost three thousand years ago:

"... They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

But the transformation of a mystic prophecy into social reality was a historic task that had to await the appearance of the only fully international class — the modern workingclass — armed with dialectical materialist science of history, Marxism-Leninism, founded by Marx and Engels. It was these "prophets" of the proletariat who, in the following words, first revealed the necessary precondition for the realization of the peoples' age-old dream of peace:

"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportions as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." (Communist Manifesto, Chapter II.)

Part IX -- Conclusion The Economic Situation

SUMMARY

We complete the introduction to our subject last March by bringing into focus three key theoretical questions:

- 1) The current economic situation in our country in relation to the Marxist theory of the capitalist economic cycle.
- 2) The effect of government spending in relation to the economic cycle.
- 3) The inter-relationship of the economic situation in our country and the present, second-stage, development of the general crisis of world capitalism.

For the purpose of this series of articles we have concluded on the first two of these points, and summarize our main conclusions on them as follows.

- 1) The cyclical economic crisis which began in the United States in the latter half of 1957 has NOT ended in a cyclical recovery.
- 2) The material conditions for recovery have not matured: the over-expansion of pro-

ductive forces and commodity stocks still bars the way to cyclical recovery. Therefore, a period of stagnation, of far-below-capacity production, is in prospect before a cyclical recovery occurs.

- 3) When recovery occurs, as it will sooner or later, it is much more likely to resemble the weak and unstable "recovery of a special kind" of the mid-1930's, than the upward phases of the post World War II economy.
- 4) The efforts of state-monopoly capitalism to "reverse the cycle" through increased government spending have not achieved economic stability. On the contrary, they have threatened to "strip the gears" of the government's financial machinery, have brought it to the verge of financial crisis.
- 5) The failures of these attempts reveals a crisis of Keynesian theory and policy: the dilemma of the (Continued on page 2)

The international struggle against war, which only the workingclass could project on a firm foundation, has passed through two stages and is now in a third.

1) From the end of the 19th Century to the outbreak of World War I. This was the eve of the general crisis of capitalism.

In this period the workingclass internationalists came forward as the champion of the people against imperialist war. In spite of confusion and opportunist errors (which Lenin consistently combated) the struggle in this period posed the question of world peace in a new way, i.e., in its historic relation to the class struggle.

In a series of anti-war resolutions, International Socialist Congresses and Conferences (Stuttgart, 1907; Copenhagen, 1910; Basle, 1912; Berne, 1915; Zimmerwald, 1915), it was made clear that they regarded World War I as inevitable and that imperialist wars in general could be abolished only by the abolition of capitalism.

When the war actually did break out, the Russian Bolshe-

The Real Criminals

American imperialists have stepped-up their drive against the workingclass, the Negro people and the Puerto Ricans. In the latter case, another of the periodical press-created "crime-waves" has been created, in order to prepare the American people for still further military intervention into Latin America, to crush the rising tide of anti-Yankee-imperialism inspired by the Cuban revolution and to step-up reaction at home.

Recent killings in New York have provoked the demand that all "gang" members be jailed, or drafted into the army, or sent to concentration work camps. Thus was laid the basis for adding more cops to working class and Puerto Rican communities, and the justification for round-up masses of Puerto Rican youth in a new wave of chauvinism and terror. In this atmosphere the phoney liberal judge Leibowitz demanded the stopping of Puerto Rican migration: "Divert these people from coming to New York City... who are going to be jammed into these terrible slums which cause juvenile delinquency." And then he proceeds to cite "statistics" to "prove" that Puerto Ricans cause crime.

Representative Celler "rescues" the Puerto Ricans with the cynical observation that "We need them for the hard chores and rough work. If they do not come, most of our hotels, restaurants and laundries would close."

A. J. Jaffe states in his book "Puerto Rican Population of N. Y. C." that "... the official machinery is more apt to register action against the... Negro or Puerto Rican, than to be concerned with similar behavior in other nativity groups." An example of this double-standard approach is the case mentioned in Lawton and Archer's book, "Sexual Conduct of the Teen-Ager."

"In one town of about 2,000 we were able to ascertain that approximately 50 percent of the high school boys and girls were involved in sexual activities, some of them in sex clubs. We told one of the town's officials what we had learned... 'There isn't much we can do about that sort of thing,' he explained uneasily. It would involve too many of the best families in town."

