


APRIL, 1968



**POLITICAL
AFFAIRS**

WORLD COMMUNIST CONSULTATIONS

Gus Hall

THE DOLLAR CRISIS

Hymen Lumer

STRIKE OF THE COPPER WORKERS

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ON THE DRAFT AND RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Gene Dennis

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Betty Gannett, Editor

Hyman Lumer, Associate Editor

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On World Communist Consultations*

Last week the most authoritative press organs speaking for U.S. imperialism, including *The New York Times*, published editorial death notices for this consultative conference. They were confident that this historic gathering would fail in its objectives. They wrote that it would founder on the rocks of nationalism, petty rivalries between parties which, they said, have replaced vision, working-class concepts, and a sense of internationalism in the world Communist movement.

For U.S. imperialism these editorial obituaries express a hope and a dream. But much more, they express a cardinal element in the imperialists' policies of aggression. World Communist *disunity* has a top tag of priority in the plans of U.S. imperialism.

For us here, the success of this conference is a hope and a working-class dream. But it is also much more—much more. World Communist unity is a matter of top priority in the struggle to defeat the policies of imperialism in general. But it is critical, it is a burning necessity, in the struggle to defeat the policies and wars of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

This conference can become a historic milestone. It can set into action the forces for a new level of struggle. It can give a lead for a new sense of unity of the anti-imperialist forces. It can set into motion a new world-wide anti-imperialist offensive.

In unity and dedication, in courage and determination, in militancy and skill, the world Communist movement must now match the new level of struggle, the new standards set by the people of Vietnam.

Life has dictated a new urgency for this consultative gathering.

World Anti-Imperialist Offensive Urgent

The heroic offensive of the Vietnamese people during the past weeks has created a new crisis for U.S. imperialism, and a moment of great urgency for the forces of anti-imperialism. The crisis presents new dangers, but above all it presents new possibilities for administering a crushing and historic defeat to imperialism. How to meet this critical moment most effectively, how to take full advantage of these new pos-

*Speech delivered at the Consultative Conference of Communist and Workers' parties, February 28, 1968, in Budapest.

sibilities, is an urgent question on our conference table.

The new level of the military struggle by the people of Vietnam must now be matched by a new level of political, ideological and diplomatic struggle in every continent, in every country, in every city and hamlet the world over. The moment calls for an accelerated, many-sided anti-imperialist offensive. The moment calls for a renewed all-peoples movement against the dangers of nuclear war.

This new offensive for national liberation in Vietnam has exploded U.S. imperialism's self-hypnosis that it can win a military victory there. It has added a new dimension to its gross miscalculations about the nature of the world forces of anti-imperialism. It is a miscalculation on all fronts—military, political and ideological.

The admitted failure of U.S. imperialism in the so-called pacification program is admission that it cannot win a political victory. The arrest of the remaining political leaders exposes the puppets as a total fraud. The National Liberation Front's offensive in the cities shattered U.S. imperialism's last hopes of winning a military victory. Its theories of "search-and-destroy," of "holding on to military enclaves" went up in the smoke of the offensive.

In the U.S.A. the NLF offensive has caused a rude awakening of the millions who believed victory was possible. The credibility gap has further widened. The events have forced a new agonizing reappraisal of the war policy and its domestic consequences. The divisions, the frustrations, have further deepened.

The increased brutalities, the open policies of genocide, the cold-blooded destruction of cities and villages including the men, women and children living in them, have further exposed U.S. imperialism for the ugly beast that it is. This has further isolated the United States from the rest of the world.

These new developments argue with new force for world Communist unity. They give further weight to the need for a world Communist conference. But, it seems to us, in some way the urgency of these developments must be reflected in the deliberations and outcome of this conference. Possibly the standing committee, the secretariat, can take up some of the projected world-wide actions. Or should we not consider an appeal for a renewal of an all-peoples offensive against the practice of genocide and the threat of world nuclear genocide? It seems to us such actions will not detract in any way from the purpose of this conference.

We are fully aware of the ugly, brutal nature of U.S. imperialism. We have a realistic estimate of what it takes to defeat it. But, because

we have the advantage of viewing it from the inside, possibly its defects are more obvious to us. We can see its weaknesses as they are, in the process of development. We are as confident as ever that the combined forces of anti-imperialism—which include the growing forces of resistance in the U.S.A.—can force U.S. imperialism to retreat. It can be defeated.

Both U.S. imperialism and our people are learning the truth about this epoch: that aggression is a costly business. It is costly in resources and in human lives. But it is also costly in many other ways.

The high cost of being the gendarme of world imperialism in a period when the world is in revolt against imperialist aggression, the high cost of empire building at a time when the balance of world forces has shifted, is coming home to roost. This cost is taking on meaning in the unprecedented militarization of every phase of life. It is reflected in the crisis of the dollar, in the flow of gold in a steady stream from Fort Knox, in the growing pressures for restrictive trade policies. It shows up in a developing crisis of democracy. It makes itself felt in a crisis of taxation, in runaway prices, in a further deepening and widening of the enclaves of poverty, especially in the Negro ghettos, in the growing crisis of the cities.

It is a feature of the present power relationship in the capitalist world that because the United States is the pivotal state in that world, it is also the place where the crisis factors of world imperialism are focused and very often magnified. This is the cost of being the reactionary military, financial and ideological headquarters for a world system in crisis—a system in decline. It is this sharp point of reality that influences all developments. It must influence the work of this conference.

Content and Form of World Communist Unity

Because reality is motion and change, all policies, tactics and attitudes must go through the process of continuous check, refreshment and renewal to retain the important element of timeliness. The question of world Communist unity is no exception to this rule. Both the form and content of such unity need to go through such a process.

We, in our Party, approach this question from the critical premise that the present form and content of world Communist unity is totally inadequate—it does not measure up to the problems of today's realities.

To speak about world Communist unity but then to oppose every step that will give it meaning and form is to disagree, is in fact to oppose such unity in content and form. Not all who talk about unity are for unity. Expression of unity must take a form, it must be transferred into

acts of unity. The human mind cannot conceive formless matter, or unity as an abstraction.

The concept of working-class internationalism is a matter of high principle. But just to declare this does not give it life. Like any principle it will have meaning only if it has form and content that will be put through the process of continuous check, refreshment and renewal.

"World Communist unity," "working-class internationalism"—these concepts take on meaning only if they are "alive," only if they reflect a changing reality, only if they have content and form.

Our Party is for a world conference of all Communist parties. Our support for such a conference is without conditions. There are no "ifs," "ands" or "buts" about our participation in such a conference. We are for full preparations but we are for holding the conference in 1968. There is a time for preparations and there is a time for holding the conference. After eight years, the time is now!

For the purpose of further probing we want to suggest a new, longer-range look, both as to content and form of world Communist unity. But let me say again, we do not make the acceptance of our ideas a condition for participation in the world conference. We are not now proposing this as a point on the agenda of the conference.

We want to suggest a critical examination of this matter, not on the basis of the ghosts of past experiences but as a vital weapon of struggle in today's world. International Communist unity is not a peripheral issue. It is a necessity in battle.

We do not believe that a world Communist unity based on undesignated initiative by one or more parties, resulting in periodic conferences, measures up to the needs of today. It does not measure up to the tasks and responsibilities of a vanguard revolutionary force during history's most explosive revolutionary period. We feel it is outdated (if in fact it ever had more validity than a reflection of some inner family problems).

We are firmly convinced that the historic moment calls for a world Communist unity that is reflected in some organized system for exchanging experiences and for consultations between parties. We want to emphasize, we are for some organized system of relations.

To get at the real questions involved in this projection, let us discard some of the old ghosts that are so often distracting. As we all know it is difficult to deal with ghosts—even political ghosts.

An organized system for exchanges and consultations is not a proposal for the resurrection of the Comintern or Cominform. It is not a proposal for a new world Communist center. In form and content they were

at best designed for another set of circumstances, so let us do away with that ghost.

Is the retention by parties of their autonomous, sovereign status a real question now? Or is the fear that any future organized world system of relations between parties would endanger the autonomous existence of individual parties a legitimate fear?

I think we can all agree—such problems did exist in a different set of circumstances. But there is nothing in past experiences from which we should conclude that any and all organized systems of relations must necessarily lead to an encroachment of the autonomous existence of parties.

In fact, the experience of the last few years leads us to conclude that it is the lack of an organized system of relations and exchanges that has facilitated the encroachment of some parties into autonomous spheres of their brother parties. Frankly, we do not believe these are the real fears or the real questions.

Combatting Imperialist Slanders

It is our opinion that for many parties, the real question behind most of these fears and objections is the fundamental problem of how best to fight against a central and most effective slander used against Communist parties. The fear is that the enemy will demagogically use any new organized relationships between Communist parties. This is a real question. This is not a ghost. This we can and should discuss. But let us discuss *this* and not some non-existent problem.

There are many varieties of this ideological slander against Communist parties, but in essence they boil down to the charge that the Communist parties are not native, indigenous political forces. They charge that our loyalties are to a foreign power, or to some world-wide conspiracy, that we are interested in struggles only for some ulterior motive, that we "use" our people's grievances. This is effective slander, because it demagogically plays with such popular emotions as nationalism and patriotism. In the U.S.A. this slander has been codified into federal laws.

We can also agree that we are paying for some of the past mistakes which resulted from an insensitivity to this slander, and to mass emotional feelings. The question is real, and finding the most effective approach is a serious problem.

The absence of a world system of relations between parties has not been an answer. For each party to retreat into its autonomous shell is also not an answer. These approaches are not meeting the prob-

lem. This is retreating from the problem. Such tactical retreats always carry with them the dangers of ideological retreat, and ideological retreat is the incubation period for opportunism. Hence each party must have under constant survey the question of where tactical positions end, and where ideological retreat and opportunism start.

Questioning of relationships with a world Communist movement is invalid in this assessment. To reject all forms of world Communist unity because of this problem is a retreat on a matter of principles.

In general, I believe we all agree that the basic line of battle against this enemy propaganda is not one of retreat, but rather one of correct application of the science of Marxism to the specific realities of each nation. The line of battle lies in more effective leadership in struggle, in a sharper sensitivity to the mass currents and trends in one's own country, and in a correct relationship of consultation and exchange with the world Communist movement.

Thus, if the problem is not one of autonomous relations between parties, or between individual parties and some system of world relations, but rather one of the struggle against the demagogic campaign of our class enemy about our autonomous standing in our countries, then we are dealing with a real question.

As we all know, this slander is often pinpointed in the charge that Communists are agents of Moscow. This is also a real question. The charge is slander but the ideological question is real.

How to deal with this charge is an important problem, at least for us in the U.S.A. It is closely related to questions of the nature and forms of world Communist unity, and of each party's struggle for its independent posture. But again let us deal with the real question.

This is further complicated by the fact that anti-Sovietism is a main ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism. It brings the highest price on the ideological market of U.S. imperialism. It is a mark of our times that anti-Sovietism packaged in "Left"-radical wrappings now brings a higher price than that in Right-wing wrappings. There is a greater demand for it in the imperialist market place.

There are great pressures to resort to it. There is the pressure to use what is called "a little anti-Sovietism" to prove our autonomy, our independence. This is the price of respectability, the price of admission into the circle of independent parties in the books of U.S. imperialism. This is the wedge, the instrument with which U.S. imperialism seeks for soft spots in the socialist countries and in the positions of Communist parties.

There are many sides to this question, including the problem of how

to express disagreements publicly with the parties in the socialist countries, without giving fuel to this central ideological premise of imperialism. Here again, each party has to decide where to draw the line on the basis of a principled position.

To explore, to retreat on matters of principle is buying fools' gold. The best line of attack is to meet the issue head on. It is a principle of working-class internationalism that you do not take advantage of comrades; you do not break ranks for some momentary gain. We cannot fight this slander by unprincipled retreats. These lead to the swamp of opportunism.

One still hears the argument that taking steps towards world Communist unity at this time endangers future world Communist unity. We believe this situation has now reversed itself. Now it is the lack of steps towards greater world unity that endangers all future unity. The lack of such steps is a force for dispersal. Each step to greater unity now becomes a magnet.

We are for the unity of all Communist and Marxist parties. But we believe the time has come for removing the power of veto by one or more parties over what the rest of the Communist movement should do. The urgency of this moment of history does not permit us such luxuries.

In the context of today's reality, such veto power means paralysis and stalemate in matters of world unity. And such holding back of unity in struggle is impermissible. Parties that cannot join collective consultations now may do so later. The welcome mat will always be out.

It is also our opinion that militant talk about a struggle against imperialism, while resisting every form of world Communist unity, is a contradiction in terms. Any serious approach to the struggle against imperialism inevitably leads one to seek new approaches to the question of world Communist unity.

Possible Forms of World Communist Unity

Now I should like to speak about some possible forms and new relationships. First, I want to present again a project that is closely related to the struggle for unity of world forces on all levels.

Without a system of information about struggles, movements and political developments on a world scale, we will continue to limp in all areas.

Proletarian internationalism is a live principle when it relates to struggles. Anti-imperialism by its very nature must be based on struggles and developments not only at home but beyond one's own borders.

Most of the Communist newspapers do not have available direct sources of information about current political events. They are at the mercy of capitalist-imperialist controlled and orientated news services. Comrades, let me be perfectly frank with you. If I told you what I think about the world Communist press's coverage of the struggles in the U.S.A., you would tell me how our paper does not properly cover your struggles, and we would both be right.

We need urgently a new, modern, professionally competent, progressive world press service.

The Communist newspapers, even the poorest of them, could become overnight the most authoritative, most informative papers of their countries if they had the services of such a press agency. They could become the source of a new sense of internationalism.

Let me give just one example. This morning I picked up a Communist paper here in this hotel. It has a U.P.I. story about a strike and a fierce battle with the police. It is not a bad story but it has a one-sentence class hook in it. It says the battle started because one of the strikers threw a rock. Thus the blame for the police attacks on the strikers is placed on the strikers. Clearly, we cannot continue a situation where Communist newspapers, especially in the field of foreign news, must get their information from capitalist news services. Everybody thinks this is a good idea, but the problem is where and how are we going to give this good idea life.

The growth of the world Marxist movement is itself an argument for some system of exchanges and consultations between parties of the world. The simultaneous growth of the movements for socialism and the movements of national liberation, and of their interrelationships, has resulted in an explosive growth of Marxism. Much of this new influence has taken place in non-working-class sections of the population. Thus it has been superimposed upon deep influences of petty-bourgeois nationalism and petty-bourgeois radicalism, upon influences of racism and chauvinism. This is always fertile soil for the development of opportunism. There is a wide challenge to working-class ideas within this broad new Marxist development itself.

For example, could the world Communist movement have been a factor, an influence, in moulding more stable Marxist parties in other lands where historical development has not yet produced a substantial working class? Is it not possible now to have some form of organized collective assistance? Is it not possible to have a commission for consultations on such matters?

In the capitalist countries petty-bourgeois radicalism, coupled with

influences of anarchism, has grown into a rather serious problem. It is a question that most parties confront. It has become a problem in mass movements; it is an influence in Communist parties. Is it not possible to establish a commission for as long a period as is necessary, to exchange experiences and be helpful on this question?

Is there not a need for some form of commission to deal with the problem of nationalism and the struggle against racism? Or to deal with the problems of the trade unions?

