



"Without a Revolutionary Theory
There can be no Revolutionary Practice!"

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The Parker Case And the Terror Against The Negro People

By JESS CROWLEY

The murder of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville, Miss. is again focusing national attention upon the reign of terror directed against the Negro people in the South. Parker was beaten, dragged from a conveniently unguarded jail and murdered. Violence of this kind has been practiced against the Negro people since the first slave was brought to the United States in chains.

It is at its height in the South, but by no means confined to the South. Not a week goes by in the North as well in which several acts of police brutality or mob violence do not take place. In New York there have been two particularly bad cases of police brutality recently. Al Garrett, a Negro, was shot by Patrolman John Cuzzo in the Gates Avenue police station in Brooklyn on April 17 and later died. Mrs. Jessie Crumple went to the Classon Avenue police station to complain that her daughter had been beaten by Patrolman Daniel Feltman on May 8, the very day Al Garrett died. She charges that when she complained her 14 year old daughter was charged with

"assaulting" the cop in question.

In addition to violence and police brutality, the Negro people are subjected to further indignities and discrimination in the courts. An example that could be multiplied many times over is the case reported in the May 9 issue of *The Philadelphia Independent*. On April 11, Mrs. Irene Watson, an expectant mother, and her sister Mrs. Florencia Comfort were sitting in a parked car when a white man, Joseph Farrell, tried to force his way in at knife point. The women's screams brought help and the man ran away but was later caught by the police. He was

charged with "intoxication and disorderly conduct" fined \$10 and costs and released. Mrs. Comfort was threatened with a contempt citation for wanting to testify in his case. What if Farrell had been a Negro and the two women white?

No New Wave of Violence

The efforts of these liberals to organize protests against this violence are commendable, and worthy of all support, but it is untrue that there is any "new wave" of violence directed against the Negro people in the South. There has never been a stop to this violence.

The Parker case is the 579th lynching in Mississippi since the Tuskegee Institute began to keep a record in 1882. Since 1882 there have been 3,442 recorded instances of lynching of Negroes in the United States. Mississippi, with a greater percentage of its population Negro, and using the weapon of lynching to intimidate this population and to keep it from exercising elementary democratic right of self government, leads all the states in the number of lynchings. Georgia, with 530, and Texas, with 493, follow close behind.

These figures of lynchings are bad enough, but they are only a meager indication of the extent of the terror directed against the Negro people in the South. Many lynchings go unrecorded, especially those in the more remote areas of the Black Belt community. Murders go on continually in this area of the South, most of which are never reported to the press or to the authorities. The "law enforcement" agencies of the South in fact customarily deliberately ignore such crimes.

It is difficult to find a single family in the Black Belt area of the South that has not felt the scourge of physical violence from the white overlords of the South. The violence is not new or extraordinary. It will continue so long as the Negro nation in the South lies in chains.

The Role of the State

Another illusion held in many liberal circles is that it is only the South that is responsible for the oppression of the Negro people. This is reflected in the anguished and well meaning, but fruitless cry, "Why doesn't the federal government do something?"

If it is a question of picking up political prisoners or intimidating leftists, the FBI is very efficient. To find and bring to justice lynchings appears to be another matter. This is not a matter of efficiency or inefficiency, but of deliberate inaction. Benjamin E. Mays, columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, in his column of May 9, stated the case bluntly and accurately. "At this point the FBI will make no difference. It is conceivable that the FBI will not want to know who lynched Parker. Reduced to its final analysis, the constituted authorities will not want to punish anyone for lynching Parker."

Mays' assertion was borne out by a news report the following week that the FBI had informed a suspect in the case "to hold himself in readiness for investigation." What the FBI was really

(Continued on page 3)

The Geneva Conference

AN EDITORIAL

The Foreign Minister's Conference which began at Geneva on Monday, May 11th represents a landmark in the struggle for peaceful co-existence in the conditions of A.D. 1959. The central issue, the main, overriding question being discussed at Geneva is that of peace vs nuclear war.

When we say "is being discussed at Geneva", we don't mean that every party at the Foreign Minister's Conference is trying to grapple with the problem of existing world tensions and antagonisms which are basic to the threat of nuclear war.

On the contrary! There are at Geneva two clearly defined positions. . . one for the eradication of the main sources of war, and another that promotes the exacerbation of tensions and attempts to strengthen the present fountainhead of war danger.

It is the Soviet Union, and no one else, that is fighting for peace at Geneva!

The Soviet Union draws support from the whole camp of Socialism, the greatest existing force for peace, as well as from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world.

It is American imperialism with a frightened and somewhat reluctant junior partner, British imperialism and two cut-throat regimes as trigger men (renazified Western Germany and fascistized, De Gaulle France) which constitute the war party at Geneva.

It should be clear for anyone who has eyes to see, that the main source of war danger today is the policy of American imperialism of utilizing German militarism for its "brinkmanship" war games.