A good example of how newspapers single out Puerto Ricans is the Daily News article of Jan. 7, 1954, dealing with the New Hampton reformatory which identified a Puerto Rican youth as a typical case. When a reader inquired of the author, Grace Robinson, what percentage of the youth were Puerto Rican, she wrote:

"At New Hampton I learned of only one boy who was of Puerto Rican origin."

Contrast the vicious practice of labeling Puerto Ricans as "animals" with the treatment accorded a banker caught robbing his bank in Perth Amboy, N. J. as it appeared on page 1 of the May 6, 1952 N. Y. Times:

"The vice president of the First Bank and Trust Company, a man prominent in civic affairs and highly trusted by his employers, was arrested here tonight on a charge of embezzling \$400,000 of the bank's funds. The bank official, William C. Horley, a mild mannered man known in the community for his pleasing personality... has long been prominent in community affairs here. He is a warden and Sunday school teacher at St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church and is chairman of the church's trust fund committee. He is a local director of the American Red Cross and headed the finance committee of the Boy Scout fundraising campaign. The bank official was chairman of the Com-

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The Record of the 86th Congress

The Congressional elections in the Fall of 1958 raised great hopes in many quarters. The "liberal" wing of the Democratic party won sweeping victories at the polls, and some commentators were, on this basis, predicting the re-birth of the New Deal.

It is true that the people won one negative victory in that election. This was the defeat, in five of the six states in which such laws were proposed, of "right to work" laws that were really union busting measures. The forces of labor participated in this election to a greater extent than recently and played a major role in the defeat of this legislation.

The 1958 elections were hailed by many, including the Communist Party of the United States, as a "people's victory." It is worth examining whether or not this estimation was accurate, and if so, how a people's victory at the polls could so easily have been translated into a people's defeat in the halls of Congress in 1959.

Illusions About the Democratic Party

It is particularly worth examining the estimate of the Communist Party. A Communist Party is supposed to play the role of a vanguard of the working class, taking the most advanced positions, unmasking the deceptions of the ruling class, and acting as the most responsible political force of the working class.

A real Communist Party should

have been able and willing to point out the illusory nature of the "victory" in the 1958 elections to the American workers, and to expose the extent and the danger of the campaign being waged against the rights of labor and of the American people in general by the ruling class of the United States.

The Communist Party leadership failed to play such a role because, in this connection, it operates on the basis of these revisionist premises: First, their opportunist estimate of the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is an agency of monopoly, just as the Republican Party is. Furthermore, in its Dixiecrat wing, it embodies the most openly vicious and reactionary force in American politics.

It is true that the Democratic Party also has a "liberal" wing. Members of this liberal wing often vote against reactionary measures — but usually when such measures are assured of passage anyway. They do this in order to foster illusions about the Democratic Party among the people, to convince the people that the Democratic Party is

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86th Congress

(Continued from page 1)
reality fighting in their interest, and that it is only an "accident" that Dixiecrats are also a part of the party (and they are an important part in Congress due to their preponderance as chairmen of Congressional committees).

But when it comes to a real showdown on issues of vital interest to the capitalist class, such as in the recent anti-labor legislation, the bulk of them vote with the reactionaries (Kennedy, the "liberal"), is a sponsor of the anti-labor law, Humphrey the super-liberal is the sponsor of the amendment to the McCarran Internal Security Act that provides for the establishment of concentration camps in the U.S. "when it becomes necessary").

There is no doubt that many workers entertained illusions about the "victory" of the 1958 elections. Lenin pointed out, in "Left-Wing" Communism that all the political analysis in the world would not convince the masses of people until they had their own political experience to test it. The election of a supposedly liberal Congress with a Democratic majority that refused to pass any civil rights legislation, but that did pass strong anti-labor legislation is just such experience. The Communist Party leadership would have been discharging its political responsibilities in this connection, if it had warned the workers of the illusory character of Democratic Party "liberalism", and if it were now driving that lesson home through the political experience of the masses with this party, and pointing out the absolute necessity for an independent party of the working class.