I have suggested commissions. This may not be acceptable, but let us not close the matter with that. Let us probe different methods. Let us collectively find the method that works. I am absolutely convinced that sooner or later the world Communist movement is going to take a fresh look at this question from a more long-range viewpoint. Why should not the coming world conference set up the machinery for the next one? What is wrong with the conference electing a committee that, in consultation with individual parties, will call and prepare a conference at the end of two years? Without this we will again spend months and years getting the machinery moving again.

Finally, we want to suggest that all these problems—the system and the forms of world Communist unity, the ideological struggles—must be considered in the context of the mass trends and currents, and the ideological level that reflects the new balance of forces of this epoch.

At least in the U.S.A., we are convinced that we need to view these problems differently now. The present generations do not view internationalism as a dirty word. World ties are seen as crucial in preserving the world from a nuclear disaster. For the millions, international cooperation is a matter of life or death.

The development of world-wide corporations is giving the working class a new concept of world ties. The struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression is seen as a world-wide struggle. We have the most internationally-minded young generation in our history. This has been a big factor in the development of the present level of anti-imperialist consciousness. The mass media are fully aware of this shift. Only a few years ago our participation in this conference would have been written up as sensational news. Now we have to work at making our presence here newsworthy.

I don't think this development is limited to the U.S.A. It seems to be a logical shift in mass concepts that reflects the realities of a new epoch. The world revolutionary process is reflected in new mass concepts.

Will Aid Unity of All Forces of Progress

The efforts to achieve unity in the world Communist movement are in a very basic sense a struggle for the unity of all forces of progress. A united world movement is a center of attraction for all forces of progress. A divided movement does not attract. We simply cannot get the full benefits from the new world relationship of forces as long as the world Communist movement remains formless and divided.

There are some who are concerned about the question of how parties should handle political assessments made by world conferences. Some feel these would be interpreted as instructions from a world organization. I do not think this is a serious problem. They are not instructions. They are not binding documents. How to handle them? Present them to the party and to the public for a democratic discussion.

On the question of what should be the scope of the deliberations of the world Communist conference, we have an over-all attitude: We think the conference should discuss whatever are the cardinal questions of the moment. It should discuss any question of common concern; any questions which we should collectively probe; any questions to which we should try to find common answers. We should not fear to discuss *any* problems collectively.

If we are not able to come to united conclusions on all matters, it seems to us this is no catastrophe. It has been said that we should limit the conference to questions we can agree on. But how can we find out what we do agree on, if we do not probe and discuss.

It has also been suggested that we should not take up controversial questions, ideological questions or programmatic questions. What is then left of the political spectrum seems rather narrow.

It seems to us the base of the conference should be the assessment of imperialism and the struggle against it, pinpointed on the struggle against U.S. imperialism and all related questions.

World Communist unity must not be propelled only by the negative factors in life. It must not be moulded only by needs of defense. It must be propelled by the visions of giant strides now possible in social progress. It must be fired by victorious offensive battles that are now fully possible. Moulding world Communist unity is moulding the victory of world Communism.

History may say many things about our deliberations, some kind and some unkind, but in the end it will judge us by how we meet this central challenge that life has placed on the agenda for us, for all of mankind. We will not, we dare not fail.

The Dollar Crisis

On November 18, 1967 the British government announced the devaluation of the pound. This action brought to a head the long-brewing monetary crisis in the capitalist world—a crisis centering particularly in the plight of the U.S. dollar. Though clothed in mystery for the average American, these developments have a profound bearing on his future; hence it is of great importance to seek to understand them and to react to them. Here we shall seek to shed some light on these mysteries, at whose heart lies the ever more costly quest for empire on the part of both British and U.S. monopoly capital.

"As Good as Gold"

Internally, the monetary system of the United States is characterized by its long-standing departure from the gold standard. Since 1934 paper money has ceased to be redeemable for gold; indeed, with limited exceptions it is illegal for Americans to own gold coins or bullion. The amount of currency in circulation is determined by the Federal Reserve System, presumably on the basis of what is required by the volume of financial transactions taking place within the country.

To be sure, federal law has continued until now to require that the value of currency in circulation be covered in part by gold, in recent years to the extent of 25 per cent. But this gold has remained buried away in Fort Knox, inaccessible to private citizens. The recent repeal of this requirement by Congress, apart from its psychological impact, has no effect on the value of U.S. currency.

In the international sphere, on the other hand, gold continues to be the means of payment. But in addition, two national currencies have emerged as world reserve currencies, universally acceptable as a means of payment along with gold: the dollar and the pound. After World War II, first place was occupied by the dollar. In fact, it came to occupy a unique status among national currencies—a status reflecting the overwhelming dominance of the United States in the capitalist world at the war's end.

By 1949, Fort Knox held some \$24.5 billion in gold bullion, about two-thirds of the entire capitalist world's stock of monetary gold. Further, only the United States was committed freely to exchange

gold for dollars offered by the central banks of other countries at the fixed rate of \$35 an ounce, established in 1934. Thus, only the dollar was pegged directly to gold; other capitalist currencies were pegged, directly or indirectly, to the dollar.

Consequently the dollar gained universal acceptance because it was "as good as gold." Indeed, other leading capitalist countries, faced with a mounting indebtedness to the United States, for a time suffered an acute dollar shortage and dollars were therefore much sought after. At the same time the pound maintained its status as a world reserve currency for other reasons, notably its status in the far-flung British Commonwealth.

When a country spends more abroad than it takes in—that is, when it runs a deficit in its balance of payments—it must ordinarily be prepared to pay the difference either in the currencies of the countries to which it owes money or in gold. In the case of Britain and the United States, however, it has been possible to meet such deficits by payment in pounds or dollars and to hold off the final reckoning as long as the recipient countries are willing to hold on to these currencies and not convert them into gold.

Both British and U.S. imperialism have sought to utilize this to their own advantage. They have run repeated deficits in their balance of payments, occasioned primarily by heavy expenditures abroad to protect and expand their imperialist interests, and have pressed other countries to help finance these increasingly costly ventures by holding dollars or pounds indefinitely as promissory notes without cashing them in. But as these countries improved their own economic and financial positions, and as the deficits continued to mount and the quantities of these currencies in their hands increasingly exceeded their own needs, conversion to gold developed at an accelerating pace.

The January 1968 *Monthly Economic Letter* of the First National City Bank notes that "close to 90 per cent of additions by the Common Market countries and Switzerland to their gold and foreign exchange reserves during the ten years ended 1966 was in the form of gold." And by the end of 1966 the U.S. gold stock had dwindled to \$13.2 billion. Outstanding against this were some thirty billions in dollars abroad, half of this sum in the hands of foreign central banks. More and more, therefore, the ability to redeem the outstanding dollars or pounds for gold has come into question. More and more, doubts have arisen as to whether the dollar really is "as good as gold."

Herein lie the immediate roots of the current monetary crisis, precipitated when these mounting doubts led to a run on the pound last

year, forcing its devaluation.

The British Devaluation—Causes and Consequences

The British pound has been in difficulties repeatedly since World War II. In 1949 a severe crisis developed, leading to devaluation of the pound from \$4.03 to \$2.80. Instrumental in bringing this about was the pressure of U.S. monopoly capital, which sought among other things to cheapen the dollar cost of its economic penetration of Britain. Other crises followed, growing out of persistent balance of payments deficits.

In 1964 the Wilson government took office in the midst of such a crisis. In that year the balance of payments deficit soared to disturbing heights and the danger of a run on the pound became imminent. The government sought to meet the threat through deflationary measures designed to cut domestic consumption in order to reduce imports and facilitate more production for export. In addition \$3 billion in loans was obtained, part from the International Monetary Fund, part from the central banks of other countries. But in 1966 the crisis re-emerged, to be followed by more stringent deflationary measures including a wage freeze and mounting unemployment. Again to no avail. These measures, intended to place the burden of the crisis on the working class, failed dismally.

In October 1967, when the trade deficit for the month rose disastrously, the flight from the pound began in earnest, with a growing rush to convert pounds to other currencies or to gold. This time foreign loans to meet the emergency were refused. The British Treasury was forced to close its doors for a day and the devaluation of the pound from \$2.80 to \$2.40 was announced.

The chief advantage of devaluation to the devaluing country lies in the fact that the prices of its goods in terms of other currencies are reduced and its exports thereby rendered more competitive. (For example, an article costing one pound would now cost \$2.40 in U.S. money instead of \$2.80.) But by the same token the prices of imports are increased, and since Britain imports much of the needs of its working people, devaluation means a substantial rise in the cost of living. Clearly, if the workers secure wage increases to compensate for this rise, the advantages sought by the ruling class in devaluation would be largely lost. Thus deflation alone is not enough; it must be accompanied by new measures to reduce domestic consumption and to squeeze more production out of the workers in order to reduce the volume of imports and expand the volume of exports to the greatest

possible extent.

Indeed, the announcement of the devaluation included precisely such a series of measures, among them the following:

1. Banks were asked to limit loans except to priority borrowers such as exporters. The bank rate was raised from 6½ per cent to 8 per cent, thus increasing all interest rates substantially. Conditions for installment buying were considerably tightened. The effect of all such measures is to reduce available credit and hence consumption. The higher interest rates are designed also to attract foreign loan capital.

2. Government expenditures were to be reduced, military expenditures by 100 million pounds, others by three times that amount.

3. Discussions were to be opened with the Trades Union Congress and the Confederation of British Industry "in order to insure that the operation of the agreed policy on prices and incomes measures up to the requirements of the new situation."

4. Corporate taxes were increased from 40 per cent to 42½ per cent.

In short, what was projected in the main was the continuation of the same bankrupt policies of deflation and austerity, the same efforts to fatten the profits of the export industries at the expense of the workers. In addition a stand-by loan of \$1.4 billion was secured from the IMF and another of \$1.6 billion from foreign central banks. It was these creditors who dictated the extent of the devaluation and the accompanying measures. "From here on," says *Fortune* (January 1968), "government policy will have to meet the exacting standards set by Britain's creditors." And significantly, among the demands of the IMF was "an assurance that wages would be firmly restrained and that price inflation would not be a criterion in granting pay increases."

The austerity demanded by the creditors soon began to become grim reality. The national budget presented by Chancellor of the Exchequer Roy Jenkins on March 19, described by the *New York Times* as "the harshest budget in the memory of the British people," imposed stiff taxes on the working people and called for legislation limiting wage increases to 3.5 per cent. True, the proposed legislation would similarly limit dividend increases and would permit the government to roll back individual prices—additions very likely intended to soften union resistance. But there is little doubt in the minds of British workers that the main target is wages.

Such policies are bound to fail, for they avoid coming to grips with the real causes of the chronic deficits producing the crisis. Most

prominent among these are the massive expenditures abroad for the maintenance of British military bases and troops. Related to this is the lag in modernization of Britain's industrial plant, associated with the tendency of British monopoly capital to seek superprofits abroad rather than invest at home. This has resulted in a worsening competitive position in world trade. In the past ten years British export prices have risen 20 per cent while U.S. prices have risen 11 per cent, French prices have risen 5 per cent, and Italian and Japanese prices have declined somewhat.

To these may be added such other causes as the continuing large-scale import of luxury items, the freedom of U.S. investors to take their profits out of the country, and not least, the restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

True, the oppressive weight of the costs of empire has made itself felt, and in January Prime Minister Wilson announced a program of withdrawal of British military forces from "east of Suez" by the end of 1971, along with the cancellation of a \$1-billion order for American F-111 swing-wing planes. But these steps, taken with much reluctance, occur within the framework of a policy centered on austerity and sacrifice by the British workers for the sake of the imperialist interests of British monopoly—a policy which holds forth only the prospect of a further devaluation, this time with much more severe consequences.

Impact on the Dollar—The Gold Rush

We cannot undertake here to examine the numerous and complex effects of the British devaluation. We shall confine ourselves to the most weighty consequence: its impact on the already shaky dollar, precipitating a monetary crisis of unprecedented severity.

With the exception of 1957, the United States has run a deficit in its international payments every year since 1950. The deficits became especially pronounced after 1957, and in 1958 the outflow of gold began to accelerate. From 1949 to 1958 the gold stock declined by about \$4 billion, \$2.3 billion of it in 1958 alone. From 1958 to the end of 1966 the loss was \$6 billion. Here lie the beginnings of the dollar crisis.

The devaluation of the pound, coming after a decade of unrelieved deficits and gold losses, proved to be a severe blow to the status of the dollar. It removed an important prop, since reserve holdings in sterling were largely converted to dollars. The dollar emerged as the one remaining world reserve currency and the pressures on it increased

correspondingly. So did concern as to its soundness, especially in view of the growing drain imposed by the escalation of the war in Vietnam. Widespread belief that devaluation of the dollar was next in order led to a rush to convert dollars to gold which reached frightening proportions.

Currency may be exchanged for gold through two main channels. First, foreign central banks may secure gold for dollars from the U.S. Treasury at the fixed rate of \$35 an ounce. This has been the chief source of the dollar drain in past years. Second, there exist a number of gold markets, of which the London market is by far the largest, in which gold is bought and sold through private agencies at prices which ordinarily fluctuate with variations in supply and demand. However, there has existed from 1961 until very recently a gold pool involving seven nations, established to supply gold to the London market, whenever demand threatened to force the price up, in sufficient quantities to hold it down to \$35 an ounce.*

It is these markets which have in recent months been the chief source of the loss of gold. The first gold-buying spree developed on November 17, 1967, the day before the devaluation, and continued through November 24. It ended after assurances offered by a group of European bankers. A second broke out on December 11 and lasted through December 15, halted this time by a U.S. statement of assurance. Thanks chiefly to these two waves of buying, the U.S. Treasury lost \$925 million in gold in the last six weeks of 1967, making a total loss of nearly \$1.2 billion for the year. The balance of payments deficit jumped from \$1.3 billion in 1966 to almost \$3.6 billion in 1967, \$2 billion of it incurred in the final quarter. Obviously, this considerably weakened the position of the dollar.

The Johnson "Remedies"

So threatening did the situation become that on January 1 of this year President Johnson, stating that the balance of payments deficit "could threaten the stability of the international monetary system," presented a series of emergency measures intended to eliminate it. These include:

1. Restriction of foreign investment, with a moratorium on investment in most of Continental Western Europe, and requiring that a

* The gold pool was set up after a gold rush in 1960 forced the price up to \$40 an ounce. Originally it included eight nations: the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. However, France withdrew in June 1967. The United States provided, after the French withdrawal, 59 per cent of the gold in the pool.

specified share of each year's profits be sent to the United States.

2. Voluntary restriction of foreign lending by banks and other financial institutions.

3. Limitation of foreign travel outside the Western Hemisphere, with consideration of legislative action toward this end.

4. Reduction of government expenditures overseas by \$500 million.

5. Steps to facilitate exports. Discussions with other nations to secure elimination of certain non-tariff barriers to U.S. exports.

Significantly, Johnson also announced that he had called on the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor "to work with leaders of business and labor to make more effective our voluntary program of wage-price restraint . . . [and] to prevent our exports from being reduced or our imports increased by crippling work stoppages in the year ahead."

Through such steps as these it is proposed to reduce the balance of payments deficit by \$3 billion a year. They are, however, clearly incapable of producing any such result.