Hundred Year Old Beast of Prey

For over a hundred years, the German militarists have been responsible for the major conflicts in the European continent. Within a period of twenty-five years (1914-1939) German militarism let loose the bloodiest holocausts that humanity has experienced. Today, once more, German militarism has been revived to threaten the world with a new blood bath. This time, however, it is nuclear death by the hundreds of millions that looms as a terrible perspective. . . . If German militarism is permitted to prepare fully.

This is the key question today in the struggle for peace. Don't let anyone be deceived by hypocritical cries of "reunification of Germany", "democratic elections", and other such slogans. The arming and strengthening of renazified Western Germany, to be used as the spearhead of the imperialist war party vs the containment and thwarting of that force, constitutes the major political issue at Geneva.

Ever since the so-called Paris Amendment of October 23, 1954, and even previous to that date, the American imperialists and her other imperialist partners have worked feverishly to rearm Western Germany.

The American imperialists are facilitating the rapid emergence of Nazi personnel in positions of decisive leadership in Germany after propping up the German monopolies and of course investing heavily in Western Germany's economy. American imperialism dangles the "prize" of the return of the territory east of the Neisse — Other regions if Germany imperialism will fight against the lands of Socialism. Shades of Chamberlain!

American imperialism has sided the present Nazi rulers of Germany in reviving the Sudetenland question. The rally held in Vienna on May 16th where 300,000 so-called Sudetens from Western Germany clamored for return to Czechoslovakia brought memories of the "rallies" of the Sudeten Gauleiters back in 1937-1938 when Hitler was getting ready to strike.

The fantastic rise of anti-Semitism in Western Germany is yet another symptom of the political deterioration and clear signal of the gathering storm.

Why is Imperialism Driving for War?

The question now arises. . . why is imperialism acting this way? Because of the great problems that beset capitalist imperialism at this juncture of history. The great push forward by the lands of Socialism in every field of endeavor, the epoch making surge of the colonial people in their struggles against imperialism and for colonial freedom; the worsening economic situation in the capitalist imperialist countries which threatens with an internal explosion, all of these pressures have made the imperialists frantic and it's for this reason that they are seeking the time honored capitalist solution. . . . War!

But wars in these days cannot just be decreed or declared by imperialists without running the risk of revolt. For this reason they are demagogically trying to confuse the issues at Geneva. For they know that if the people get to understand the issues clearly, they, the imperialists, will never be able to drag the world into a terrible nuclear war.

Peace, and its main historical by-product, peaceful co-existence, in the epoch of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, cannot be gotten by crawling, or bartering. Peace has to be imposed by the sheer power of the active peace forces in the world.

Imperialist Meaning of German Reunification

In this connection, it is well to understand what is the real meaning of the imperialist crocodile tears for "German reunification."

Some spokesmen for American imperialism are quite brazen about making "their meaning" of "German reunification" explicit. In the *New York Herald Tribune* of Friday, May 15th, 1959, fascist David Lawrence, in his daily column entitled "Sovereignty of Germany Called Geneva's Big Issue" states: —

"The champions of freedom have told the dictatorship of the Soviet Union that there is no substitute for free and uncoerced elections as a means of determining the true will of a people. Germany can be reunited and the city of Berlin can be a 'united city' but only if the heavy hand of totalitarianism is lifted and

(Continued on page 4)

Part V

The Economic Situation

Unemployment — Secretary Mitchell's False Prediction

On April 8, Secretary of Labor James C. Mitchell told the workers that "By October of this year there will be 67 million people at work and unemployment will be three million or less." This was a display of the typical dishonest, cynical and insulting arrogance of a smug ruling class entrenched behind a powerful gendarmerie and surrounded by sycophants.

It was insulting because it coolly and callously fobbed off the urgent demands of the working class and dismissed as unimportant the growth of chronic mass unemployment faced by millions of Negro and white workers today.

It was cynical in its facile assumption, that the top officials of the labor movement, such as George Meany, David MacDonald, John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther, James Carey, James Hoffa, Junior Hutcheson and Joe Curran will make it their business to see that no real "trouble" comes of it all.

But it is the dishonesty of Mitchell's "prediction" which, above all, must be exposed in order that the "austerity" program of the bourgeoisie can be combated by the masses of the workers.

Mitchell's Favorite Season

First of all, October was deliberately chosen for Mitchell's rosy prediction purposes for the reason that it is the seasonal low-point of unemployment. He said that not more than three

million (or about 4.3 percent) out of seventy million in the civilian labor force would be unemployed come October. That is bad enough of course, but when this figure is adjusted for seasonal variation it becomes more than 5.5 percent. This is worse than the 5.3 percent seasonally adjusted rate which the government boastfully claimed for April.

Or again, it is well known that June, graduation month, is the seasonally high unemployment period. Therefore, a level of three million for October corresponds to four and one half million in June. In other words, things are going to get worse before they get better. Unemployment in June will be higher than it was in April, and around one and a half million higher than the figure Mitchell gave for October.