No Self-Criticism

The best of Communist Parties made mistakes, it is true, but their distinguishing feature is the frank admission of mistakes and the taking of measures to correct them. The September, 1959, issue of Political Affairs

contains the draft political resolution for the 17th Party convention, and an article by Dennis, the National Secretary, entitled "Towards the 17th Convention". Not one word is said about their erroneous estimate of the Democratic Party, or any word of self criticism at all! Instead, both documents play new variations on the old theme of "people's anti-monopoly coalition". Dennis assures us in his article that "...the elements and component parts of a people's anti-monopoly coalition exist or are emerging out of the current and unfolding labor, Negro people's and peace mass movements." (p. 17)

Dennis does not inform us to what specifically these elements may be, nor where they are emerging. He also delicately refrains from making any mention of the tactic of working within the Democratic party. William Albertson, the Executive Secretary of the New York State Communist Party took up that job at a weekend conference of the United - Independent Socialist Committee. In the course of a fraternal debate with the Trotskyites there, as reported by the New York Times of September 28, he admitted that both the Democratic and Republican parties are capitalist parties, but said that the Democratic party is different because workers support it, and that workers still believe that they can win victories through the Democratic party.

There is no doubt that to a certain extent many workers still retain illusions about the Democratic party. This does not excuse Communists from pointing out the truth about the shell game of the two party system. Also, even the professional politicians of the Democratic party have some doubts as to whether enough workers retain their illusions after the performance of the current Congress. They are, in fact, trying their best to put a new face on the Democratic

party because the features of its present face are so obvious.

An article in the Wall Street Journal of September 17 says: "...the Democrats are thinking of dipping far back into history to pick up the old anti-banker, anti-high interest-rate line as a weapon against the GOP. Declares a Midwestern Democratic Senator: 'We have to convince the voters that the bankers—and the Republicans—are responsible for the high cost of living.'" One can almost hear this worthy sigh as he concludes, "It's a good issue, if only we can put it over." Is this Gene Dennis' "anti-monopoly coalition?"

For the Democrats to try to lead the American workers down the garden path with demagoguery rather than to remind them of the Kennedy-Landrum Act is to be expected. For the Communist Party to aid them is criminal. Many Communist rank and filers, veterans of decades of workers' struggles must wonder if they are indeed in a Communist Party!

New York City MEETING

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 6

42nd Anniversary of the October Revolution

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Well, some of these CP bigshots, who had demanded that the Soviet Union must adopt their program for a "revival of Jewish Culture" in the USSR decided that it would be a good idea to confront the Moiseyev Dancers and force them to explain why the Soviet Union hadn't carried out their orders for a "Yiddish newspaper on the streets of Moscow within three weeks."

On the way over, these defenders of Jewish Culture discovered that among them was not even one who could speak Russian, and they were worried for their confrontation. Then one of the group had the bright idea that maybe one of the Russian dancers might speak Yiddish, and this would solve their problem. Heartened by this thought, they went forth. When they arrived and asked if any of the Russians spoke Yiddish, they were told that there was a very fluent Yiddish speaker among them; they introduced our warriors to Moiseyev himself!

Our confronters, thus confronted, retreated in confusion. — B. F.

The Economic Situation

(Continued from page 1)

necessity to increase government spending and the necessity to reduce government borrowing.

6) The crisis of Keynesian policy is bound to lead to the most severe sharpening of the class struggle, as the ruling class seeks its one way out: the reduction of the living standards of the people, i.e., "austerity."

7) The leadership of the old Communist Party of the United States has developed a revisionist political economy (closely allied to Keynesism). This theoretical line would disarm the workers ideologically in the face of the "austerity" attack organized by monopoly capital.

8) The policies of political economy put forward by the old Party leadership is of a piece with the whole revisionist - conciliatorist line of the 16th National Convention. It is designed to help provide a platform for an alliance with the "liberal" sections of monopoly capital, even though the ruinous effects of such a policy for the workers is becoming more obvious every day.

We have not completed our preparation on the third question, that of the general crisis. Within the near future we hope to be able to present our views on it. However, we can indicate certain main general conclusions on that point:

9) The contrast between the health and growth of the economy of the socialist world, on the one hand, and imperialist parasitism and decay, on the other, will not merely continue to develop as in the past. The qualitative content of this competition will change, ed by the achievements of the Soviet economy, the socialist world system will prove not only its relative superiority over capitalism, but its absolute superiority, pound for pound, barrel for barrel, yard for yard.

10) The competition of the Socialist world and the rise of the national liberation struggles will multiply the difficulties and restrict the gains for imperialist power in relation to the colonial world.

11) The workingclass of the United States, and other imperialist countries, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Belgium and the Netherlands, will be forced into very sharp clashes with "their own" imperialist rulers in defense of peace and the people's living standards. In the course of such struggles the policies of opportunism (including its revisionist varieties) will become more and more exposed as a betrayal of the working class. And the crisis of opportunism grows, the monopolists will strive increasingly to rely upon fascist measures against the people. The workingclass will in turn come forward increasingly as the champion of the peoples democratic liberties.