The investment restrictions, apart from their extreme unpopularity in big business circles, are virtually unenforceable. No enforcement apparatus capable of handling these complex regulations exists. A court challenge of Johnson's right to impose such restrictions could tie up the whole matter for years—and in the end probably win. The big corporations have a thousand ways of shifting funds abroad and no such regulations can make them give up the possibilities of lucrative investments in other countries. The same is true of the proposed limitation of foreign loans, which can be circumvented by way of the foreign branches of American banks.

Liberalization of trade in the present circumstances is not very likely. What is rather in the cards is an increase in trade barriers. Part of the current U.S. payments problem arises from the fact that the trade surplus has been declining in recent years. From a peak of close to \$7 billion in 1964, the surplus of merchandise exports over imports fell to about \$4 billion in 1966 and again in 1967. During this period imports grew 37 per cent, about twice as much as exports. *Fortune* (February 1968) notes:

Over the long term, imports have been taking an increasing share of our total domestic markets for goods. In 1964, imports of all merchandise accounted for a half per cent more of total sales than they had ten years earlier (5.8 per cent vs. 5.2 per cent of all GNP sales of goods). Just two years later, imports were taking another full per cent of the total—i.e. 6.7 per cent. In other words, imports

account for \$1 billion of every \$15 billion of goods sold in the United States.

In view of the economic slowdown in the French and West German economies, and in view of Britain's efforts to cut imports (note the cancellation of the \$1 billion plane order), the outlook for 1968 does not appear very bright. And in view of the anticipation that for a variety of reasons the relative increase in imports will continue, it appears even more dim. In these circumstances, the main pressure on the Johnson Administration will clearly be to seek ways of cutting imports.

What is most noteworthy about the Johnson "remedies" is that they are designed to avoid the real problems and to seek solutions which do not disturb present foreign policy. Not surprisingly, they have won little support.

On the one hand, they have been attacked by spokesmen of monopoly capital who insist, like their British counterparts, that what is really needed is a program of austerity including higher taxes, cuts in government spending (non-military, of course) and restrictions on wage increases. On the other hand, they have been rejected by those who recognize that the central factor in the country's present economic and financial difficulties is the drain of the war of aggression in Vietnam.

Today this criminal war absorbs some \$30 billion a year in direct military outlays. Of this, about \$2 billion is spent overseas and comprises the major part of the balance of payments deficit. In addition the cost of the war is responsible for the growing inflation which is causing U.S. prices to rise faster than those in other capitalist countries, and for the prospects of astronomical budget deficits which threaten greater inflation to come. Without putting a stop to this drain, it is pointless to speak of substantial cuts in overseas expenditures, let alone wiping out the balance of payments deficit.

Furthermore, these outlays come on top of the longer-term cold war expenditures for the maintenance of overseas military bases and of U.S. troops abroad, not to speak of the dollar costs of the foreign "aid" program.* Together with the costs of the Vietnam aggression

* It is true that today about 92 per cent of the foreign "aid" grants are spent in this country rather than abroad. "But," writes Richard F. Janssen in the *Wall Street Journal* (February 26, 1968), "instead of rejoicing, the Treasury is worrying aloud that when a recipient buys American goods paid for by the U.S., 'it may be buying goods that it would otherwise have bought with dollars it already owns.' The dollars thus freed for the poor country's use anywhere in the world may end up as some European nation's claim on U.S. gold."

these more than account for the entire deficit.

It is on these issues that the lines are today being drawn. The question is whether the American working people are to be compelled to make increasing sacrifices in a futile effort to overcome a monetary and financial crisis which grows in large degree out of the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, or whether we are to put an end to that aggression and to the cold-war policies from which it stems, and with this to the economic and financial strains which they create.

In this connection it is important to note that some sections of big business, from their own point of view, have begun to speak out against the war on the grounds of its excessive economic costs. An article on the payments deficit in the *New York Times* (December 24, 1967) gives expression to this in its concluding paragraph:

What the government will do, if anything, is unknown. New measures may or may not be under consideration. But in the back of some minds is a tantalizing thought. The problem would be greatly helped, if not solved, if the war in Vietnam, with its big outpouring of dollars into Asia, were to end.

The *Wall Street Journal* (January 9, 1968) carries on its editorial page an article by John Kenneth Galbraith entitled: "Plea to Business: 'Make Yourself Heard.'" After reviewing the various proposed remedies for the monetary crisis and rejecting them as unsatisfactory, Galbraith states:

There remains one alternative that avoids all of the foregoing difficulties. That is to bring policy effectively to bear on the war in Vietnam. To end or greatly reduce that war would eliminate a large item, direct and indirect, in the external dollar drain. . . . Few can doubt that, were the Vietnam war over tomorrow or visibly on the way to an end, the dollar would be extremely buoyant.

What is interesting about this is not so much that Galbraith says it as that the *Wall Street Journal* publishes it and that it editorially agrees to this extent: "Dr. Galbraith is certainly right when he says the U.S. economy is in serious trouble, trouble to which the war in Vietnam has contributed. It's possible, too, that the cost of the war in lives and property is getting all out of line with any conceivable gain."

More recently, the *Wall Street Journal* (March 6, 1968) reports that Wall Street has become dovish. It states:

One of the more impressive demonstrations of anti-war feeling is under way these days in about the last place that peace marchers would look for it—Wall Street. . . . On the increasingly rare occasions that rumors of Vietnam peace negotiations circulate, stock prices go up sharply—and that's about the only time they do go up. Whenever the fighting intensifies or threatens to intensify, investors sell shares in enough volume to produce a sharp price break.

The Gold Rush Renewed

In the absence of further action to reduce the deficit, and in the face of the NLF offensive in Vietnam and the resultant demands for more troops and money, confidence in the dollar continued to decline. At the beginning of March a new wave of gold buying began. This time it did not respond to exhortations and reassurances but continued and increased in volume. By March 13 the U.S. Treasury was compelled to release an additional \$450 million to the gold pool, making a total of nearly \$1½ billion since the preceding November. The gold stock fell to \$11.4 billion. In addition, Congress completed action to remove the 25 per cent gold cover, releasing the entire remaining gold stock to meet foreign demand. And the Federal Reserve Board raised the discount rate, the basis of all short-term interest rates, from 4½ per cent to 5 per cent, the highest rate since 1929.

Nevertheless the gold rush continued unabated. Finally, on March 15 the London market was closed down and a meeting of the governors of the central banks of the seven gold pool nations was held in Washington that weekend. Yielding to the pressures of the newest run on the dollar, the governors arrived at the following decisions:

1. The U.S. Treasury would continue to buy and sell gold at \$35 an ounce in transactions with other central banks.
2. The central banks would no longer supply gold to the London market or any other private market, nor would they buy gold from these markets.
3. They would not sell gold to any other central bank to replace gold sold by that bank to private markets.

These decisions put an end to the gold pool, allowing the price of gold in the private markets to be determined purely by supply and demand relationships. Thus they established a two-level price system in which there existed two markets for gold completely separated from one another. Further, the total quantity of monetary gold was frozen at the existing level, since no gold was to be sold to or bought from private sources.

These actions can be regarded as no more than a stopgap, providing a breathing spell during which further actions might be considered. The viability of a two-level price system is highly dubious, since there is no real assurance that other central banks may not sell gold at the higher price on the private market and succeed in replenishing it at the lower official price. In other words, it is highly doubtful that the two markets can be completely sealed off from each other and the drain from monetary gold stocks into private hands really ended.

Even if this could be done, an unstable situation would result in which the dollar has two different prices in terms of gold. Each price would exert a pull on the other, eventually compelling the re-establishment of a single price.

Most important, however, is the fact the governor's actions leave untouched the central problem, namely, the continued weakening of the dollar because of the persistent balance of payments deficits and the resultant outflow of gold to other central banks. To meet this problem, growing pressure is being exerted by foreign official sources, along with that developing within the United States, for a much stronger policy of austerity.

President Johnson is pressing in this direction. In a recent speech he called upon the American people "to join in a program of national austerity to insure that our economy will prosper and that our fiscal position will be sound." (*New York Times*, March 19, 1968.) He has expressed a readiness to cut non-military appropriations by some \$8-9 billion in return for support to his proposed tax increase. And in his economic report of January 1968 he repeated his call for prevention of strikes in key industries.

So long as mounting billions are poured into the futile effort to subjugate the Vietnamese people, however, these efforts to saddle the workers with the costs will not succeed in eliminating the balance of payments deficit. And they will certainly meet with growing opposition.

The situation of the dollar remains no less precarious than before, and the danger of devaluation is, if anything, closer. Indeed, there is a growing body of opinion in business and economic circles that in the end it cannot be avoided.

Devaluation of the dollar, in view of its direct tie to gold as well as its special status in international finance, would produce far more severe effects than did devaluation of the pound. Even its imminence would have immediate world-wide repercussions. Thus, Peter Passell

writes in *The Nation* ("Dollar Drain of Vietnam," January 22, 1968):

Devaluation is almost out of the question in the present circumstances. It could not take place overnight, since it requires Congressional approval, and an announcement of our intention to devalue would set off an unparalleled wave of speculative activity as individuals attempted to change their dollar holdings into gold, physical assets and Western European currencies. In all likelihood this would result in legal suspension of international capital movements and competitive devaluation around the world. We could expect severe curtailment of world trade for several years and at least a temporary decline in American economic power and prestige abroad. The uncertainties of such a period of economic disaster could lead to international economic anarchy characteristic of the 1930s.

For American workers devaluation would mean reduced living standards, mounting unemployment and vastly increased pressures for austerity and sacrifice. For the masses of Negro Americans it would mean a further serious worsening of already intolerable economic conditions, coupled with greatly intensified repression and terror.

But whatever course developments may take, it is clear that the events of mid-March mark a turning point, that there can be no return to the monetary structure which preceded them. The present monetary crisis means that the dollar domination of the past two decades is reaching its end. Writing in the *Illinois Business Review* of last June, V. Lewis Bassie sums up the situation in these words:

The key currency situation developed in the postwar years of the "dollar gap" has in effect put the world on the dollar standard. Other countries needed dollars for financing reconstruction and development, and dollars not spent were eagerly held as reserves. But over the last two decades, the situation has changed. We have lost half of the gold stock we then held, and other nations have grown strong. We no longer have power to force acceptance of our currency. Other countries frown on "reserves" that are created in conjunction with the uncertainties of war expenditures, and they want to minimize outside control of their economies.

The present situation makes it evident that no national currency can continue to be generally acceptable. Sooner or later a crisis will arise that is beyond our ability to handle.

That crisis, in our opinion, is upon us.

Gold vs. "Paper Gold"

American ruling circles seek a way out through the creation of an international currency in whose composition the dollar continues to play a dominant role. The supply of gold, they argue, no longer suffices to cover the volume of world payments. So far the difference has been made up by dollars and pounds placed in international circulation by way of the British and U.S. balance of payments deficits. But now these deficits are under severe challenge, and if they are eliminated, a serious shortage of liquid reserves for international transactions will develop. The solution is some form of world currency—of "paper gold."

At present, U.S. representatives are leading a battle for creation of such a currency in the form of "special drawing rights" (SDRs) in the IMF. Member nations deposit assigned quotas of gold and their own currency in the Fund and in return may automatically draw on other currencies up to the amount of their own gold deposits. The proposal is to confer additional automatic drawing rights proportional to the currency deposits. The SDRs, presumably in the form of certificates, would be universally acceptable in international settlements. Initially they would supplement gold and dollars but ultimately they would take over completely.

This idea is opposed by the government spokesmen of a number of other countries, especially by the De Gaulle government in France, which calls for an outright return to the gold standard in order to free the rest of the world from the tyranny of the dollar. The gold supply, it is argued, can readily be made sufficient by raising the price of gold. SDRs should at most be used only when 85 per cent of the members of the IMF agree that a shortage of world monetary reserves exists, and then only on condition that the U.S. balance of payments deficit has been eliminated.

The SDR proposals still await final action as this is written; however, the conflict which they have engendered illustrates the fundamental difficulties inherent in the situation. These arise out of the sharpening contradiction between ever closer world economic ties on the one hand and growing inter-imperialist antagonisms on the other. To be sure, with the development of capitalism the trend has been away from the use of gold and toward the use of currency and credit money. But under capitalism the role of gold cannot be eliminated in international transactions. Capitalist currencies are unstable and subject at best to chronic inflation. Moreover, they become weap-

ons in the battles for domination over imperialist rivals as well as over the oppressed countries. In these conflicts, adherence to gold, both as a means of payment and as a universal embodiment of wealth, becomes a weapon in the fight against such dominance. Hence the idea of replacing it with an artificially created world currency is utopian; in fact, it is doubtful whether agreement can be reached on the composition and use of such a currency.

At the same time, it is not possible in today's world to return to a pure and simple gold standard. Consequently the capitalist world monetary system is shaped by these conflicts and reflects at any given point the existing relationship of forces among the contestants. The monetary crisis into which the capitalist world is now plunged is also a reflection of the deepening general crisis of capitalism and the increasingly acute problem of markets which is one of its chief features.

Within the confines of capitalism, therefore, there is no real solution for these monetary crises. Of course, the working class has a big stake in fighting to wipe out the balance of payments deficits and to ward off the threat of devaluation. Its interests lie, moreover, in seeking these ends by tackling real causes, in the first place by putting a stop to the war in Vietnam. But this, though it will vastly ease the situation, is not a cure for capitalism's monetary difficulties. Their roots lie much deeper. In this connection it is of no small significance that the crisis is completely confined to the capitalist world and that the socialist countries are unaffected by it.

The most immediate task of the working class is to defend itself against the growing offensive against its living standards in the name of saving the dollar. What is called for is all-out opposition to the proposed tax increases, as well as a concerted drive against all restraints on wages or the right to strike. Clearly, labor faces battles of growing intensity on these issues.

At the same time, however, the dollar crisis is only one more demonstration of the need to do away with capitalism altogether—to seek its real cure in a world of peace and socialism.

The Strike of the Copper Workers

The working class can be truly proud of its brothers in the copper industry and the wives who stood by them. The unity and determination of the 60,000 copper workers have not been excelled in the stormy history of U.S. labor. The copper strike set new solidarity records. It lasted longer than any major industrial conflict since our trade unions were born. It was conducted by 26 unions, fighting together for the first time. It won more help from the entire labor movement than any nation-wide industrial struggle got before. And the old solidarity principle that an injury to one union is an injury to all was placed on a firmer foundation.

This maturing of American labor solidarity will strengthen the steel workers when their wage agreement expires in August.

The copper workers went on strike on July 15 last year after suffering cuts in real wages during the Vietnam war. They insisted on substantial increases in wages, decent pensions and other needed gains. They rejected the bosses' demand for separate agreements at each mine, refinery and mill, with agreements ending at different times.

The bosses, as usual, had a divide and conquer policy. The bosses' plan would give "no bargaining power . . . for the workers," said Vice President Joseph Molony of the United Steel Workers of America at the AFL-CIO convention last December. He added that, "this is the kind of industrial jungle from which we must escape."

The copper workers were not just fighting for themselves. Other workers felt this as the struggle continued. They learned that the bankers behind the "Big Four" copper firms were also exploiting millions of other toilers in other industries. They realized that the pickets in front of the mines in the Rocky Mountains and the Western deserts, the men, watching the gates of the smelters, refineries and mills on the Eastern and Western coasts and in Texas, were defending them too. And many American workers began to feel the hardships of the strikers in a very personal way.