About all Mitchell was saying then, was that school opens in the Fall, and that the normal summer slowdown comes to an end. He could have conveyed exactly as much intelligence about the problem of unemployment if he had said that in the Northern hemisphere the days are shorter in October than they are in April. At the same time, he was admitting in this year of widely heralded "recovery" that at best an average of about four million workers will be unemployed, or more than 5.7 percent of the civilian labor force. This is a higher proportion than any year since 1941, except the acknowledged "recession" years, 1949 and 1958.

(Continued on page 2)

POC Meets on Negro Question

By Malcolm Grant

On May 10, the POC held an all day conference in New York on the Negro question. All areas of the New York POC were represented at this conference, and in addition, comrades from out of town and specially invited guests participated in the proceedings.

The General Secretary of the POC, Comrade Armando Roman delivered the main report and a general discussion followed. The report and the discussion were characterized by a deep and profound probing of the problems involved and further extended the line of the POC on the Negro question in the United States as a national question.

The report pointed out that part of the task of the POC in working out its own line and program must be to expose the class collaboration of the "Communist Party" as it is presently constituted and to trace its roots in the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the ranks of the working class. As Lenin long ago pointed out, revisionists never invent anything, but merely borrow from the arsenal of bourgeois ideology.

Retreat on the National Question

It is a characteristic position of those who take a social democratic position, or those who do not wish to attack the imperialism of their own nation, to ignore or distort the national question. This was true of the Second International, and Lenin and Stalin attacked the leaders of the Second International in their writings on the national question for their compromise with imperialism. It is true today of the leadership of the CPUSA.

It is the essence of the social democratic position on the national question to pretend that it does not exist, that workers of oppressed nations are subjected only to class exploitation, and not to see that they are not only subjected to class exploitation, but that their class exploitation is qualitatively worse because of the national oppression directed against them. It was stated by a participant in the conference discuss on that this reduction of national oppression to "simple" class struggle is being done by the CPUSA leadership with both the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples. They will have something to say, although often only of a subsister nature, about the struggles of the Negro people, or of the condition of the Puerto Rican people here, but they have nothing to say about independence for Puerto Rico or the right of the Southern Negro people to self determination.

As a comrade from the Lower Harlem area of the New York POC pointed out, the revisionists now present us with the theory that the United States has been the product of an "amalgam of nationalities". This is nothing but a new version of the bourgeois "melting pot" theory. It says nothing of the oppression of the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples because of the nature of imperialism. The POC, a Marxist-Leninist organization, will have nothing to do with such doctrines that mask the character of American imperialism.

By refusing to recognize the existence of oppressed nations and refusing to fight for their rights, the revisionists also refuse to recognize the existence and role of comprador classes, the allies of imperialism within the ranks of the oppressed peoples. In fact, not only do they refuse to recognize the existence and role of compradors, but they follow the line of those very compradors, as more than one par-

ticipant in the conference pointed out. As one comrade said, this is particularly true with regard to the Negro people in the United States. The CPUSA is much closer to the liberal bourgeoisie and the compradors among the Negro people than it is to the Negro masses.

The Negro Question and Revisionism

Lenin pointed out as early as 1913 that the Negro question in the United States was a national question. The Communist Party of the United States did not however, develop its line on the Negro question as a national question until after the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928. Even then, theoretical clarity on the Negro question was achieved only after bitter struggle with the revisionists of that day. Since then, every revisionist crisis in the Communist Party has been accompanied by a sellout on the Negro question and the right of self determination. The present line of the so-called Communist Party on the Negro question was developed in the main by the renegades from Communism Gates and Wilkerson. Their position is now being continued with only a little polishing and considerable double talk designed to conceal its treacherous origin by the present party leadership.

Foster, Davis and Jackson now present this line, denying the Negro people the right to self determination just as do the highest circles of the American ruling class. These fine gentlemen, in the face of the continuing oppression of the Negro people, proclaim that the problems of the Negro people can be solved under capitalism with just a few reforms, and even hint strongly that it will be the further development of capitalism that will solve those problems.

The Negro Nation and Self Determination

The present Communist Party leadership proclaim that they recognize the Negro question as a national question but deny the existence of a Negro nation in the areas of Negro majority population. The main prop of this argument is that the Black Belt community is no longer "stable" because there is no much population movement from this area. Comrade Roman pointed out that the fact that Irish emigration for instance, over the past several generations totals more than the present population of Ireland, but that no one can argue that this negates the existence of the Irish nation. It was further pointed out that two-thirds of the total Negro population of the United States still remains in the South, and that the migration from the rural areas of the Black Belt to Southern cities will soon result in Negro majority population in many of them.