"TO CHANGE THE WORLD"

Said Marx: "The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it." And, again: "Theory becomes a

material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."

Since we are Marxists, our interest in the study of the economic situation is to develop our understanding of our country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. But this understanding is only the beginning. To "change the world," we must take the steps necessary to win the masses to the conclusions we have drawn, by putting these conclusions to the test of practice in day-to-day struggles of the people.

We have cited some eleven conclusions of our study of the economic situation; but there is yet one more, the one upon which depends the effect of all the other conclusions.

MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY NECESSARY

In Part Eight of this series we outlined essential elements of a people's economic program for struggle against the "austerity" offensive now being directed by monopoly capital against the living standards of the masses. This is the line of battle. A people's victory depends upon the correct application of the tactics of the united front of the workingclass.

The line of the leadership of the old CPUSA is, as we saw in our previous discussion, incapable of organizing this people's anti-monopoly struggle because of that leadership's opportunist policies (the same policies which have led it to refuse to endorse the 12-Party Declaration, the program of the international Communist movement.)

Yet, without a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Communist Party in the United States, the American working people will be decisively handicapped in the day-to-day struggles against "austerity," reaction and the danger of fascism. Without such a party, the U.S. workingclass can not discharge its responsibilities of international proletarian solidarity. Without such a party the workingclass can not fulfill its historic revolutionary mission as the builder of socialist society, the only real way to "prevent" economic crises.

Therefore, the one main, central and paramount conclusion, set like a capstone to all our nine months of polemic and conclusions is this:

Build the P.O.C., in order to bring into being in the shortest possible time a real Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in our country!

To the masses! Vindicate the vanguard role of Marxist-Leninists in every struggle to defend labor and the people against the attacks of capital.

Suggest Reading

Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels

Value, Price and Profit by Karl Marx

Wage-Labor and Capital by Karl Marx

Historic Days, Historic Tasks

(Continued from page 1)
possibility in history — of preventing the unleashing of imperialist world war. However, the realization of this possibility required the agreement of the French, British and American imperialists to join in collective security with the Soviet Union against the imperialists of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

Due to the rejection of collective security by the French, British and American imperialists — due, that is to their Munich policy of turning Hitler against the Soviet Union alone — World War II, the most horrible in history broke out in 1939.

Again the relationship of world forces was changed. New countries of socialism emerged and the whole colonial aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle was raised to a new level.

3) Since the outbreak of World War II, the defeat of the fascist Axis, and, particularly the Chinese Socialist Revolution 1948-49. This corresponds to the period since the beginning of the present, second, stage of the general crisis of world capitalism.

First of all, of course, there was the national liberation of one-fourth of humanity through the overthrow of the power of capital in China.

Inspired and encouraged by the victory over fascism and the strengthening of socialism in the world, hundreds of millions of people in other countries of Asia and Africa moved toward national liberation by breaking down old colonial forms of imperialist rule and by strengthening their ties with the USSR, China and other socialist countries. Elsewhere substantial advances, as well as formal ones, were made by the colonial, semi-colonial, and former colonial peoples in attacking and restricting to some degree, the economic and political dominance of the imperialist powers. Included in this number were Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Cuba, challenging the most important im-

perialist power by far, right in its own back yard.

The entire anti-colonial upsurge is symbolized by the place-named **Bandung** (Indonesia). There in April, 1955, representatives of twenty-nine Asian and African nations, including China met to coordinate their efforts in the struggle not only against colonialism and racism, but also for world peace. They endorsed China's representation in the United Nations, called for disarmament, and some nations represented there, including India, denounced the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a threat to peace. Every step of the anti-colonial upsurge has been a step away from the camp of the imperialist warmakers and toward the policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries of the world.

Another important feature peculiar to the present period has been the absolutely unprecedented development of a world-wide struggle for peace, embracing not only the class-conscious workers, not only the additional masses of the toiling people of town and country so horribly punished by the bloodshed and misery of two wars, but many thousands of intellectuals, scientists, artists, philosophers, rising above bourgeois class ties, motivated by elementary humanism.