These hardships were real. But the strikers kept a brave front. Their clothes were wearing out. Their dental care was neglected. Their bills were piling up. Their children sometimes went hungry. But the opposition of the class enemy was unceasing. Their local newspapers were loaded with back-to-work propaganda. Their tele-

vision stations spread defeatism. The Johnson Administration sought to divide them. But the ranks of the 60,000 were hardly dented. No scabs crossed the picket lines that I visited in Montana, Utah and New Jersey as a *Worker* reporter. The back-to-work plotters were frustrated. The copper workers proved themselves worthy of their great forerunners—William D. (“Big Bill”) Haywood and the bold men who founded the militant Western Federation of Miners in Butte, Montana, 75 years ago.

Labor's Fighting Tradition

The solidarity of the copper strikers—and the sympathy they aroused among other workers—demonstrates the folly of judging the labor movement by the Meanys and Lovestones. It must be judged by the folks who do the fighting. American workers—like other folks—have often been misled. But American workers have a magnificent fighting tradition. No other labor movement has a better strike record. American workers can be counted on to fight their class enemies when their needs are most pressing and when they understand the issues. Today, they are hard-pressed by rising prices, wartime taxes, mechanization layoffs and speedup. Their common problems are bringing them together. They refuse to cross picket lines. The scab is disappearing from the American scene. And the copper workers, who fought alone for six months in 1959, are hailed today as frontline brothers in a common struggle.

Bill Haywood once said that the history of the working class is written “with drops of blood.” He published a pamphlet with those words on the cover. And much blood was shed by America’s non-ferrous miners in the decades before they won national union recognition. Scores of strikers were shot down by company gunmen and state troopers during the early strikes in the Western mines. Thousands of miners were thrown into open-air stockades or “bull pens.” Many were sent to prison in frame-up trials. Dr. Philip S. Foner describes one of the military court scenes in the third volume of his *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (International Publishers).

Strikers were arrested wholesale on false grounds of “military necessity” in the Cripple Creek strike in Colorado in 1903. No formal charges were preferred against the prisoners. Leaders of the Western Federation of Miners petitioned the court for a writ of habeus corpus. And, said Foner:

... When the case came before the court . . . General Chase threw a

cordon of 90 cavalrymen around the trial room . . . sharpshooters were posted on surrounding roofs, and a Gatling gun was mounted in front of the courthouse. Nevertheless Judge Lafferty granted a writ of habeus corpus, ordering the miners released . . . This decision brought General Chase to his feet with the announcement that he would refuse to honor the court’s order . . . The men were thrown into makeshift stockades or “bull pens,” where they remained for months (ibid., pp. 396-397).

“To hell with the Constitution! We aren’t going by the Constitution,” commented Thomas McLelland, the State Advocate General. He was replying to a reporter who wanted to know how military terror fitted in with the Constitution.

Four years later Haywood, the union’s secretary-treasurer, barely escaped hanging in a murder trial in Boise, Idaho. The innocent trade union leader was saved by a national defense campaign that won a “not guilty” verdict.

“Don’t Mourn! Organize!”

The drops of blood continued to flow while the Morgan bankers, the two Rockefeller families and the Guggenheims tightened their control of the copper industry. On November 11, 1915, a Utah state firing squad tore to pieces the heart of an IWW song writer and organizer in Utah’s state prison. The victim was Joe Hill, a native of Sweden, who had been organizing the Utah copper workers.

Joe Hill was accused of a murder he did not commit. The frame-up was so unconvincing that his life was spared for a short time at the request of President Woodrow Wilson. The President was responding to a plea from the government of Sweden. But the men behind the Utah Copper Company—now Kennecott—had their way.

Many copper miners have heard the famous song by Alfred Hayes and Earl Robinson which says, “The copper bosses killed you Joe.” But they have also been inspired by Joe’s last words, “Don’t Mourn! Organize!”

The drops of blood flowed faster during the copper strikes of World War I. In Bisbee, Arizona, the gunmen of the Phelps Dodge Corporation were not content with individual killings. On July 12, 1917, they loaded 1,162 copper strikers on cattle cars at gun point and dumped them far out in the desert without food and water.

The Phelps Dodge victims were rescued before they starved to death. But three weeks later six Anaconda Company gunmen smashed into a lodging house in Butte, Montana, grabbed a crippled copper

strike organizer, dragged him behind a car while his knee caps were ripped out of his knees, and hung him from a railroad trestle with a placard on his chest which carried the words: "First and Last Warning."

Frank Little, the Anaconda victim, was a member of the IWW executive board and a warm personal friend of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. His broken leg was in a cast at the time of the lynching. He was an American Indian, and much loved by the copper strikers. None of the lynchers died in bed. And old timers were still talking about Frank Little when I visited Butte in January.

Union Recognition Won in the Thirties

The power of the gun thugs was broken when the miners won national recognition of their union, the Mine, Mill Smelter Workers—successor to the Western Federation of Miners. This victory was won in the solidarity atmosphere of the 1930's when unemployed workers preferred hunger to scabbing. It was won under progressive leaders, with some Communists among them. This was not surprising. The parent organization—the Western Federation—had an anti-capitalist outlook. It played the decisive role in founding the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905. It declared in convention two years later that the "working class . . . must achieve its own emancipation" through "industrial unionism and the concerted political action of all wage workers." (Ibid., p. 405.) And its outstanding leader, Haywood, was a revolutionary socialist, who eventually joined the Communist Party.

Mine, Mill gave loyal support to the war against the fascist axis in the 1940's. But the union came under heavy attack during the cold war that followed. The attacks came on three fronts. They came from the copper bosses. They came from the anti-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley law and from the Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under the fascist-like McCarran Act. And they came from raiding unions. But the McCarranites lost out in the courts. Labor harmony prevailed after the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers became a division of the United Steel Workers of America. And now the union has more muscle to resist the bosses than it had before.

Labor unity is the workers' best weapon. The bosses often won in the past by dividing the copper workers. They played scabs off against strikers and unions against unions. These inter-union quarrels weakened the miners for many years. The bosses were united against labor, but labor was divided in its struggle against the bosses. And some labor leaders were closer to the enemy than to the rank and file

workers. Thus, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, rejected appeals to help the Western miners when they were under the military heel.

In those years Gompers was dining with the Morgan bankers and the Rockefeller representatives. Those dinners were given by the National Civic Federation, which was built on the false idea that labor and capital were partners in a capitalist society. Gompers was vice-president of this class-collaborationist outfit.

Some years later, Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation, lost his militancy and many miners joined the IWW. The IWW was a fighting organization, but it was trying to displace the AFL. In joining the IWW, therefore, the miners became isolated from the militant members of the AFL. And one must not forget that the AFL was bigger and better than Gompers, just as the AFL-CIO is bigger and better than Meany.

The copper miners were isolated again—by no fault of their own—when they were unjustly expelled from the CIO during the cold-war purges. They were hampered again by raids from rival unions. The skilled craft unionists, who do much of the work in copper, did not go on strike with the miners in the 1950's, although they refused to cross the miners' picket lines.

Union Solidarity Today

But solidarity triumphed in the mid-1960's. The craft unionists went on strike with the miners last July. And craft unionists were manning picket shacks in sub-zero cold when I climbed Butte's copper hill in January. Machinists, electricians, boilermakers, operating engineers and teamsters were picketing the Anaconda mines. They were arm and arm with the miners against the common enemy. I found the same solidarity in front of the great open pit of the Kennecott Copper Company in Bingham Canyon, Utah. And I found it again at the gates of the big copper refineries in Carteret and Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

The craft unionists I talked to were getting weekly allowances from their own organizations. The Mine, Mill men, however, were depending on the United Steel Workers with whom they affiliated last year. This money amounted to an average of about \$10.00 a week for every miner in Butte who did his share of picketing.

The steel union, in turn, was getting some help from other unions. About \$600,000 was pledged to the strikers at the AFL-CIO convention in Florida. This sum has since swelled to a million dollars or more.

This million could not feed 60,000 families very long. But the gifts

were a bigger solidarity gesture than the AFL-CIO ever made to strikers before. They helped the morale of the pickets I talked to. One could see the effect of such brotherly aid in every eye when several truckloads of food rolled into Butte. They came from AFL-CIO men and farmers in another Montana community.

One of the ties binding the copper workers together is their mutual resentment against the copper bosses. Anti-company feeling is general among America's industrial workers. But it is especially intense in the copper towns, where a buffer middle class hardly exists. This resentment comes down from grandfather to father and from father to son. In Utah I found that this is strongest among Mexican-American miners, who are the largest national group in the mines, and hold leading posts in the Bingham Canyon local union.

Mexican-Americans are still more numerous in the Arizona mines of Phelps Dodge Corporation. I did not visit the Arizona pits. But the speedup system in the company's mines is notorious. I have also read the report of the union economists, who found that Phelps Dodge squeezes an average gross profit of \$9,000 from each employe yearly. It is impossible, therefore, to accept the fable of a *New York Times* reporter (February 18, 1968) that anti-company sentiment does not exist among the workers in the big mine at Morenci, Arizona. The reporter talked about the "virtual unanimity with which staunch unionists salute the company as a 'good employer.'" This image of a beloved company papa finds a natural home in the columns of a newspaper that represents finance capital. But it doesn't fit the thinking of oppressed workers in the monopoly era.

Tycoons of Wall Street Control Copper Mines

Incidentally, the Morenci miners never see their real employer. This big pit—with the company-owned homes where the miners live—belongs to absentee owners. This brings us to the question: "Who are the copper bosses?" The answer is that they are the biggest tycoons of Wall Street. They are closely linked to the government in Washington. Copper is dominated by the following groups:

The first place in copper is held by the Morgan banking coalition. The Morgans control the Kennecott Copper Corporation and the American Smelting & Refining Corporation, two members of the "Big Four." They also have partial control of Phelps Dodge. Each of these firms has assets of more than a half billion dollars. The Morgan bankers also have much influence with the Anaconda giant, which has a net worth of more than a billion dollars.

In addition, the Morgans control large copper supplies through

their mining investment company, Newmont Mining. This firm owns most of the stock of Magma Copper, the biggest secondary company in the industry. Newmont also has huge copper investments in Africa, Canada, and Latin America.

The Morgans also occupy important political positions. Their representatives have been sitting in every presidential cabinet since the Cleveland Administration. This puts the government on their side when workers go on strike.

The second place in copper is held by the five Rockefeller brothers. Their bank—the fifteen billion dollar Chase Manhattan—has two directors on Anaconda's board. The bank's chairman, George Champion, is a director of American Smelting & Refining. And the brothers are well entrenched in Phelps Dodge.

The Rockefeller brothers are in a position to put heavy pressure on Washington in the copper dispute. A Rockefeller man is Secretary of State. Two brothers—Nelson and Winthrop—are governors. And dozens of Rockefeller men have done their "tour of duty" as appointed officials of the federal government.

Another Rockefeller family—made up of the cousins of the five brothers—is also deep in copper. The cousins are hardly an independent group, however. They are financially linked with the Morgan bankers and Governor Nelson Rockefeller and his brothers. This partnership is clearly seen in the giant First National City Bank, headed by James Stillman Rockefeller. This bank plays an important role in Anaconda. Two of its directors also sit on the Kennecott board; another is a Phelps Dodge director.

The Morgans and Rockefellers are also indirectly represented in copper through the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company. This is a multi-billion dollar institution, in which the Morgans and Rockefellers are deeply interested. The bank's directors sit on the boards of Phelps Dodge and American Smelting & Refining.

The Guggenheim family makes up the third copper group. The Guggenheims founded American Smelting & Refining and Kennecott, and still own the largest blocks of shares in these corporations. They have surrendered control, however, and are content to loll in luxury while the Morgans steer the ship.

Another copper group consists of the Harriman brothers—W. Averell Harriman, President Johnson's cold-war ambassador, and E. Roland Harriman, his brother and partner. The Harrimans own hundreds of millions of dollars. They are represented on Anaconda's board by brother Roland.

The Harrimans won the Anaconda seat when they traded their

zinc and lead mines in Upper Silesia for Anaconda shares. Their Silesian firm—the Silesian-American Corporation—then became an Anaconda subsidiary. And Ambassador Harriman never forgave the Soviet Union for insisting that Upper Silesia must be taken from the defeated Hitler empire and given to Poland. This was done to compensate Poland for the massacre of 6,000,000 Polish citizens, including 3,000,000 Jews, and to give the Polish Republic a firmer industrial base.

It can now be seen that the copper strikers were defending themselves against the lords of Wall Street. The men who dominate copper control more than two hundred billion dollars of corporate assets in the American economy. This becomes clear after a study of the wealth of the monopolists in Victor Perlo's *Empire of High Finance*. As early as 1955, the Morgan banking coalition controlled 65 billion dollars of capital and the Rockefellers 61 billion. They control much more today.

U.S. Financial Magnates Control World Copper

These financial giants are not only exploiting workers in their own country. They also dominate the world copper industry—outside the socialist lands.

Anaconda, for example, boasts that it gets from 55 to 70 per cent of its annual profits from foreign copper. About two-thirds of the company's output comes from Chile. The land around its great open pit at Chuquicemata has been reddened with the blood of Chilean strikers a number of times. This Chilean copper is a weapon against U.S. workers. It delayed the settlement of the copper strike.

Kennecott also gets much copper from Chile—although less than Anaconda. The two companies have been a corrupting influence in the world's Southern republic for many years.

American Smelting & Refining fights U.S. copper strikers with Peruvian copper. It has a 51½ per cent interest in the South Peru Copper Company. This is a highly productive property in the Andes Mountains. It exploits the impoverished descendants of the Incas under the gun and puts reactionary pressure on the government of Peru.

Phelps Dodge depends mainly on U.S. production. It has a ten per cent interest, however, in the rich copper mines of the American Metal Climax Corporation in the African republic of Zambia.

American Metal Climax has only one important U.S. plant—the big copper refinery at Cartaret, New Jersey, that settled with the strikers in February. This company is a \$600,000,000 concern that gets much of its profits from Africa. It has big copper investments in

South Africa, as well as Zambia, and pays its black miners only one-eighth as much as it pays its whites. It is guided by Arthur Dean, the senior partner of Sullivan & Cromwell, the biggest Wall Street law firm. This is the firm which was formerly headed by John Foster Dulles. Dean is general counsel of American Metal Climax and a member of its executive committee. He is also a confidential adviser to the Rockefeller interests.

The Morgan mining investment company—Newmont Mining—is another \$600,000,000 giant. It is linked financially with American Metal Climax in African mining companies, and both firms are leading figures in the colonial-military-industrial complex. It controls the biggest copper mines in South Africa—of the O'okiep Company—and also gets part of the output of the South Peru Copper Company.

Both Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax are taking part in a worldwide plot against the rising liberation movements of the oppressed peoples. And they are also engaged in a conspiracy against American labor.

Anti-Labor Conspiracy

The Communist Party, USA, denounced the "anti-labor conspiracy" of the copper bosses in a strong statement in January. By refusing to engage in real bargaining the copper bosses forced the Mine, Mill division of the United Steel Workers and its allied unions out on strike. The bosses then took advantage of the stoppage to push copper prices up by another \$400 a ton. They soaked their biggest customer—the United States Government—by so doing, without a word of protest from President Johnson.