Comrade Roman and others emphasized that we do not present the slogan of self determination as a blueprint for the creation of a separate Negro republic in the South. The right of self determination belongs to the Negro people for them to exercise as they see fit whether it means separation or an auto-

Parker Case

(Continued from page 1)

saying here was, "get your alibi ready." When the FBI has a political arrest to make it will knock on the door in the middle of the night.

Foster and Davis of the Communist Party of the United States said in the April issue of Political Affairs, that "the would-be world conquerors of Wall Street . . . decided to tone down the more spectacular forms of oppression . . . Hence, lynching had to be glossed over, and every potential lynch mob understood the foreign policy reasons why this was being done."⁽¹⁾

Surely Virgil T. Blossom, formerly Superintendent of Schools in Little Rock is no radical, as Foster and Davis are supposed to be. In the first of a series of articles on the Little Rock school integration struggle, published in the Saturday Evening Post of May 23, he says, "The Department of Justice at Washington, for example, failed to indict or prosecute a single individual involved in mob action to thwart integration, although more than fifty were arrested by local police. A Federal judge failed to provide United States marshals to help enforce integration at a critical time."

What Must Be Done?

The task of freeing the Negro people, both North and South, from violence, oppression and second class citizenship is a large political task. The efforts of the Negro people themselves can be of great weight, if all are united in resolute action. Resolute action can come about only if the

nomous status corresponding to that of nations in the Soviet Union and China or similar to the status of the French Canadians in Canada.

Self determination in the South for the Negro people was presented as a revolutionary solution to the denial of the political rights of the Southern Negro people. Self determination, whatever the form it may take, will be a guarantee to the Negro people of their right to participate in democratic government.

Negro Struggles North and South

A connection was made between the oppression of the Negro people in the South and the reflection and penetration of this oppression in the North. The oppression of the Negro people is a national question. The Dixiecrats are only the agents of Northern finance capital, who control them and all the agencies of the national government. Through this control they prevent the forces of government and law enforcement from halting the illegal terror launched against the Negro people North and South. Through their control of the agencies of public opinion they prevent a mass educational campaign against the poison of white chauvinism.

As more than one speaker pointed out, the existence of white chauvinism dictates an immediate political task to the American working class and particularly its vanguard forces — the eradication of this poison. For us in the POC, Negro-white unity is not just a slogan to be paraded. The line of this conference, which is the line of the POC, is that a fight must be waged particularly in the white working class communities to build mass support for the struggles of the Negro people.

A proper understanding of the national character of the Negro people and their right to self determination will be a great aid to building Negro-white unity. As Lenin pointed out in Critical Notes On The National Question,

Your Stake in Political Deportations

By PETER YORK

Negro working class takes the lead from the timid bourgeois leaders of present Negro mass organizations. Negro workers, not the bourgeoisie, can forge a real Negro-white working class unity. White workers have an urgent responsibility in this fight. The working class is large in numbers and extremely powerful when it moves in unity.

Mass demonstrations and protest strikes would demonstrate this strength and cause the forces of white supremacy to tremble in fear.

Mack Parker Must Not Be Forgotten

In the past there have been many mass movements of protest against particular lynchings and manifestations of violence. The violence has not yet stopped. What is needed is a movement that will not stop until all the violence is stopped forever. Every working class community ought to be involved in this protest and notice must be served upon the government that the protest will go on until these crimes are stopped.

America's shame before the whole world can be wiped out only when the masses of the American people put the blame where it belongs — on their government. As long as we do not do this, the shame rests upon us as well.

recognizing the right of self determination of oppressed peoples and the end to their national oppression does not separate, but on the contrary, brings together the proletariat of oppressed and oppressor nations.

OUR PROGRAM

The POC program on the Negro question has already been outlined in its essentials in the VANGUARD and in our documents, but the conference on the Negro question extends and deepens this program and points the way to its concrete implementation. The discussion at the conference pointed out the necessity for emphasizing in all our work, such as our work on labor and housing, the special oppression to which the Negro people are subjected in all walks of life, and to conduct a relentless fight against this injustice wherever it is found.

The National Committee of the POC will use the conference report and discussion as a basis for further analysis of the Negro question and the further development of our program. On the recommendation of the conference, the National Committee has set up a special committee for the further study of the Negro question and particularly for the purpose of drafting a program of radical reform for the democratic solution of the Negro problem in the United States. Particular attention in the program will be paid to the problem of the Negro nation in the South.

A resolution was passed at the conclusion of the conference that messages of protest be sent to Governor Coleman of Mississippi and Attorney General Rogers demanding that those responsible for the brutal murder of Mack Charles Parker be properly punished, and promising that so long as their present policy of inaction is followed that we will keep up a fight and protest in every working class community that we can reach.

Put yourself in the shoes of a woman named Jo Ann Santiago, who the U.S. government has "slated," "listed," "earmarked," or what have you, for deportation to Canada. Imagine yourself being uprooted after 31 years of residence in this country as she is, and pushed over a border you do not wish to cross, you don't feel so good!