Already in 1949, Marxist-Leninists correctly assessed the new situation in connection with the old struggle against imperialism war:

"For the first time in the history of mankind, an organized front of peace emerged, a front which aims to save mankind from a new world war, at isolating the clique of the instigators of war and securing peaceful cooperation between people. Rallied under the leadership of the workingclass, all opponents of another war — people of labor, science and culture — are forming a powerful peace front capable of frustrating the criminal designs of the imperialists." (From the

report of M. Suslov to the November, 1949 meeting of the Communist Information Bureau.)

In the ten years since 1949, that Marxist-Leninist conclusion has been confirmed in the severest sort of tests.

This period which began with the imperialists' arrogant rejection of negotiations in Korea, ends with the same imperialists compelled to negotiate in relation to West Berlin.

If the Chinese socialist revolution marked the shifting of the balance of world forces against imperialism, then the indestructibility of the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic became the decisive warranty of that historic fact.

Berlin (1953), Dienbienphu, Suez, Hungary, Jordan, the unlamented Baghdad Pact and Eisenhower Doctrine, Iraq and Berlin, again — these have been punctuation marks of a decade of successful struggle against imperialist war provocations.

A decade which began with U.S. industry running (in 1950) at 95 percent capacity, ends with a chronic underutilization of about 25 percent of its productive capacity, and an economy incurably addicted to the poisonous drug of mammoth armaments expenditures.

The same decade ends with the socialist sector of the world producing as always at 100 percent of an ever-expanding capacity, needing only to be freed of the burden of large armaments expenditures to show what mankind could really do if allowed to work freed from the threat of war.

A decade which began with a cold-war witch-hunt among physicists in the United States, finds the socialist scientific workers in undisputed leadership in the field of physics, at its close.

How can it be denied that such facts are substance and symbols of the dominant trend of world events in this past decade? Only such events can explain how the Khrushchev visit came about. What has happened in 1959 could not have occurred in 1949. The Khrushchev visit is, above all, the product of a decade of struggle against imperialist war.

Why the Invitation
The bourgeoisie and their opportunist supporters refuse to acknowledge any such historical explanation. In fact they are showing growing annoyance at Marxist-Leninist confident references to "the march of history", etc.

Khrushchev came here, they say, simply because Eisenhower invited him. Of course, there was never any question that Khrushchev would come to the United States if it afforded an opportunity to reduce the danger of war.

But why did Eisenhower invite Khrushchev to visit him, that is to say what was the thinking that went on in the heads of U.S. policy makers in issuing the invitation? This question was made more complex by the practically unanimous effort of U.S. official society to inculcate the public against any peace-and-friendship "infection" that might result from the Soviet leader's tour. The official sponsorship of this perversion of hospitality was provided at the very outset by the ludicrous Congressional "retreat from Washington" on the eve of Khrushchev's arrival.

In the public forum, spokesmen of the ruling class, "defenders" of the invitation and its

opponents as well, were all guided by this same cold war sentiment.

The "defenders" included such figures as Vice President Nixon, ex-President Truman and Democratic foreign affairs specialists Senators Humphrey, Fullbright and Monroney. The invitation, they argued, afforded an opportunity to "educate" Khrushchev, to show off the economic strength of the U.S. and the political unity of the people. This would convince Khrushchev that U.S. imperialism is not to be trifled with. The idea was to disabuse Khrushchev of his Marxist-Leninist theory of history by simply saying "feel my muscle!"

But when Khrushchev showed his muscle (offering to end the visit abruptly) it became apparent that the provocative "education" of Khrushchev would have to give way before more compelling considerations.

The "opposition" denounced the invitation arguing that the "education" shoe would be on the other foot. That Khrushchev — rather than being convinced of the political strength of the cold warriors — would, himself, convince the masses of the people of the necessity for peaceful coexistence. This argument was lavishly financed and publicized. It included not only the fascist refugees from East Europe, but such prominent conservative and liberal figures as Republican Senator Bridges and Democrat Paul Douglas.

Prayers, Vain and Venal

A special contingent of these loud protestors resorted to "prayer". They held up the cross to frustrate the demon. But, as with Hamlet's uncle: Their words fly upward, but their thoughts remain below; words without thoughts never to heaven go. (Imagine their consternation when they heard Khrushchev's disclosure that "God is on our side". We Marxists, as atheists, know that the religious world is but a reflection of the real world. Therefore we can appreciate the sense of the suggestion that the gods must now favor the ascendant forces of world peace: socialism, national liberation and democracy! Certainly it would have to admit that the Marxist-Leninist Khrushchev was speaking as the representative of a country which has so far explored the "heavens" more than any other!)