The bosses then tried to break the strike in four ways: by their huge stockpiles of copper, by copper imports from their overseas mines and refineries, by economic pressure, i.e., by hunger, and by back-to-work movements that did not succeed.

The copper bosses next turned to Lyndon Johnson for help. They could do so because Johnson has been behaving like Wall Street's man in the White House. This is shown by his war policies, by the men in his cabinet, by his tax favors, by his deeds if not his words.

But the President hesitated to grant the Taft-Hartley injunction that the copper bosses wanted. Such a writ would halt the strike for 80 days while the bosses swelled their stockpiles and profited on high prices. But the law says that a Taft-Hartley writ can be issued only when a strike creates a crisis. And the Attorney-General found no crisis in copper supplies.

The legal difficulties might have been disregarded, however, if this

were not an election year. Johnson's popularity has been sinking with every escalation of the war in Vietnam. The President must get labor votes to be reelected. A strikebreaking injunction would make it difficult even for Right-wing union leaders to endorse him.

While Johnson hesitated, labor solidarity expanded. Local AFL-CIO unions began collecting more strike funds with the turn of the year. One afternoon, early in February, the offices of the Anaconda Company at Third Avenue and 40th Street in New York City, were surrounded by some 2,000 marching trade unionists. Seamen, teachers, electricians, clothing workers, factory and transport workers and others, bore solidarity slogans as their columns swept around the office building. The marchers came at the call of Harry Van Arsdale, president of the city central labor body. Two hours later they filled the big auditorium at Manhattan Center.

The Johnson Administration then called in an anti-labor expert to split the strikers. Johnson's expert was Professor George W. Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania, the same Taylor who is the author of the notorious anti-labor Taylor law in New York. This law provides prison terms for employes of municipalities and the state government who go on strike. It is this man that Johnson placed in charge of a three-man Copper Panel to work out plans to end the strike.

Taylor's first blow was against the strikers' demand for company-wide bargaining. His panel proposed that the workers of each company should be divided into three separate bargaining divisions. One group would be limited to miners, smelter and refinery workers. The second group would include workers in wire, cable and fabricating plants. The third would be made up of workers in zinc and other nonferrous metals.

This splitting plan was emphatically rejected by the unions.

The next move was made by Atlantic coast dockers. A boycott of copper imports began on the docks of Newark, New Jersey and the borough of Brooklyn in New York City. This was a decisive solidarity action. The bosses were alarmed. Demands for a Taft-Hartley writ increased. The conservative leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association then rescinded the embargo quickly. Rank-and-file dock workers, however, refused to let copper move off the docks. And thousands of tons piled up on the piers until the rank and file yielded to pressure.

Meanwhile Johnson's Labor Board threatened to find the strikers guilty of "unfair labor practices." The charge was that the strikers refused to "bargain" with the Kennecott Copper Company. This was an obvious frame-up. The unions did not refuse to bargain. They

merely asked that the bargaining be conducted on a meaningful company-wide basis.

The Board's threat was further evidence on whose side Johnson was. When it proved to be completely ineffective, Johnson declared that the strike was damaging the war effort, and that the copper imports were setting back the country's balance of payments. The strike must be settled, he declared.

Johnson then ordered both sides to begin bargaining sessions in the executive offices of the White House. He declared that the bargaining must continue until a settlement was reached. He instructed Taylor and his fellow panel members to sit with the negotiators.

The Progress in Negotiations

At this point the strikers' negotiators were weakened by the close ties binding George Meany and other top AFL-CIO leaders to Johnson. As a result some retreats were made on the basic demand that all wage agreements expire at the same time.

Nevertheless the strikers are making substantial gains as we go to press. The first settlement gives the Phelps Dodge miners, smelter and refinery workers a wage and fringe "package" of \$1.13 an hour spread out over a 40-month period, ending on June 30, 1971. Pensions are doubled and men with 30 years of service can retire at 60, instead of at 65.

Total gains are more than twice what the company talked of conceding months before.

The miners, smelter and refinery workers showed their solidarity by refusing to sign the agreement until the company settled with its wire and cable workers. The latter won a somewhat smaller "package," and their agreement expires in March, 1971, three months before that of their union brothers. This is not a disastrous time gap, however, and need not prevent joint strike action.

The important thing to remember is that American working-class solidarity is increasing. The great copper strike demonstrates this fact.

The development of international solidarity must now be on the order of the day. The militant copper workers in the USA, South America and Africa must coordinate their struggles. The copper bosses of the capitalist world are united against them. They are led by the Morgan bankers, who play the copper workers of each continent against the copper workers in others.

But the workers are stronger than the bosses—when they unite.

Lessons from the Setback in Indonesia (Part II)

The Struggle for Peace and Peaceful Coexistence

In later documents of the Party there is not a single paragraph refuting the task of the Communists to struggle for world peace and peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems. However, a point of view has been expressed recently, and has developed into the Party line. This point of view boils down to antipathy toward the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

Thus, it was pointed out that:

—Talking of peace, and especially of disarmament, when imperialism is still in existence is simply a waste of words;

—The struggle for peace acquires sense only when it is a struggle against colonialism and imperialism and, in particular, against the imperialism of the United States;

—The correct slogan is this: "We love peace, but more still we love independence." Peaceful coexistence has a meaning solely for the settlement and the preservation of relations between socialist and imperialist states and cannot be extended to the struggle going on in colonial and semi-colonial nations. There can be no peaceful coexistence between imperialism and the oppressed peoples;

—The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is, in effect, only a poisonous concoction paralyzing the revolutionary enemies of the oppressed nations who are in a state of revolutionary upsurge, and serves to adorn the facade of imperialism, making it look as if the U.S. loves peace too;

—Making peaceful coexistence task No. 1 means to deviate from the highest principle governing relations between socialist countries and fraternal parties, i.e., the principle of proletarian internationalism while, in fact, it implies surrender to the nuclear imperialist blackmail.

Chiefly, this line was readily toed only by the hot-headed petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, but it could not be taken for granted by the proletariat armed with the theory of scientific socialism and thinking along more realistic lines. If a thorough analysis is made

of this issue, it will turn out that the relations between its many aspects are impaired, which results in these questions falling short of the mark.

Firstly, it is necessary to have a clear idea that the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is an alternative to destructive thermonuclear war between different social systems, a war which would inevitably push all countries and peoples of the world on to a road of disaster. Thus, it cannot be an alternative to the revolutions of liberation of the oppressed peoples in their struggle against imperialism. It can by no means make imperialism look more attractive, but rather heightens the vigilance of the peoples and fully exposes the nature of imperialism and all its cunning tricks. The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence does not imply class collaboration but on the contrary creates more favorable conditions for a class struggle in all spheres. The principle of peaceful coexistence should by no means be considered an Aladdin's lamp which would bring wealth and happiness to humankind without a struggle, for it is in conditions of peaceful coexistence that we are expected tirelessly to mobilize the broad popular masses to form a peaceful front against imperialism.

On all these questions the Moscow Statement clearly pointed out the following:

"To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace. . . . The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. . . ."

It is further pointed out: "Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social system is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. *In conditions of peaceful coexistence favorable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence.*"

Secondly, it is necessary to combat an opinion, which, *although revolutionary in form, in essence signifies the lack of trust in one's*

own strength of rendering imperialism unable to unleash a new world war for many years to come. We must realize that although imperialism still exists in some parts of the globe, and although wars are always concomitant to the system of capitalism in conditions of the present-day balance of forces and the ever-changing conditions in favor of the socialist camp, the mighty front of the peoples of the world will prevent imperialism from madly gambling on war, and if it does take this crazy step, it will doom itself to destruction.

Thirdly, as regards the slogan that "we love peace, but more still we love independence," it should be pointed out that this is indeed a true slogan and there is no need to counterpose it to the slogan that it is necessary to raise high the banners of peace. For in case imperialism does wage its aggressive war in Asia, Africa and Latin America, or if it attacks one of the socialist-camp countries, hard-headedly pitting itself against peaceful public opinion, there can be no doubt that we shall have to launch a counter-offensive and deal imperialism a resolute blow. We are not pacifists or saints and we do not believe in non-resistance to violence.

Fourthly, it should be remembered at the same time that the world struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence contains lofty humane traits, which are instrumental in mobilizing mighty forces and attracting the progressive and humanistic-minded intelligentsia, of which we had ample proof during our own experience of stepping up the peace movement in Indonesia.

Fifthly, a distinction should be made between peaceful coexistence and proletarian internationalism. The Moscow Declaration and Statement when dealing with the question of peaceful coexistence, always pointed to the character of relations between countries with different social systems. In other words, relations between socialist countries and imperialist states, e.g., between Britain and the Soviet Union, or relations between socialist countries and independent non-socialist states, e.g., relations between the Soviet Union and Indonesia. Due to the triumph at the Bandung Conference of the principles of peaceful coexistence they are in fact followed in state relations by the countries in Asia and Africa.

Even though the Declaration and the Statement lay such a heavy stress on the principle of peaceful coexistence this does not mean at all that these documents want to extend these principles also to relations between socialist states, between socialist states and the nations fighting for their freedom, to relations between fraternal parties.

Unity of the international Communist movement would indeed be durable and strong if all parties (including the PKI) showed true mutual respect in the implementation of all these principles which they themselves had jointly formulated. But it is a great pity, a thousand times great pity, that there were some parties which violated these principles, with the result that the rift in the international Communist movement grew steadily wider to the obvious advantage of the enemies of revolutionary progress.

The line pursued by the PKI leadership in relations with the CPSU prior to the 7th Congress of our Party was materially and morally manifest in our firmly advocating the idea of friendship. We highly valued what the Moscow Statement said about relations between fraternal parties, although even then different points of view on this issue had already emerged. A year later, however, our relations were rather of a formal nature and had departed from the standards of relations between fraternal parties.

The stand taken by the 7th Congress of the PKI on the successes of socialist construction, the acme of which is the construction of communism in the Soviet Union and which was hailed with applause by the entire gathering, was later abruptly denounced by the CC of the PKI without any reason whatsoever.

The weakening and disappearance of friendship between the two major parties, while the advantages of this friendship had been tested over decades, caused serious damage to our movement due to the fact that we were forced to subscribe to a lopsided point of view. This is what led us to the 1965 tragedy.

While considering in its entirety the chief problem of the international Communist movement, it is possible to define the international duties of the PKI as follows:

1. The need to pursue a consistent anti-imperialist and anti-colonial foreign policy and to defend world peace and peaceful coexistence;
2. The need to raise aloft the banners of proletarian internationalism, consolidate the unity of the international Communist movement and remain truly faithful to the letter and spirit of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

Revolution—Peaceful and Non-Peaceful

Many a classical statement has been made to defend the point of view that the revolution can be effected by violent means, i.e., an armed revolution against an armed counter-revolution. On the other

hand, there is weighty proof that Marx, Engels and Lenin did not believe that the revolution should necessarily develop along military lines; they insisted that it can also be effected by peaceful means, although in their lifetime the chances for this were very slender indeed and the idea lacked practical confirmation. It would be out of place to discuss this problem *per se* in this work. It is sufficient to draw your attention to what is in concert with our consensus as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement, which was that under present historical conditions, especially after the emergence of the world socialist system, *there are chances for* a peaceful victory of the revolution. Whether revolution can develop peacefully or not depends largely on concrete historical conditions in each individual country.

The Statute of the PKI points out in this connection that since it is we ourselves who are concerned, our way should be that of the least possible sacrifices, i.e., the way of peace. The Indonesian experience teaches us that to use this best of opportunities, i.e., to follow the peaceful way, we must:

Firstly, be sure that this peaceful way is open to us and, acting on this optimistic assumption, prepare all the conditions that will be instrumental in achieving the victory of the revolution by peaceful means and, *secondly*, we should by no means create an illusion that there is no other opportunity, i.e., the non-peaceful way, so as not to weaken ideological, political and organizational vigilance.

In short, it is for the sake of achieving the victory of the revolution by peaceful means that we must be ready for both alternatives and do our utmost to prepare the conditions outlined above.

Later, however, this point of view underwent some changes and turned into its opposite, i.e., into the belief that the revolution could be victorious solely if effected by force of arms while pessimism was expressed as to the peaceful way of revolutionary development.

The subjective opinion that revolution can be victorious solely if brought about by force of arms had a hypnotizing effect upon us and drastically changed the course of our Revolution pushing it on to the wrong path. This revisionist Leftist point of view was instrumental in paving the theoretical way for the gamble known as the September 30th Movement.

The September 30th Movement

An analysis of the facts demonstrates that the September 30th Movement was triggered off by several units of the Indonesian Re-

public's Armed Forces, the Army in particular, comprised of the most progressive servicemen. The Movement concentrated in Djakarta. In other words, it was an action started in the center, in the hope that it would extend to all the regions of the Motherland.

The following goals were pursued:

1. To foil the plot of the Generals' Council and purge the Armed Forces of the conspirators;
2. To set up a "Revolutionary Council" as an organ of assistance to NASAKOM which would be a precursor of a people's democracy, a body that would consistently have to implement the five principles (Pantja Azimat) of the Indonesian Revolution.

It is quite clear that the September 30th Movement was a movement spearheaded against the coup, a movement that overthrew the Generals' Council and was at the same time a revolutionary movement aimed at the establishment of a state power that would be a harbinger of a people's democracy. In reality, this Movement developed into a military adventure, and was foiled.

The primary cause of the defeat of the September 30th Movement was not that the enemy confronting us was too strong, or that we lacked courage, or that our fighters lacked courage. The subjective causes lie in recklessness on the part of some leading Party quarters, in the ideological, political and organizational muddleheadedness, which was the objective result of the petty-bourgeois ideology of revolutionism, in excessive revolutionary zeal, a desire to achieve a quick victory, in forcing the development of the revolution which miscarried, in gambling on the balance of forces, in indulgence in adventurist fantasies, etc.

These chief mistakes set off a chain reaction of other serious errors committed during the Movement.

Let us now consider the political situation which obtained on the eve of the September 30th Movement, so as to see whether there had been any subjective and objective conditions for a revolutionary explosion in Indonesia then. Lenin taught us that revolutions are not made to order. A revolution must needs be preceded by a revolutionary situation. The objective symptoms of a revolutionary situation are as follows:

- The inability of the ruling classes to hold power in its old form;
- Usually, it is not enough for a revolution to occur when the lower classes do not want to live as before, what is needed is that

the upper classes, too, cannot live as before;

—The unprecedented aggravation of the impoverishment and the sufferings of the oppressed classes, which is fraught with extreme intensification of spontaneous action by the masses.

Lenin also said that the existence of such a revolutionary situation does not automatically lead to revolution. Added to this should be subjective conditions, i.e., the ability of the revolutionary class to wage a courageous and self-sacrificial struggle and the presence of an experienced revolutionary party which effects *strategically and tactically correct leadership*.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the CC of the PKI (May, 1965) made the following conclusions:

At the present time Indonesia finds herself in an ever-increasing and maturing revolutionary situation which has the following characteristics:

1. The popular masses are actively fighting for changes that could be instrumental in improving their living conditions.

2. Anti-popular aspects of political power are increasingly replaced by popular aspects, while the government's policies are increasingly adapted to the demands of the people.

3. Mass popular actions are broadening, which results in the ever-growing role of the popular masses and their decisive importance in the life of society and state politics.