Canada is a great country and all that, but it is not home to you, as it isn't for Mrs. Santiago. Canada has more mountains than one could climb in a lifetime, more streams to fish, more grassy plains, more back roads and roads to explore than one would dare, and it has some great cities. But who needs to see Canada the hard way, through deportation?

Not you, nor I, nor any American, least of all Jo Ann Santiago who has real roots here. Jo Ann came to this country when she was six years old. I was born here, but what's the difference, really? The difference is one only a government run by bigots would make anything of. This is a matter of out and out political persecution.

Jo Ann was an active union member before she settled into marriage and housekeeping. That, of course, is a strike against her in the bigot's mind. She was at one time a leading voice in a tenants' council in speaking for better housing for herself and her neighbors — strike two against Jo Ann! The third strike was Jo Ann's choice of a man. She married Jose Santiago, a Puerto Rican Communist and a member of the POC, who has been a year's long participant in workers struggles in New York and for the independence of Puerto Rico. He is the best known Puerto Rican Communist both in the United States and Latin America.

JO ANN'S CASE CONCERNS YOU

Jo Ann needs you, but don't make the mistake of thinking of her as being separate from yourself, for it is written in the imperialist plan that your turn follows hers.

The "security" of us all lies in our unity, in our solidarity in the struggle for peace, workers rights and Socialism.

The working class must rally to the defense of its most militant fighters; the Puerto Rican people must smash this barbaric attack on the family of one of its most valiant sons.

There isn't too much time to save Jo Ann; there isn't much time to save us, or ourselves. The American Committee For The Protection of the Foreign Born has undertaken to assist Jo Ann in her struggle to stay here where she belongs, in the United States with her family, but its help is not enough. Your assistance is needed, and desperately.

Send your protest to the Attorney General and the Department of Immigration in New York City.

Get your friends interested in the case and where possible organize Committees.

Send your personal contribution and get your friends to do so.

For further information; for material, and contributions to meet the expense of this case, write to:

DEFENSE COMMITTEE
FOR JO ANN SANTIAGO
Post Office Box 1422, Grand Central Station
New York 17, N.Y.

The Economic Situation

(Continued from page 1)

Much Higher Unemployment Among Negroes

Typical bourgeois dishonesty was shown in Mitchell's white-chauvinist d'aregard of the way in which the National oppression of the Negro people is manifested in the unemployment problem. The severity of this situation is indicated in the figures presented in Table I.

Real Proportions of Unemployment Hidden

We have previously discussed (See February Vanguard) how the real extent of unemployment is hidden by the government's statistical methods. We noted that if part-time unemployment were taken into account, and if the "statistical suppression" of a portion of the labor force were corrected, the extent of unemployment would be shown to be 50 to 60 percent higher than admitted by the government.

However, in connection with the class struggle, the proportion of unemployment is more significant than the absolute numbers. And it is here that the government figures attempt one of the worst concealments of the actual unemployment.

The reader will have noticed that official statistics pretend to measure unemployment as a percentage of the "civilian labor force". But, the fact of the matter is that the civilian labor force includes some fifteen million persons who cannot become unemployed, persons who are not wage workers, persons such as proprietors, self employed professional

als, etc. A more accurate idea of the actual proportion of unemployment among the American working class would compare the number of unemployed (which by definition includes only wage workers, and would be wage workers), with the number of "wage and salary workers in non-agricultural establishments" which, together with a figure of about two million agricultural workers, would make a total of about fifty-three million workers competing in the labor market! (This point seems as noteworthy as it is obvious. Yet, as far as we know, Vanguard is the first to call attention to it.)

When measured thusly, the four million officially reported as unemployed are recognized as a full 7 1/2 percent of all the wage workers in the country. Then, if this is corrected for the "hidden unemployment" which we discussed earlier, we see that the actual proportion of unemployment with which the American working class is saddled is more than 11 percent! This provides some idea of the real proportions of the industrial reserve army by which the capitalist class of the United States regulates the wages of labor!

Growing Chronic Unemployment

Finally, in this historical period of the general crisis of capitalism, the industrial reserve army is expanded even beyond the requirements of capitalist profit. Side by side with the chronic under utilization of productive capacity, there appears mass unemployment. At the very moment that the "better-than-seasonal" improvement in the unemployment picture was being trumpeted from Washington, the following fact emerged: Even by official U. S. Labor Department figures, 1.4 million workers, i.e. 38 1/2 percent of all the unemployed, had been looking for work in vain for more than 15 weeks. This, furthermore, was twice as many as in 1957 even though industrial production was higher in April this year than it was two years ago.

A Longer Look Backward

In Table II we present figures which help to place the current unemployment situation in historical perspective.

Here we see that not only has the number of unemployed increased in thirty years, but more important, the proportion of unemployment among the working class has almost doubled.