A Calculated Risk

The "defenders" of the invitation in the ranks of the ruling class significantly declined to make any effort to rebut the arguments advanced by the "opponents" of the invitation. Two conclusions follow from this fact: First, the "defenders" were well aware of the "risks" involved, the "danger" of a breakthrough of popular sentiment for peace and friendship with the USSR. Second: The "risks" were deliberately taken because they had gotten into a situation in which any conceivable alternative would have involved even more risk!

In the concluding portion of this article we will analyze the maneuvers of the American imperialists in relation to West Berlin and the peoples' demand for peaceful coexistence. Finally, we shall show the main task of Marxist-Leninists, trade unionists, Negro and white, women, youth, farmers . . . all the peace forces of our country to defeat the attempts of the cold-warriors aimed at reversing the progress toward peace accomplished by Khrushchev's historic visit to this country.
(Concluded Next Month)

Vanguard
Box 137
Planetarium Station
New York City

Box 996 - Chicago 90, Illinois

Box 5086, Cleveland 1, Ohio

Box 1594 Philadelphia 5, Pa.

Published by the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.
Subscription — \$1.00 per year.

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6
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New Literature

The POC has issued two new documents in recent weeks. They are a reflection of the theoretical work that POC finds so important at this time. Both represent a struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideas, and the necessity to implement them in a political line meeting the needs of the American working class and the Negro people and oppressed minorities.

ABRIDGED PROCEEDINGS OF THE POC CONFERENCE ON THE NEGRO QUESTION (May 10, 1959)

The conference, which was reported in a previous issue of VANGUARD, was held under the auspices of the National Committee of the POC, and gathered representatives from POC areas nationally. The abridged proceedings contain the whole text of the main report given by Comrade Armando Roman to open the discussion, and excerpts from the speeches from the floor that followed.

This conference marks a step ahead for the POC on the theoretical understanding of the Negro Question, from a reaffirmation of the Marxist-Leninist position on the right of the Negro nation to self-determination to a deepening of understanding on this question. The document is a notable example of the high theoretical development of the

POC. The participants were workers, not intellectuals, but the proceedings are marked throughout with clarity and understanding on this vital question. This document is available through the VANGUARD for fifty cents.

THE PRACTICE OF BOLSHEVIK SELF-CRITICISM

This is a reprint of an article that was originally published in 1932 and issued as a pamphlet. It is a criticism of the Communist Party of America, as the CPUSA was then known. The POC is printing the original text because we feel that though it was written so many years ago, it still has a major lesson to teach. That lesson is the fact that in spite of all criticism that the CPUSA ever received either from within or outside of its ranks, it has gone on heeding from one revisionist creed to another. Real criticism in the proper Communist manner, which includes the taking of measures to rectify mistakes as well as recognizing them, has never been developed in the CPUSA.

Readers with any knowledge of the workings of the CPUSA today, or for more than the last decade, will be struck by the timeliness of most of this document. This document also may be obtained through Vanguard. The price is twenty-five cents.

Second National POC Conference

Celebrating its first anniversary, the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) held its second National Conference in New York City over the Labor Day weekend.

In attendance was a cross-section of the American workingclass: Negro, white, Puerto Rican; men and women; young and old. Visitors from various parts of the country were present, and two fraternal delegates from the Communist Party of Puerto Rico greeted the Conference.

Reviewing the events of the year since POC's founding, the main report delivered by Armando Roman, dealt with the 21st Congress of the CPSU, the Cuban revolution, the steel strike and the anti-labor legislation, and the stepped-up anti-Negro terror, and warned that:

"There is a certain quality in the national events of the past year. The smell of incipient fascist trends is strong in the present rise of reaction in the U. S. This is a logical development. As in the case of France and Germany, the American bourgeoisie is finding it even more difficult to rule in the same old way. With the mounting problems which beset the imperialists abroad, it should be expected that they would attempt a stiffening of their policies at home.

"But the worst thing is not just that reaction is rising in the U.S. — the real tragedy for the American people at this juncture of history is the fact that the labor movement is under the complete hold and control of the most opportunistic and cowardly bunch of so-called leaders anywhere in the world.

"As if this were not bad enough the American working class finds itself minus a vanguard Communist Party that could orient it and fight for it, during a period of extreme reaction."