Our task at the present time is "to step up the revolutionary offensive, continue to develop the revolutionary situation bringing it to a state of maturity."

Let us test the correctness of the above conclusions by the realities of the economic and political situation in our country.

In the Field of Economics

The economic crisis which had afflicted Indonesia was growing increasingly worse; setbacks in all the key sectors of the economy had worsened the living standards of the people; prices of food-stuffs and clothing were inexorably rising.

The luxury in which the upper stratum of the population was wallowing was becoming ever more apparent against the background of the intolerable suffering of the people and the flourishing of capitalist bureaucrats, who were plunging their claws ever deeper into the body of the Indonesian economy, their interests being interlocked

with those of the imperialists, while the latter were using these capitalist bureaucrats as their mainstay; this "economic dynasty" had caused great damage to the public sector of the economy, aggravated the living conditions of the working people and brought to bankruptcy private enterprises which were not the property of capitalist bureaucrats.

The progressive revolutionary forces of Indonesia had time and again tried to find a way out of these economic difficulties, but their efforts had proved futile due to the following causes: a) Sabotage on the part of internal reactionaries holding key positions in the major branches of Indonesia's economy, assisted by the subversive economic actions of the imperialists; b) The sky-rocketing state budget within the framework of confrontation with Malaysia and the squandering of public funds on major uneconomical projects and all kinds of government political activities.

Failure to cope with the economic difficulties had both given rise to general dissatisfaction among the progressive revolutionary circles in Indonesia and been used by the internal reaction as material to discredit Sukarno's regime—a campaign which had affected the sentiments of the broad masses still lacking sufficient political consciousness.

In the Field of Politics

The revolutionary and progressive forces, the PKI and its mass revolutionary organizations were becoming ever stronger. They put forward the demand that the Gotong Rojong* Cabinet be formed:

- in the process of crystallization of the middle-of-the-road forces, they were cleaning their house of Right-of-center elements;

- the hardheaded elements were consolidating themselves and emerging as a new group comprised of the Right-wing old-timers (former Masjumi—PSI) and new Right-wingers (capitalist bureaucrats and Trotskyites), plus the Right-wing of the centrist forces kicked out of the nationalistic parties;

- the number of mass actions by the people rose abruptly and aimed at the following major targets: 1) crushing the city devils (capitalist bureaucrats, corruptionists and embezzlers of public funds); 2) crushing the village devils; 3) take-over of U.S. imperialist enterprises.

* Cabinet of "Guided Democracy."

The President's deteriorating health started speculations in Indonesia's political circles. Playing on President Sukarno's illness, the new Right-wing trio, Sukarni-Hatta-Chairul, attempted to engineer the seizure of state power in Indonesia. This attempt backfired, as a result of which the Murba party was banned and its leader, Sukarni, arrested.

Simultaneously, the conspirators from the Generals' Council and their braintrust (Hatta-Nasution) were taking more and more concrete steps towards thorough and well-planned actions which were hard to expose since they were not known beyond a group of top-most officers of the Armed Forces and in a number of regions. Nevertheless, Subandrio and his central intelligence organ, the BPI, got wind of these actions, reported them to the President and informed the Party.

As soon as they received word of the danger of the Generals' conspiracy the high party leadership called an expanded meeting and drew conclusions, then took preventive steps which boiled down to the following:

—Necessary action was undertaken to prepare the Party for any emergency in case the Generals' Council dared carry out their dastardly plan;

—Consultations with the President and Left-wing nationalist leaders were held in the event of possible complications that could set in in connection with the danger presented by the Generals' Council.

Had a consensus been reached at that period by the joint front acting against the Generals' Council to destroy the conspiracy, great political progress within the country could possibly have been achieved. Indonesia's progressive forces could have been consolidated and the Gotong-Rojong Cabinet—the objective of a long drawn-out struggle—could probably have been formed. At that time, even President Sukarno himself was already more resolutely inclined to renovate his Cabinet along the lines of the Gotong-Rojong Cabinet, in spite of strong pressures brought to bear on him by the Generals' Council. Reports had it that in the Generals' Council itself there was no unanimity as to the timing of their actions: some believed that the anniversary of the Armed Forces should be the date (October), others were inclined to fix a later date in the belief that Armed Forces Day should be turned into a show of force, so as to prevent the formation of the Gotong-Rojong Cabinet.

A Political Gamble

Following the return of our leaders from a trip abroad which also included one of the Asian countries (July-August 1965), it became known that the Party leadership had taken a rash decision to begin preparation for playing the role of a "savior," with or without President Sukarno and other democratic forces. And all this happened at a time when there was no revolutionary situation in evidence, no instability was manifest in the position of the ruling quarters, the broad masses were not prepared for armed action. There was only a danger of a counter-revolutionary plot, and there were the diseased kidneys of President Sukarno. Had a revolution occurred it would have been based not on the revolutionary situation or the support of the revolutionary masses, but would have rather hinged on Sukarno's lesioned kidneys. Truly, that was a gamble of the first water which had nothing to do with the Marxist theory of armed uprising.

Lenin taught us that to be successful, an uprising should rest not upon a conspiracy of any one party, but on the progressive class. That is the first precondition. An uprising must be based on the revolutionary wave of a popular upsurge. That is the second precondition. An uprising should coincide with the most tense moment in the history of a revolution, which sets in when the activities of the vanguard of the people reach their peak and when instability in the enemy ranks and among the weak and inconsistent allies of the revolution is at its highest. That is the third precondition. The existence of these three preconditions in posing the question of an uprising differentiates Marxism from Blanquism.

The PKI made the final analysis and algebraically formulated the power balance in Indonesia at the time as follows:

center forces + Right-wingers are greater than the Leftist forces;
center forces + Leftists are greater than the Right-wing forces.

That meant that in taking action that could lead to the instability of the center forces and their tendency to make common cause with the Right-wing, the situation was very disadvantageous for the Party and the whole affair would have fizzled out.

It is necessary to bear in mind at the same time that the formula Left-wingers + centrists are greater than the Right-wingers is justified within the framework of an anti-imperialist struggle, although

it cannot be applied as easily against the Generals' Council due to the following factors:

The reactionary forces had acquired considerable additional strength from the Right-wing of the center forces which were ousted from the Marhaenis Front as a result of the increasing crystallization of the center forces.

The religious parties were more sympathetic toward the Generals' Council which they tended to see as a savior of religion from atheism.

That was the root of the difficulty of preserving NASAKOM intact in the duel with the Generals' Council especially at a time when part of the PKI leadership were behaving like fighting cocks.

We often said that at least 30 per cent of the Armed Forces are the followers of the Hammer and Sickle. However, we often also mistakenly forgot what measure of the 30 per cent were loyal to the Party and President Sukarno. One can say with certainty that when the Party and Bung Karno were united these 30 per cent of the Armed Forces would pledge their hearts and souls to them. When, however, they had to choose between the Party and President Sukarno, it is a good guess that the majority would demonstrate greater devotion to Sukarno; at best they would occupy an unstable position. That is why the factor of President Sukarno had to be seriously borne in mind.

(To be concluded in the May issue)

PAUL ROBESON'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

On April 9, 1968, Paul Robeson, the great fighter for Negro freedom and equality, whose glorious voice has inspired people the world over, will celebrate his seventieth birthday. The May issue of *Political Affairs* will present to its readers a tribute to this beloved freedom fighter. In the meantime—"Happy Birthday, dear Paul."

— The Editors

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

HERBERT APTHEKER

Styron's "Nat Turner" — Again

Questioned concerning the historicity of his novel, *The Confessions of Nat Turner*,* William Styron has offered several substantive replies and has encased these in *ad hominem* attacks upon me.

According to the *New York Times* (February 1), Mr. Styron said that my writings do not "convince me or any other responsible historian" and that "neither I nor anyone else in the field of history has any respect" for me. Mr. Styron added that in criticizing his novel, "Aptheker is grinding his ideological ax."

The crudeness of Mr. Styron's red-baiting may be attributed to the fact that he is, happily, but an amateur at that racket; one may hope that he has the character to maintain his amateur status.

The attacks upon my person and my professional reputation constituted, I was told by an attorney, libel on their face; but, this attorney added, Communists in the United States cannot realistically hope for success in libel prosecutions. Perhaps Mr. Styron—or his attorneys—know this; possibly his boldness is thus explained.

I must note that it is news that Mr. Styron is a historian; it is sensational news that he now may speak for the historical profession. I believe I may safely say that Styron's estimate of that profession's attitude towards me illustrates his ignorance of history-writing almost as vividly as does his novel on Nat Turner.

Mr. Styron replied to only four of the substantive points made concerning the distortions in his novel in stories carried by the *New York Times* on February 1 and 11, 1968. These reported that 1) Styron "had failed to mention that Turner had a wife [because] this was lacking in contemporary evidence and that, in any case 'marriage during slavery was of course a travesty.'" 2) He had shown Turner as being taught to read and write by a benevolent white master rather than by Negroes because "this was an option on my part, lacking any other indications." 3) "To a contention by Herbert Aptheker, the American Communist historian, that the use of Negroes to help crush the Turner

* My review-essay on that book appeared in *Political Affairs*, October, 1967.

rebellion was 'inconceivable,' Mr. Styron cited the analogy of some convicts' refusing to join in prison riots." 4) To my objection that the novel makes the Turner revolt unique, Mr. Styron reiterates, "the only effective sustained revolt was Nat Turner's."

We turn to each of these.

Mr. Styron states that he knew the reference to Turner's wife, which appears in an 1861 essay by the very distinguished Thomas Wentworth Higgins, "but I really can't accept a word-of-mouth reference put down 30 years after the fact." One wonders, then, why readers of Styron's book should accept his contrary version put down 136 years after the fact? Furthermore, Mr. Styron did not do his homework; had he, he would have discovered the article, "The Family of Nat Turner," by a member thereof, Mrs. Lucy Mae Turner, appearing in the *Negro History Bulletin* for March, 1955. This is a detailed description of Turner's wife and of their two children, all separately sold off after the revolt. He would have seen photographs of Turner's son and daughter-in-law and *their* child. He would have learned that Nat Turner's son, Gilbert, became a well-known mechanic of Zanesville, Ohio and that he died there about a decade prior to the birth of William Styron. Styron's dismissal of all slave-time marriages as "travesties" is hasty and excessive; the case of Nat Turner—surely very much to the point—proves this to have been so.

As to having a benevolent white master teach Nat Turner to read and write, it is germane here to note that Styron in the *Times* account (of February 11) is quoted as making a point that the authenticity of Turner's original "Confessions" of 1831 was not questioned. I found one of the few extant copies of this original "Confessions" back in 1935 in Richmond; I affirmed and briefly argued its authenticity in a work completed in 1936. The original "Confessions"—in full and verbatim—together with the defense of its authenticity, appears in my book, *Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion*, published eighteen months prior to the appearance of Mr. Styron's work.

It is necessary to point to the authenticity of the "Confessions" because in it the court-appointed interrogator of Nat Turner specifically states, of Turner's ability to read and write: "*It was taught him by his parents*" (p. 147 of my book, italics added). Thus, Styron certainly had opposite "indications" but chose the "option" which he did choose, and made of this invention a significant aspect of his novel.

Concerning the use of armed black slaves by the masters in Virginia in 1831 to crush Turner's rebellion, I did say this was inconceivable and I hold to that word. But the main thing I said was that it was

untrue and that, furthermore, never in the history of slavery in the United States were black slaves armed by their masters for slave-suppressing duties. One who reads Styron's novel and sees the pages devoted to detailed description of black fighting black and recalls that it is this "fact" that finally in the novel breaks Turner (but historically the data show, without any doubt, that he was never morally broken) will understand the full dimensions of this perversion of reality.

Mr. Styron not being able to deny that, contrary to his novel, blacks did not suppress blacks in the Turner revolt, concentrates on my opinion that this was inconceivable. He offers the analogy of convicts who refrain from participating in prison riots. But, of course, plantations were not penitentiaries—nor were they concentration camps, to use the simile of Styron's mentor, Professor Stanley Elkins—and slaves were not convicts. Further, of course, not participating is considerably different from being given the physical means to suppress and then actually suppressing.

Styron insists in the foreword to his novel, in many interviews, and again in rejecting my criticism, that the Turner revolt was "the only effective sustained revolt" of slaves in U.S. history. I pointed out in my original criticism that the modifying adjectives—whose meanings in any case are quite obscure—are omitted in two different places within the novel itself. But even with modifiers—no matter how obscure—the statement is quite false. Uprisings, for example, in South Carolina in 1739, in Louisiana, in 1811 and again in 1840, in Maryland in 1845, in several areas in 1856 and in 1860, all were "effective and sustained" by any possible definition of those words. Significant uprisings also occurred aboard domestic slave-trading vessels and among slaves in coffles being transported overland. All this, and much else, are indicative of the falseness of an essential theme in Styron's novel, namely, the unique character of the Turner outbreak, which uniqueness in fact substantiates the chauvinist concept of Negro "docility" and meekness and passivity.

Contrary to Mr. Styron and to historians from Phillips to Elkins, "Sambo" was the concoction of slaveowners and not a reality resulting from slavery. The same point applies to Mr. Styron's practice of explaining Turner's outbreak on the basis of presumed psychological and subjective characteristics of the individual Nat Turner. First of all, the characteristics Mr. Styron has given to his Nat are not those which are apparent in the actual Nat. In the second place, slave unrest and slave plots and slave outbreaks—and other manifestations of

slave discontent—were *characteristic of the system of slavery* and they are to be comprehended as social phenomena, not as subjective or psychological aberrations. We might add that Nat Turner himself said as much to the court-appointed interrogator when he told him that the forces which moved him might well move other people in his status.

* * *

I have not hitherto felt free to quote from letters written to me by Mr. Styron; his libelous attacks, however, remove such restraint on my part. (I should add that rather strenuous efforts to get the *New York Times* to publish my reply to those attacks were unsuccessful.)

Mr. Styron wrote me—quite out of the blue—on March 9, 1961; he stated that he had been reading my *American Negro Slave Revolts*, and found it “an admirable book.” He added: “I have made much use of it in laying the ground-work for a new novel I am writing, based on Nat Turner’s revolt.” Then he asked to see the manuscript copy of my earlier study of Turner’s rebellion.

Five days later I mailed that manuscript to Mr. Styron; he acknowledged its receipt on March 18. On March 27 he had finished with it and mailed the manuscript back with a 500-word letter. At that time, Mr. Styron wrote: “I found it a most persuasive and meaningful work, and I think it will prove to be of great value in terms of my own rendition of the man and the insurrection.” Mr. Styron continued: “It was a tremendous drama in our history, with great repercussions, and so far as I know you are the only person who has fully analyzed the event with respect to its ultimate effect upon the South and, for that matter, the happenings of the following thirty years.”

After describing some of his experiences and feelings while at the scene of the insurrection, Mr. Styron concluded by saying that he was sure my work “will be of great value to me, and I am grateful to you for allowing me to read it.”

From these statements and evaluation in 1961 to those of the author of a best-seller today there is a considerable gap. Perhaps the fulsome-ness of 1961 is as strained as the denunciations of 1968. At any rate, the reader has both before him; maybe even Mr. Styron can no longer explain them.