This is a quite different version of the "bigger-piece-of-a-bigger-pie" story, from that so fondly quoted by the bourgeois

and energy of its growth and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productivity of its labor, the greater is the industrial reserve army. . . It follows, therefore, that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse." (Capital, Volume I, Ch. XXV, Sections 3 and 4).

A PROBLEM FOR 'AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISTS'

On the other hand, the invariable "American Exceptionalists" regard " . . . the operation of Marx's law (note, they think it's a law of Marx rather than a

hope to show further why, certain surface appearances to the contrary, notwithstanding, the recession is not over!

The fundamental theoretical assumptions upon which depend the current optimistic forecasts of the bourgeois spokesmen (such as Mitchell, for instance) are necessarily those most generally associated with the ideas of Lord John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946). The chief work of this English nobleman was his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936).

MAIN DIFFERENCE OF APPROACH

Points of decisive difference of the Keynesian, as contrasted with the Marxist, approach to political economy are these:

1) Keynesianism is not concerned with the forces or relations of production. Marxism considers these as the essential identifying characteristics of every historical social system.

2) Keynesianism is not concerned with the analysis of the laws whereby the relations of production determine the distribution of wealth among the various classes. Marxism regards the development of these relations of production, a relationship of class struggle, as the basis of the historical development of society.

3) Keynesianism is primarily concerned with economic crisis, but because of the limitations of its bourgeois class outlook, is restricted to what are essentially surface phenomena such as prices, money supply, interest rates, etc., its point of departure being the total income or product. Marxism starts with the surface appearance — the common, simple, everyday commodity — and then by the dialectical method of investigation, unravels the hidden inner connections which lead to the discovery of the essential laws of capitalist reproduction, its cycle (in all its phases, not only crisis) and its evolution, its historical tendencies.

4) Keynesianism is idealist in its philosophic outlook, giving primary importance to capitalist "expectations," "preferences" and "decisions" and to "the propensity to consume" supposedly derived from laws of human psychology. Marxism is materialist, regarding laws of economic development as operating independently of the will of men, on the basis of relations of production existing objectively, as the basic shaping factor in the development of customs, tastes, and other aspects of man's ideal existence.

5) Keynesianism aims at eliminating, or controlling and limiting capitalist economic crisis and achieving "balanced economic growth" through governmental measures affecting the levels of consumption, investment and savings. Marxism aims at facilitating the historical task of the proletariat as the grave digger of capitalism and the builder of socialist society. Marxism rejects, as politically and theoretically wrong, theories of the "prevention" or "postponement" of capitalist cyclical crises through government or other bourgeois programs.

KEYNESIANISM SERVES U. S. IMPERIALISM

Keynesianism has been adapted to the needs of American finance capital, and has become by all

TABLE I
RELATIVE BURDEN OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG
NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION

	APRIL 1957	APRIL 1958	APRIL 1959
Civilian Labor Force (In Thousands)	66,952	68,028	68,639
White	59,772	60,664	61,202
Negro	7,180	7,364	7,437
UNEMPLOYMENT (In Thousands)	2,691	5,120	3,827
White	2,170	4,096	2,902
Negro	521	1,024	725
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION			
Civilian Labor Force	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	90.0	89.2	90.0
Negro	10.0	10.8	10.0
UNEMPLOYED			
White	80.7	80.0	80.0
Negro	19.3	20.0	20.0
UNEMPLOYED			
Percent of Whites	3.6	6.8	4.8
Percent of Negroes	7.3	13.9	9.3

Sources: Notes on Economic Situation of Negroes in U. S. Revised May 1958 — U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Figures for April 1959 from Survey of Current Business, and projected by Vanguard on the basis of B. L. S. 1957 and 1958 figures.

propagandists. The "pie" (the number of workers) has increased from 49 million to 70 million, but the "piece of the pie" (the proportion of unemployment among the workers) has increased almost twice as fast.

And, if the American tradition of voluntary enlistment were restored, and the unjustified scourge of the youth — the military draft — were ended, this trend in the proportion of unemployment would tend to become even more apparent.

Of course, these figures have not taken the least account of the ravages of unemployment among the workers of Latin American countries whose job hopes are today mainly dependent upon the requirements of United States capital. Without undertaking the necessary full treatment of this aspect of the question at this time, we present a few illustrative facts. Cuba with a population of only six million has 700,000 unemployed workers (N. Y. Times, April 5, 1959, citing Fidel Castro as authority). Puerto Rico with a population of 2.2 million had an unemployment of "just below 100,000" last year. (Wall Street Journal June 13, 1958). From Mexico a half million agricultural workers alone come annually to work on U. S. farm, driven of course by the desperate unemployment situation affecting the entire Mexican working class. (See Wall Street Journal, June 28, 1958.)