Progress Has Been Made

Noting that the main objective of the POC — the reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party — had not yet been achieved, nevertheless, progress in this direction has been made by the consolidation of the POC and its growth into new areas. Despite predictions of the old CP leaders that the POC would collapse, the militancy and enthusiasm of the 2nd conference proved that neither the expulsions of POC leaders from old CP, nor internal dissensions caused by a few petty-bourgeois minded elements, nor the open attacks of the ruling class could stop the growth, activity, and effectiveness of the POC, nor weaken its proletarian backbone.

Period of Inner Struggles Is Over

"The period of inner struggles in POC is over," declared the main report. "The main direction of POC is outward. The main slogan for POC today is for the extension of the outward motion to every area of POC."

Confidence in the working class and the ultimate victory of Socialism in the U. S. A. was reflected in the collective discussion and was posed in the main report as follows:

"The question may be asked in all honesty. Aren't we too small to resist the impact of the forces arrayed against us? The answer is . . . historically, Communist movements have started with even less, both ideologically and numerically. As a matter of fact we started with infinitely less, when the opposition forces were much stronger than they are today. All Communist movements develop from class conscious, theoretically grounded small groups. The dialectics of this process involves the change from quality into quantity and a higher quality."

Fruitful Discussion

Outstanding was the unity of the discussion with the main report. Gone were the phony platitudes, tiresome repetitions of the main report. No one in the POC conference had any time or need to engage in abstract discussions. The delegates were too busy implementing the main report with their discussions on struggles engaged in the past, activities planned for the future, analysis of ideological and practical questions. As one delegate put it later: "There was no b. s."

The outward movement as exemplified by un-employment struggles in Chicago, the longshore struggle in Philadelphia and the housing struggle in New York underlined the growing attention to mass work and the observation that the working class will respond to the leadership of the POC if they are approached with a correct line, a solid organization and a collective leadership.

This was a conference where unity of line was forged without the disruption of concealed conciliators. If the success of a conference is measured by the unity of line as well as its correctness, then this was a most successful conference. The high quality of the discussion, its collective character, and the enthusiasm generated by the speakers helped to create the clarity needed for more effective work.

Fraternal Delegates

Visitors spoke in praise of the deliberations and two fraternal delegates from the Communist Party of Puerto Rico took the floor and gave the conference a wonderful lesson in criticism and self-criticism.

In greeting the POC on its first anniversary, the Puerto Rican visitors concurred with the main report in linking the liqui-

datation of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico to the revisionist CPUSA, and its line of accommodation to the colonial oppression of Latin America by the United States imperialist.

Unity, Democratic Centralism

One of the most notable features of the conference was the unity of the young comrades with the old. No older cadre held back the participation of development of the young cadre. There were no personal struggles for leadership. The struggle in the POC against the cult of the individual and for the principles of democratic centralism eliminated this harmful feature which has always characterized the old Party method of work.

The comradeship and warmth displayed by the delegates and visitors, the colorful display of leaflets and literature, the fried chicken luncheon topped with strawberry short cake, the presentation of flowers to the wives of fallen comrades, the social affair on Saturday night, added glowing accents to the serious job of hammering out a line of struggle.

Conference Keynote

The Conference closed on a keynote of buoyant enthusiasm coupled with a sober acknowledgment of the tremendous tasks ahead.

Determination was voiced time and again to move outward among the workers, to lead them in their day-to-day struggles; to plant the banner of Communism firmly upon the American scene; to build in this country a new, vital, Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, indispensable vanguard of the workingclass in its inevitable historic struggle for a Socialist America.

The Real Criminals

(Continued from page 1)
munity Chest Fund."

While the jingoist press raises a storm about the recent juvenile crimes they are noticeably quiet when crimes are committed against the Puerto Rican people. Cops beat and arrest them under false charges; judges slander and victimize them — Santos Rodriguez was "lucky" to have the real killer, a non-Puerto Rican confess to the murder three years later; a rat kills a Puerto Rican child and the landlord is fined a mere \$100; State authorities permit the horror of Letchworth State school, where Carmen Santiago was placed in a large sack, tied head to toe for seven days, never once removed in that period, and where other Puerto Rican school inmates were punished by forcing them to eat their vomit when they threw-up the contaminated food served them; Puerto Ricans were rejected from the jury separate of the trial of the 7 youths who killed the young Cuban, Ramos, believing he was Puerto Rican; the police tag as a "childish prank" the throwing of a grenade by two youths into a Spanish bar; detectives killed innocent Luis Candelario and then labeled him dope addict; the veteran Bernabe Nunez was kicked to death in a Brooklyn bar for the "crime" of speaking Spanish to his friends, with his killers getting off with light prison sentences; etc., etc., etc.