March 15, 1968

DISCUSSION

GENE DENNIS

From Protest to . . . ?*

Reform, resistance, revolution. The three R's of today's America. You can't deal with one without assessing the efficacy of the other. It's dialectical. It's common sense. It's necessary. But you also have to take the three R's and put them into some kind of perspective, into a perspective that deals with what is, what was, what can be. And then bring it all back to what it takes to be a Communist, to make a revolution to build a human society in the United States.

Ever since the first Stop the Draft Week (October 16-21) many activists and observers have talked about the move from protest to resistance. But little has been said about how you get from resistance to revolution, or about whether the shift from protest to resistance leaves protest behind, an anachronism, something to be cherished in our Museum of the Revolution.

What has come to be known as resistance in America is really a composite of reformers, resisters

and revolutionaries. Some people seek to abolish the draft (a reform); others refuse to recognize it or to cooperate with it (resistance); and still others are committed to basically changing that society of which the draft is an instrument (revolution). And then there are the hybrids: those who seek to abolish the draft by resisting it, or those who seek to build a revolutionary movement of draft resistance. These categories are constantly changing and will continue to change as the resistance movement grows.

Because resistance encompasses so many political currents, the phrase “from protest (or dissent) to resistance” is often confusing. Passive non-cooperation is nothing new in our country or the radical movement. And it does not appear that a majority of radicals—not to mention a majority of Americans—are ready to abandon the tactics of reform, protest or dissent.

What is new, is the recent development of a dynamic force of young people committed to a revolutionary change in our society, and to accomplishing a change through disruption and destruction of America's political and social institutions. The movement led or influenced by Stop the Draft Week and The Resistance is repre-

*This article and the one that follows discuss the anti-draft and resistance movement. We urge other young readers to send in their opinions for publication in future issues.—The Editors.

representative of this new trend.

The Resistance is made up of pacifists, socialists, revolutionaries, liberals and anarchists. It has taken the notion of non-cooperation past the level of traditional non-violent civil disobedience and passive resistance: "Non-cooperation can take many forms," says a recent Resistance leaflet, "one of these being non-cooperation with the Selective Service System. Every young man has, at one time or another, felt the pressure of this faceless amoral bureaucracy. That is why we chose it for the focus of our attack on American society. A system that openly admits to harassing, coercing and 'channeling' its young men to 'serve the national interest' cannot be allowed to exist. For this reason the Resistance exists. It is a community of young men who will expose that system and play any part they can in its total destruction."

Resistance members do more than refuse induction, burn or turn in their draft cards. Many also participate in STDW demonstrations, and some are now working to build local communes where they say they are laying the groundwork for the new, human community in America.

Stop the Draft Week leaders, in contrast, overtly identify with armed revolutionary tactics as a means to disrupt and destroy America's power structure and its coercive institutions—but much of the anarchism of the Resistance holds sway in their thinking.

Jeff Segal, leader of STDW and SDS, wrote in the November, 1967

issue of *The Movement* (a SNCC-affiliated monthly published in San Francisco):

Simply stated, a people's action is a battle between the forces of the presently constituted power structure and persons or groups who have taken the initiative in an attempt to take control for themselves. If the people succeed, law and order may be replaced by anarchy. . . . It [STDW, October 17-20 at the Oakland Induction Center] was not guerrilla warfare . . . but the action carried within itself the seeds for all of the elements that we will need when, indeed, our time does come."

Another characteristic of these resisters is their antipathy towards the Old Left. The conflict between the Old and the New during the October action was expressed, according to Segal and *Movement* editor Terence Cannon, in debates between Progressive Labor and the "unaffiliated" and "original" members of the STDW Steering Committee while getting set to hit the induction center. "The original committee," they wrote in *The Movement*, "felt that organizing people to ACT differently was the key. PL people wanted to get the largest number of people to accept a common slogan and ideological line."

The growth of this section of the radical movement and the rising militancy of anti-draft activity is a measure of opposition to the war among young people. The draft has become a focus of their action because it most directly affects their lives, and stands starkly as a symbol of coercion and control in America. The shift

to resistance and disruption in anti-draft action has been triggered by a gut rage against the war, against the militarization of our society, and against the bureaucratization and dehumanization of jobs, education and social relationships.

This shift in tactics also reflects a passionate, almost desperate drive for tangible results from protest against the war—which are painfully absent in the traditional forms of protest, such as petitions, elections and peaceful demonstrations. But while this rage and tactical shift are highly subjective and moral, they have been welded into a political force by the intransigence of the Administration. It holds the promise of mobilizing the discontent of thousands of young Americans, primarily those from working class backgrounds, into a movement that cannot be contained within America as we know it today.

Fulfillment of this promise rests on the ability of those who support or engage in resistance and disruption to develop a strategic program, a consistent ideology, an understanding of who is or ought to be their constituency, and how they relate to the larger radical movement.

The STDW-Resistance current reflects a white-student-middle-class bias which substitutes an ill-defined anarchism for strategic program; spontaneous action for ideology; and defines constituency in terms of those who are *now* willing to accept their tactical line.

Disruption and resistance are predicated on the politics of confrontation—whether with the police, the Selective Service System, the Administration, or the value system and life-style engendered by American society. They are also highly personalized forms of political action: a statement of conscience, an act of faith. But because both tactics are by themselves inherently negative (i.e., to resist what is without presenting a coherent program to achieve what should be, and to destroy what is without delineating what should be constructed in its place) they tend to separate resistance from other forms of mass political action.

As presently constituted the STDW-Resistance section of the movement is void of any significant participation by working-class people—black or white—the people who suffer most from the draft and the system behind it. The lack of minority participation can be attributed to inadequate or misdirected attempts by leaders of Stop the Draft Week to communicate with ghetto groups prior to deciding exactly what action should take place; to an STDW view, expressed in Oakland, that the ghetto should be a shield or sanctuary for the demonstrators when the cops move in; and to a reluctance by black militants to engage in a clash with the cops on unfamiliar territory at this time.

The absence of white working-class involvement can in part be attributed to the dominant middle-class composition of the resist-

ance, and a concomitant New Left antipathy towards organized labor and employed working people.

Greater militancy in anti-draft demonstrations has reinforced this weakness of the resistance. While there is evidence of new attempts to involve night-school students, and of alliance with some militant black organizations (the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and STDW leaders getting together in a tenuous alliance against the Oakland police) the tendency has been to focus more and more on a cadre approach instead of a mass approach.

The cadre approach has gained prominence for two reasons: a) identification with national liberation movements and guerrilla warfare being waged in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and b) distrust of mass demonstrations in light of infiltration by police provocateurs and the apparent suicidal chaos during recent demonstrations in New York City.

Many leaders of the resistance draw heavily on Che and Debray for political guidance. The romance of revolution comes alive in Bolivia, not on a picket line outside the White House. Resistance is often seen as a form of guerrilla warfare, and since the resister identifies with revolutionaries of other countries more readily than with his own countrymen, it does not matter that he is a minority in America—he is a majority in the world.

This line picks up on the tactics of guerrilla warfare, but not on the strategy of it—which requires mass support for guerrilla action

and a revolutionary program. The result is a manipulation of Debray and Guevara to fit into an American variation of political existentialism.

Tens of thousands of young radical Americans consider the United States to be suspended in an abyss of hopeless and oppressive absurdity: The government will not yield to reason and humanism; the organized Left had played its trump during the 1930's and lost out or was co-opted; and time is short before we'll all be blown to hell. The answer offered is to make an act of revolutionary faith—to establish a human identity that distinguishes you from the brutal inhumanity of this world, and which may—somehow, if enough people do the same thing (their own thing)—change the course of events, or bring it all to an apocalyptic end if the course cannot be changed.

This burning sentiment has become politicized as young people who share this outlook get together and, in small groups, pit themselves against the power structure. And the most political of them contend their action will, by example, win others over to their cause. To justify this strategy Debray is pulled out and quoted on how guerrilla armies start from small units that grow, as the popular sympathy will grow, by example.

The STDW-Resistance wing of the radical movement has already revealed it has tremendous appeal to thousands of young Americans. They are among the most active and militant activists in the coun-

try today. They have put themselves on the line against the war and America's power structure. The problem is to coalesce this force into a movement of millions that can line up with others who are involved in electoral, campus, community, and trade union activity—with those who share a commitment to stop the Administration's machine—to bring off a revolution in America.

Developing the mass character of this form of resistance requires active participation by the organized Left, particularly the Communists. But the Communist Party has largely abdicated its responsibilities to and within the resistance movement. The failure of the CP to relate to and influence these developments appears to be the result of four factors: a) its own hang-up about legalism and non-violence; b) a preoccupation with electoral action; c) a fear that resistance will provoke severe political repression; and d) its apparent inability to effectively counter many of the ideological inconsistencies prevalent in the resistance movement.

The STDW-Resistance trend is a dynamic, changing current. The young people who lead it and support it are grappling with basic problems of how you make a revolution. It would appear that the Communist Party, with its variety of strategic and tactical concepts and experiences, would have much to contribute to this movement ideologically if it were part of it. But, ironically, it looks as if many Communists are caught up in the habit of simply putting down or

ignoring ideological trends with which they disagree (perhaps a legacy from the days when the CP was the organizational and theoretical leader of the Left and the mass movements and could determine which ideas and tactics could be employed?). With the rapid changes taking place in the world today, with the new political evaluations and re-evaluations that are taking place, this is no time for the CP to withdraw from a particular debate for fear of what some might call "ideological contamination."

The tactics of self-defense has been developed by STDW committees in response to a sharp rise in police suppression of demonstrations. It should be clear from police action at the recent demonstrations in Oakland, New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, that the Administration will no longer permit the radical movement to stage a peaceful street demonstration. The heritage of the CP from the '30's to the '60's, in free speech fights and strikes, would appear to equip Communists to take the lead in assisting and organizing self-defense tactics.

When the civil rights movement took hold nationally after 1959, the CP stood fully behind the tactic of non-violent civil disobedience. Many Communists joined in the effort to rally support for the freedom movement on the grounds that sit-ins were in the best tradition of the labor movement—as in the auto sit-ins of the 30's. But there have not been equal efforts to win support for

demonstrations employing self-defense—which could be done on the basis of labor's legacy of armed workers' resistance to bosses, goons and the police.

The notion of disruptive demonstrations should also not be alien to Communists and unionists. The strike is one of the most disruptive weapons employed in modern America.

Communists who anticipate or fear repression as a result of STDW-Resistance activity, and are therefore reluctant to go out and win support for or engage in this resistance, should consider four points: a) the repression is already with us (Boston Five, Berkeley Seven, Rap Brown, Huey Newton, LeRoi Jones, etc.); b) repression is generally used when a radical movement or individual becomes effective; c) the most effective defense against repression is to take the offensive and step up political action and radical unity; and d) a *mass* movement that encompasses reform, resistance and revolution (whether by formal coalition, or mutual respect and support) cannot be repressed without severely dislocating the society and exposing its oppressive and exploitative designs.

The specific ideological and tactical contributions the CP can make to this resistance movement are: a) fighting for a socialist perspective on tactics and strategy; b) actively participating within the STDW-Resistance section of the movement to make it more effective; and c) developing mass support and understanding

of this resistance movement on the part of those who are not yet willing to join it.

It is not enough to talk of stopping the Administration's machine, of disrupting and destroying its institutions. If Congress, the draft, or the economy is disrupted, and its institutions destroyed, a political vacuum would be created—a general crisis in American society would occur—and there is no guarantee whether the result will be fascism or a revolution aimed at establishing a humane society. Just because chaos and anarchy might result—as many resisters contend it will—does not mean it will endure. It could just as well force the power structure to shift gears and move the country into a fascist police state. The problem is to develop a popular program delineating what new institutions, social relationships and economic organizations must be created to achieve, sustain and defend a revolution.

To accomplish this, it is necessary for Communists to begin now to fight for a socialist perspective in the most militant sections of the radical movement, particularly the STDW-Resistance section of it. This means winning support for a socialist transformation of society, and for recognition of the necessity of the movement operating on several different tactical levels to win the greatest mass support for such a transformation. It also means fighting the elitism that permeates the STDW-Resistance; developing a class approach

to social change; developing an understanding of how the resistance relates to other sections of the movement for change; and changing the view that STDW-Resistance is and should be a white folks movement.

Within the STDW-Resistance section of the movement, Communists can work to develop several tactics that can be combined with disruption to give confrontation a revolutionary meaning; a) community education and organizing before a demonstration to get people to understand why a disruptive demonstration is taking place and what the demonstrators are after; b) when an induction center or hotel is the site of an action, plans should be made for on-the-spot leafleting and organizing geared to bystanders and others from the community in the area; c) recruitment of non-students for participation in the demonstrations; d) well-organized monitor systems committed to preventing police violence, arrests, and provocation; and e) development of forms to allow those who are not willing to take to the streets and face the army, national guard, and/or cops to relate to and support the resistance movement and its demonstrations.

Provocation can be defined as any action which serves to split the resistance from the less mili-

tant—but equally committed—sections of the movement, thereby rendering both vulnerable to repression. Self-defense is not provocative. Throwing rocks at cops before they've moved in is provocation. Fighting for a socialist, anti-imperialist direction of the movement is not provocative, but talking of the ghetto as a sanctuary is.

Outside of STDW, Communists can work to develop support for the resistance by building defense organizations encompassing legal defense, fund raising and community education. They can be in the form of support rallies, marches and leafleting before and during resistance demonstrations. And they can take the form of taking the cause of the resistance—stopping the war, ending the draft, fighting racism and changing the system—into the shops, schools, stores, unions and community organizations.

If these tasks are not undertaken, then the gap between the resistance and the movement, between the CP and the resistance, will widen. Without this convergence—without the Left and the CP fighting for it—we are condemned to suicidal division and distrust, to the prospect of revolutionary action without a revolution.

Draft Resistance Movement

Until recently, to most radicals, the word "resistance" conjured up either the individual act of moral conscience on the part of a pacifist or the resistance movement against fascism prior to and during World War II. Today "resistance" has taken on a new meaning.

About two years ago, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) initiated a draft resistance program, including the building of anti-draft unions, hopefully to become a collective defense against the draft. The Du Bois Clubs in New York City, and other youth organizations, also were active in building anti-draft unions. Recently, another organization, The Resistance was formed, dedicated to broadening the movement against the draft by appealing to all concerned—men and women, youth and adults. Its main activity has been organizing mass draft card turn-ins, thereby collectively confronting the draft system by getting thousands jointly to disassociate themselves from the selective service system. In provoking a response from the government, resistance activists hope to unite the thousands involved in this confrontation.

The above only partly defines draft resistance today. More recently, the slogan "From Dissent to Resistance" has been raised in connection with new demonstrative forms employed by a section of the peace movement. Resistance to the draft means not just disagreement with the Selective Service

Act, but confronting that Act by disassociating oneself from the selective service system. You not only sign a petition against the draft—you DON'T GO. Resistance has meant a willingness to defy laws that are morally and politically wrong. The "From Dissent to Resistance" slogan generally has implied a confrontation and disassociation with the war system by the WHOLE movement.

Most dramatically, in implementing this policy, militants initiated Stop the Draft Week (SDW) in Oakland, California and New York City. Tactics used by SDW were similar to those used in the demonstration against Secretary of State Dean Rusk in New York on November 14, 1967. In that action, thousands surrounded the New York Hilton Hotel where Dean Rusk was speaking to the Foreign Policy Association. Demonstrators were confined to a small area, within narrow barriers. The militant mood of the demonstrators became evident when hundreds of them pushed through the "wooden horses" set up by the police. A series of police provocations touched off a mass demonstration which spread to the surrounding streets, including Times Square.