Marxist Theory Being Vindicated

Marxist-Leninists will not be surprised by the trend of impoverishment implied by the figures cited above. Such students of political economy see thus confirmed the analysis of capitalist production formulated by Marx: "Relative surplus-population is . . . the pivot upon which the law of demand and supply of labor works. . . The mechanism of capitalist production so manages matters that the absolute increase of capital is accompanied by no corresponding rise in the general demand for labor. . . The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent

of capitalism. — ed.) of the impoverishment of the working class" as one of a number of "long-unresolved theoretical questions." The reader might recognize this quotation; it is to be found in the Main Political Resolution of the revisionist-conciliatorist 16th Convention of the old CPUSA.

Certainly we accept the challenge of vindicating Marxist theories on the basis of the experiences of the United States no less than those of other countries. We regard the tasks in this field of theory as obligations of the class struggle. But, we take Marx as our rallying point.

Let the latter day devotees of "freedom of criticism" of the old Party leadership meantime explain how they think the proportion of unemployment among American workers can show a historic tendency to rise without a resulting impoverishment of the working class.

MARXISM VERSUS KEYNESIANISM

As serious as is the picture of current unemployment as we have been discussing it, it is presented on the basis of the most optimistic figures advanced by the U. S. bourgeoisie. In previous articles we have shown in terms of facts and of Marxist Leninist theory why we do not consider the current "recovery" claims and predictions to be based upon genuine cyclical factors. It still remains to examine the theory of these "recovery" claims, the theory of "balanced economic growth" of U. S. capitalism. In undertaking this task now we

TABLE II
THIRTY-YEAR (1929-1959) RISE IN PROPORTION
OF UNEMPLOYMENT

	Gross National Product (In terms of 1958 Prices)	Unemployed as Percent Of Civilian Labor Force	Armed Forces as Percentage Equivalent of Civilian Labor Force
1929	\$201 Billion	3.2 percent	0.5 percent
1959	\$470 Billion	5.5 percent	3.74 percent

(President's Economic Report, 1959; GNP figure for 1959 general government estimate, unemployment 1959 based on estimate of approximately 4 billion for the annual average).

Lumber Strike

Eureka, Cal. An important lumber strike is on at Redcrest, Calif. On Monday, May 11th the Company fired 4 of their five-man green chain crew, in order as they said, "To put in a contract system." The vast majority of the crew had signed application cards for Lumber and Saw mill Workers Union, AFL, and a petition had been filed for a NLRB election to determine the bargaining agency for the crew.

This strike comes at a time when lumber is at its highest price in three years, and numerous other locals are asking for opening contracts on wages (to offset increased living costs). This strike puts the powerful LU 2808 in the first head-on clash with the Northern California Lumber Operators, for some time, and on its outcome depends the wages, hours, and living conditions of thousands of lumber workers in this area.

The battle is joined, the strike is on, and the business agent of 2808 says that "We will stay out five years if need be — to win!" Send any financial support you can to Financial Secretary, LU 2808 LSWU, 1154 8th Street, Arcata, Calif.

Tom Scribner Editor
Lumberjack News

adds the dominant theory of U.S. bourgeois political economy. This development is based upon the following facts:

1) Keynesianism serves to obscure the existence and meaning of class antagonisms, thereby to camouflage capitalist exploitation and the inherent reactionary character of monopoly capitalism, imperialist parasitic dying capitalism.

2) Keynesianism is primarily a "crisis" theory, and thus centers upon the main preoccupation of world capitalism in the period of its general crisis, which began with World War I and the Russian Revolution and which its second stage with World II and the growth of the socialist sector of the world.

3) Keynesianism, since its central practical programmatic outcome is government intervention in the economy, serves to promote the development of state monopoly capitalism — the open, direct and complete subordination of the state to the control of the finance capitalist oligarchy.

4) Keynesianism, with its rejection of "laissez faire" (unrestricted competitive capitalism) and with its slogans of "planned and balanced and regulated economic growth (under capitalism)," is perfectly suited to the needs of opportunism with its theoretical stock-in-trade of "prevention of crises through governmental and other measures for raising mass purchasing power." Keynesianism is of primary importance in the theoretical struggle conducted by the opportunists to stifle, blunt and abort the class consciousness of the workingclass, and to prevent workers from studying and following Marxist-Leninism.

(Part Six of this series will appear in next month's issue.)

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Geneva

(Continued from page 1)

the people are permitted to choose their own form of government.

"This, in essence, is the big issue here at the conference of Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. This is the real road to peace. — the way to get rid of festering sores that slowly but surely bring on the conditions out of which world wars are born.

"Throughout the Iron Curtain countries, where the fires of freedom still burn in the hearts of the enslaved, the Western plan is more than a ray of hope. It is the symbol of earnest desire not to surrender to the will of the tyrant but to hold high the banner of freedom and free elections."

(Emphasis ours — Ed.)