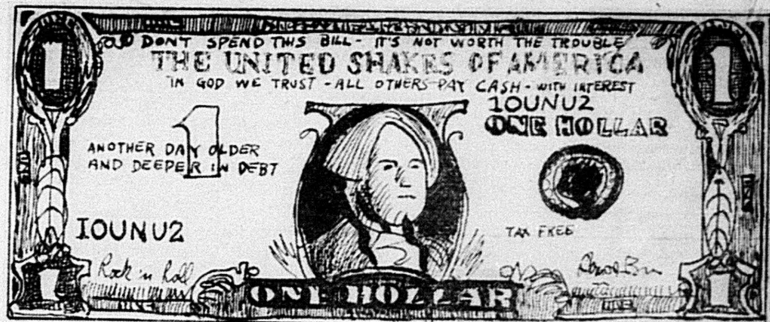
The crimes of Puerto Rican youth involved in the recent killings are a product of the corruption, degradation and brutalization of the capitalist system. This is what Judge Leibowitz is

trying to hide when he blames their national origin. The N. Y. Times describes the relationships in that area stating: "The others call themselves 'whites' and the Puerto Ricans 'spics'." And then it proceeds to minimize the existing tension by claiming that: "The later term falls easily from neighborhood lips and by no means automatically denotes approbrium." Judge Leibowitz demands that Wagner tell Puerto Ricans on the island how bad things are here to discourage migration. But as bad as conditions are here, they in no way approach the utterly desperate living conditions caused by the oppression of U. S. imperialism.

El Imparcial of San Juan Aug. 22, 1958 publishes this letter:

"The situation here (in Comerio, Puerto Rico) is desperate since in order to earn something to sustain our families we have to go to neighboring towns. Sometimes we can't afford a cup of coffee in the morning and it pains our hearts to hear our children crying for food. There's only one factory here where up to 4,000 women gather daily at the main gate trying to earn a few pennies to help out the men since there's no work for us."

And the wages for those who do find work averaged, according to U. S. Government figures, 57c an hour in 1955, ranging from 22½c an hour for textile workers to a high of \$1.06 an hour for skilled electricians. Here is the real crime that the newspapers seek to hide while they create phony crime-waves, and spread terror among the Puerto Rican people.



Giving Money Away

By JULIO VELEZ

How often have you had the experience when giving out leaflets, that people greet you with a welcome smile instead of mild curiosity or even cold hostility? Well, I gave out leaflets in lower Harlem recently where I was warmly welcomed, even swamped for copies.

People were offended when I missed them. Teen-agers insisted on extra copies. Children trailed me for blocks begging for a copy, or looking in vain for an adult to drop one or throw one away. The police couldn't accuse us of

"ittering the streets" — there wasn't one in sight on the street.

You'd think I was giving away money — in fact the leaflet looked like money. But the bills were valued at "ONE HOLLAR" and drawn on the treasury of

"THE UNITED SHAKES OF AMERICA".

Of course the hoax became evident at a glance, but annoyance and chagrin gave way to expressions of approval when the people turned the "money" over to read this message:

Most money circulating in Harlem today is hardly worth the paper it's printed on, because rent for segregated housing costs 2 to 3 times as much as housing in other parts of the city, and pays for roach and rat infested apartments which infect our food and bite our children — even kill-

ing them. The Health Dept. admits that there are 9 million rats in the city, and that most rat bites last year occurred in Harlem, but they have only 4 inspectors for rat-bite complaints. Yet they plan to give out 40,000 leaflets "educating" tenants to the dangers of rats as if we didn't know already. Let's demand that the Health Dept. throw landlords in jail who refuse to clean-out rats and bugs. Demand that the Sanitation Dept. clean Harlem's streets EVERY day, as is done

in rich neighborhood, and not just 4 times a week. Lord Boyd Orr, a UN official said that in Communist China "All flies have been killed, so have rats and other pests." So what stops New York from doing the same? Send this coupon to the Health Dept., Municipal Bldg., N.Y.C., as a protest. (Issued by the N.Y. Provisional Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. For more information, write to "VANGUARD" Box 137, Planetarium Station, New York.

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