Streets were clogged with people, and traffic, sporadically, came to a standstill. The police continuously charged the demonstrators and beat them, but the crowd was mobile and retreated from the oncoming police. This

type of retreat and rapid regrouping has been labeled the "mobile tactic" and has been the subject of much talk around the peace movement. The press, though not friendly, was shocked into reporting more or less fairly the scene of thousands of angry demonstrators who took to the streets to express their opposition to a leading advocate and promoter of Johnson's war policy. As successful as mobile tactics proved to be in that demonstration, they were hardly what *The Guardian* in its November 25 lead article called "the forerunner of anti-imperialist urban guerrilla warfare."

By far the most widely effective resistance demonstrations were the actions during Stop the Draft Week. In New York, these actions which continued during the week of December 4 to 8, centered around the Whitehall Induction Center. The slogan "Close Down Whitehall" expressed the militant mood of draft-age youth, who made up the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators.

Assembling at 4 a.m. each day for a week, and lasting for as long as six hours each day, the SDW demonstrations mobilized thousands of youth, many of whom had not previously been involved in anti-draft or other peace actions. The mobile tactic was again applied with a three-pronged approach to immobilize the induction center. For numerous reasons, not least being the fact that 5,000 cops were used to "protect" the draft center, the demonstrations were not successful in preventing

"business" from being carried out. Demonstrators moved from Whitehall uptown, halting traffic in most of lower Manhattan. Again the news for a full week was of thousands of angry youth spilling into the streets to demand a halt to the draft and the Vietnam war.

The mass media concluded that, since the demonstrations did not succeed in closing down the Whitehall Induction Center, it therefore failed in its purpose. Others argued that the demonstration should not have raised the slogan "Close Down Whitehall." However, though that slogan may have been unrealistic, the demonstrations were effective in involving thousands of young people and gaining the support of tens of thousands of others.

Mike Zagarell, the national youth secretary of the Communist Party, and I represented the Communist Party on the leadership group of SDW. Our participation and assistance in the leadership helped to turn around many a dangerous situation in the SDW action. We were also able to influence, along with other positive forces, the approach of the participants to the general public.

Because of frustration and anger, which is a good part of the reason for the search to find new forms of actions, many participants saw the general public as the enemy. We pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the enemy and fought for the need to win over the people to the side of the demonstrators. Others in SDW were searching for *the action* that would summarily bring the war

in Vietnam to an end. We stressed the need for continued activity on the part of all sections of the people, employing a wide variety of tactics and protest forms, that would strive to influence the majority of the American people. Because of the respect we won among the militant young participants, we were able to inject a more positive and realistic view of what SDW could and did accomplish.

In the draft resistance movement, those who view resistance as the only valid form of struggle, see the movement comprising only small groups with no power to affect the foreign policy of the government. We must help to prove to these young people that all forms expressing opposition to the war, are necessary. That only the combined actions of the ever-growing ranks of those opposed to the war, employing a wide variety of tactics and protest forms, will finally force an end to the war. Along with resistance, there must be mass mobilizations, such as the Student Strike called for April 26th, the day of anti-war activity on April 27th, Dr. King's Poor People's Washington Camp-In for jobs, income, freedom and peace, beginning on April 22nd. Independent political action, centered around anti-Johnson Democrats and Peace and Freedom candidates, should also be top priority for those concerned with winning the peace. Petitions to the government, letters to editors, etc., can create the atmosphere to defeat the Johnson Administration's contemplated re-

pression against the freedom and peace movements. Resistance is one among a number of forms, not the strategy for the anti-war movement.

In the Party and on the Marxist Left generally, a number of arguments against "resistance" and our participation in it have arisen. These arguments can be summed up as 1) resistance antagonizes the working class; 2) resistance tends to split the moderates from the militants; 3) resistance has engendered a "cult of violence."

To say that resistance (or similar militant actions) alienates workers is to beg a more important question. Workers have used militant tactics long before we "confronted the warmakers." It is not militancy that may alienate some workers; it is, if anything, the nature of the issue around which an action is developed. All indications are that the working class is more opposed to the war in Vietnam now than at any previous time. To oppose militant actions would be a step toward abandoning the fight to win workers for active participation in the peace movement.

Resistance has not split the peace movement. Differences have existed within the anti-war movement (negotiations vs. withdrawal, mass mobilization vs. local action, etc.) but that's inevitable in any united front effort. Steve Cagan, a leader of the New York Du Bois Clubs, correctly pointed out in an article in *Dimensions* (Vol. II, No. 1): "When there is a movement which has a mass

base of support . . . moving into more areas of activity does not hinder, but rather adds to the development of the movement. . . . But we must always recognize that in this movement advanced forms of struggle do indeed generate activity and increase participation on all levels."

I would point out, in addition, that after the Pentagon, Oakland and Whitehall actions, the movement has continued to grow without a serious split.

The truth is that resistance has attracted a number of anarchistic types and no small number of conscious and unconscious provocateurs. But isn't it all the more important that Marxists participate in these actions? Marxists, if they participate in the planning and implementing of decisions, can influence events. For instance, the New York police planted a number of black policemen in the SDW meetings and demonstrations. This was intended to exacerbate the racism that was latent, and it had its effects. At an evaluation session of the SDW, a white youth stopped a Negro youth from entering the meeting and charged him with being a cop. Tension was high. Then a black youth, a member of the Marxist Du Bois Clubs, took the floor to condemn the racism shown by the white youth and called for black-white unity and a struggle against racism. This saved the day and united once again a demoralized group of demonstrators. Without the participation of Marxists, the police would have been successful in splitting the move-

ment along racial lines.

Communists, particularly, must participate and help to provide leadership to the militant section of the movement. To abstain from a struggle in which thousands participate is to abandon our responsibilities. In fact, Communists should help initiate resistance actions because these are valid forms of struggle today, which can galvanize mass youth opposition to U.S. imperialist policies.

Communists cannot, however, indiscriminately support all resistance actions. It is obvious that those who have succumbed to the "cult of violence" can provoke actions that could create serious problems for the peace movement. But provocative actions need not occur if we are in the midst of these actions, give leadership to the more militant sections of the these actions, giving leadership to movement, and showing the utmost vigilance in judging what is developing.

The participation of many Communist Party youths in the Stop the Draft Week helped to establish ties with new groups of young people. *The Worker*, reflecting the Party's involvement in these actions, was by far the most relevant publication to the demonstrators. Activists who had never before read our press were eager to read our headline stories and analyses. Our militant ideology of Marxism-Leninism will become a living force and influence new thousands of activists only if Communists are where the action is.

BOOK REVIEWS

DIRK J. STRUIK

A Symposium on Marxist Theory

The papers in this volume* were presented at an International Symposium held at the University of Notre Dame in April, 1966. The purpose was to foster what is now commonly called the "dialogue" between Communist and non-Communist intellectuals. That the initiative to such a symposium came from a Catholic university is typical of our age and time. That it was possible to bring speakers from both socialist and capitalist countries together for serious confrontation on important aspects of Marxian theory is a hopeful sign of reason in the atmosphere of irrationality in which the cold war still breathes. None of the speakers, and many of them were critical of particular Marxian tenets, proclaimed Marxism to be "obsolete, a huge monument from a vanished era," as we can read in the introduction to an edition of the *Communist Manifesto* by a Sarah Lawrence professor, which—also sign of the times—is now for sale at the five-and-ten. All participants recognized the actuality and vitality of Marxist thought.

As in all such collections the material is of varying quality, but

* *Marx and the Western World*, edited by Nicholas Lobkowitz, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame-London, 1967, \$8.95.

all invited speakers were thoughtful students of the works of Marx and Engels. There is also much that is repetitious, especially on alienation, a thing which probably cannot be helped. Some of the professors were so "learned" that I could not follow them, especially one who discovered an "intellectual disaster" in Marx's thought, and another who tried to compare history to a play. If he only had compared history to a game he might have tackled a Marxist analysis of the mathematical theory of games and its application to social problems such as warfare, but he didn't. However, the satisfying thing is that several addresses carried solid, relevant, information.

A basic contribution to Marxian theory is contained in the paper by the Warsaw professor Włodzimierz Wesolowski on Marx's theory of *Klassenherrschaft*—class domination. It is a detailed analysis of the various forms this domination takes; its economic, political and ideological aspects and their interdependence; its relation to the mechanics of government and the struggles of the subordinated classes. He also discusses the situation called balance of classes, as under certain forms of dictatorship. Professor Robert C. Tucker's paper "Marx as a Poli-

tical Theorist," which follows, is substantial, but more supplementary than original.

Professor Svetozar Stojanovic of Belgrade introduces the discussion on Marxian ethics. He dismisses, quite rightly, the opinion held by several writers (among whom he mentions, quite wrongly, Lenin) that Marx's writings are non-ethical, not normative but purely cognitive. Then he wrestles with the ancient problem of how Marxian determinism, which requires "iron" laws, can be compatible with ethics, which presupposes freedom of choice. Stojanovic tries to solve it by making a distinction between extreme and moderate determinism, both present in Marx's writings.

Without entirely rejecting this approach I believe that Stojanovic, sticking too closely to the words of Marx, misunderstands the very dialectics of Marx's thinking. Determinism itself presupposes and creates indeterminism, necessity itself is the basis of freedom. Stojanovic goes so far as denying the validity of Engels's statement (based on Hegel) that freedom is necessity understood (poorly expressed in the paper in the words "awareness of necessity"). Stojanovic's own definition of freedom: the ability to choose between historical possibilities and to realize the chosen one, takes no cognizance of the fact that these possibilities themselves are the form in which necessity reveals itself. Howard Selsam, in his book on ethics, which for some reason is not quoted at all, has not only

made Engels's point clear, but has done what Stojanovic only explains as possible. He has actually presented us with a Marxian ethic.

From ethics we easily pass to religion, and several papers deal with it. Professor Nicholas Lobkowitz of Notre Dame analyzes Marx's attitude toward religion. Marx, after his formative period when he wrestled with Feuerbach, never wrote anymore against religion as such. Lobkowitz, significantly enough, finds this attitude far more shocking than that of Marx's more militant atheist followers. He points out that "seldom if ever has Christianity been so radically 'taken unseriously' as in Marx." He explains it by Marx's "complete lack of what one might call 'religious experience,'" the "influence of Hegel" and "Marx's secular messianism." There may be truth in this, although it irritates me to see Marx's cool analysis of the trends in capitalism which lead to capitalism's replacement by socialism, called "messianism." But for Marx religion was simply a philosophically, though not historically, antiquated point of view, and he held this position ever since he recognized with Feuerbach that not God creates man, but man creates God. Lobkowitz ascribes the militant atheism of many of Marx's followers to a kind of frustration because Marx's predictions had failed. The fight against religion became "a precondition of the transformation of circumstances."

Lenin was a militant atheist, but I have not discovered any frus-

tration in his attitude. His militancy was necessary because state and church were one in Tsarist Russia. God and Tsarist squalor were inextricably bound together. However, especially in countries where state and church are less connected or entirely separated, Marxists have found, as a rule, that concentration on militant atheism can only have a divisive effect on the movement toward social progress. We fight barbarism better by attacking Cardinal Spellman on his instigation of McCarthyism and his support of the war in Vietnam than on his belief in the Trinity.

As can be expected, there is more on religion. The French Jesuit Gaston Fessard sees in Marxism a secular version of the three dogmas: Incarnation, Original Sin and Redemption—a suggestion which does not seem particularly helpful. The good Father does not think much of this secular version and asks whether, even if socialist production is more successful than capitalist production, the citizens living under it would be “freer from suffering, from moral faults and finally from death.” His rhetoric seems to aim at the answer “no,” yet I believe that, taking the balance of fifty years of Soviet and eighteen years of Chinese power, the answer is an emphatic “yes.” To bring in death is hardly fair, but even here there have been great victories in the battle against age and disease.

Professor James L. Adams of Harvard takes the Protestant view

and argues that a friendly understanding between a socially advanced Christian and an open-minded Marxist is possible. The Marxist and the Christian share a common presupposition, which is rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition, namely, that “materiality in its essence is good.” The Old Testament prophets were not only social critics, but also emphasize the particularity of a historical situation, and in this sense (but now I paraphrase Professor Adams perhaps too freely) they were premature Marxists. For me this paper is important above all as a serious example of the “dialogue,” of what men like Schaff and Garaudy have been trying to do on the Marxian side.

Maximilian Rubel, a well known French authority on the text of Marx's writings if not on their spirit — he actually thinks the whole development in the socialist world after 1917 is a travesty of Marxism—contributes an informative paper on “Marx and American Democracy.” He shows how Marx's ideas on democracy in his early, pre-Communist period, were influenced by two books on the United States: Thomas Hamilton's *Man and Manners in America* (1833), and Alexis de Tocqueville's *On Democracy in America* (1835 and 1840), both describing a dynamic democracy in action. This belief in American democracy also radiates from Marx's congratulatory address to Lincoln. Rubel is wise enough to see that, where the United States still offers perhaps the best potential for realizing

Marx's ideal of communism, the actual moral and political climate of the country is in marked contrast with this potential.

The most informative papers in this collection are, surprisingly enough in a book dealing with the Western World, the addresses on "Marxism and Latin American Development," "Marxian Socialism in the Far East" and "Marxism and the Moslem World." I found especially the last one, by Helène Carrère d'Encausse of Paris extremely instructive.

One of the last papers is by Professor Herbert Marcuse on "The Obsolescence of Marxism." Like everything Marcuse writes it is worth reading. He expresses his conviction that the most fundamental notions of Marx's analysis of capitalist society have been validated but for one: that the contradictions of capitalism can only be broken if the laboring classes seize the productive apparatus and bring it under the productive control of the producers themselves. In refuting this thesis and giving his own dynamics of the transition to socialism (in which he gives a telling quotation from Marx's still little studied *Grundrisse* of 1857, on his vision of socialism under what we now see as automation), Marcuse sweepingly asserts that in the advanced industrial countries "the laboring classes are in no sense a revolutionary potential." We hear this statement quite often nowadays, and if taken seriously, it would condemn as futile all activity by revolutionary militants

in the labor movement: they had better sit back and leave the job of making revolution to the heirs of Che. But such statements have been made before. Prior to 1914 we heard it in connection with universal suffrage; between the wars it was "Ford versus Marx"; now it is the "affluent society" (the term, writes Marcuse, should be taken ironically). But three times in this half century these same laboring classes have been revolutionary potential, during and after World War I, during the depression and during World War II. In the cataclysmic period into which capitalism, especially American capitalism, seems now to be drifting, we must consider all exploited classes, including those famous toilers with car, refrigerator and weekends off, as revolutionary potential. But this statement of Marcuse, which is quite popular now in certain liberal and Left circles, should not be easily dismissed. It deserves careful analysis. However, this is not the place.

Despite the fact that the Communist Party of the USA, which has been the main carrier of Marxist thought in this country for nearly fifty years, and many of its members have actually lived the Marxian ethics for the better part of their lives, no speaker representing the point of view of this party seems to have been invited. Yet, we are grateful to the authorities of Notre Dame for having organized this interesting exchange of thoughts.

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