Lest we be accused of choosing our quotes from extreme reactionaries like Lawrence, let us then quote from the "liberal" C.L. Sulzberger in his New York Times column of Wednesday, May 13, 1959:

"... We want a military and political status quo recognized for Western Europe with the ultimate privilege of upsetting, in our own favor, the status quo in Eastern Europe.

"To achieve our aims we inject special meaning into our statements. We do not intend to relinquish our single bridgehead inside the Soviet empire, West Berlin. We say this can only be yielded to a reunified Germany which remains armed and free to associate with us."

(Emphasis ours. — Ed.)

Obviously, all concern for the Germans has one and only one meaning for American imperialism, and that is to prop up a Nazified Western Germany as a counter-revolutionary bridgehead against the lands of Socialism.

But in determining the role that Western Germany is to play, the American imperialists have not at all reckoned with the intended victims or with the total peace forces in the world. Nazi Germany was thoroughly defeated by the Red Army when the USSR had not as yet developed the tremendous power which it has today.

British Labour M.P. Richard Crossman has stated that West Germany could be destroyed in one minute if nuclear war starts. Fascist De Gaulle has been quoted as stating to Soviet Ambassador, Vinogradov, as follows:

"Free access to West Berlin is a vital Western interest, for which we shall fight if need be. If we have to fight, no doubt we may all die; but so will you!

Indeed millions will die if war breaks out, and that is why the USSR and all the forces of peace are fighting so determinedly to thwart the efforts of the imperialist war mongers. But at the same time the American imperialists and their fascist cut-throats Adenauer and Strauss and De Gaulle and Vichyite Maurice Couve de Murville must be told that the criminal warmongers will certainly die as Mussolini and Hitler did and more recently as Batista's American imperialist stooges died in heroic Cuba.

Furthermore, the capitalist imperialist system of privation, hunger, national oppression and war will surely disappear from the face of the earth.

American Imperialist Delusions

American imperialist spokesman Christian Herter has stated: "The German Federal Republic and the so-called German Democratic Republic do not either separately or in combination, constitute an all German government, authorized to act for and bind the international entity known as Germany."

"... the United States wishes to reiterate that it has no intention of recognizing the so-called German Democratic Republic as representative of any part of the German people."

What does this mean? It means that American imperialism is unwilling to accept the realities of life. Blinded by their own arrogance they live under the delusion that it is possible to turn the wheels of history backwards. Like people mesmerized by their own incantations they have come to believe their own lies. There aren't two German states he asserts.

But reality says there are and there is nothing Herter or anyone else can do about it. Not only are there two German states, but also the social-political character of each one is different — one is capitalist-fascist (Western Germany) and the other is Socialist (German Democratic Republic).

So Mr. Herter and the American imperialists will not recognize the German Democratic Republic! But, Mr. Herter, how long was it before the U.S. recognized the USSR, and yet somehow the Soviet Union survived. And right now, American imperialism does not recognize that great giant, CHINA. So what Mr. Herter. E pur se muove!

All of Mr. Herter's ranting plus a zillion dollars from the State Department will not be able to obscure this reality for any length of time.

German reunification will take place as a result of the will of the German people alone and based on the existing social political realities. Any other approach and solution is plain pipe dreaming.

At this point of history only a federated state combining both existing states, East and West, and based on the decisions and agreements of the Potsdam Peace Covenant can reunite the German people. But the American imperialists and their partners do not agree with even recognizing living facts like the existence of the German Democratic Republic, let alone accepting the Potsdam Agreement. As a matter of fact American imperialism has been violating these agreements almost from the day after they were unanimously accepted by the victorious allies in 1945.

The reunification of Germany cannot be accomplished by proposals of expediency or by legalistic gimmicks. No, what is taking place in Germany is the living process of history, that forges ahead despite all the arms rattling of the imperialists.

A Realistic Plan for Peace and German Reunification

The Soviet Union recognizes the fact of the existence of Western Germany's regime. . . it is an ugly fact like Hitler's regime was, but just as real. The German Democratic Republic also recognizes this fact. As a matter of fact, if they tried to close their eyes to the very real existence of the renazified West German regime, they would indeed make a very grave and dangerous mistake. But the Soviet and East German leadership are Marxists, that is, realists.

The two plans projected at Geneva correspond to the fundamental policies of the two camps represented there.

The Seamen's Tradition-June 15

June 15th used to be the date all members of the National Maritime Union looked to as the beginning of a new contract year. The fact that the membership had already given authority to the Negotiating Committee to strike if the demands were not met by the shipowners, gave confidence to the men aboard ship that on the coming June 16th, substantial gains would be guaranteed. Year after year, the contract entered into between the N.M.U. and the shipowners improved.

The Waterfront, in the period preceding and during negotiations, up to and including the signing of the contract, was a live with alert seamen who were militantly discussing and projecting their demands. This was the time when rank and file activities were at their highest, when the rank and file of the union brought the issues to the general public so as to deter the barrage of vilifications and lies always directed against workers during such a period by the capitalist press. This guaranteed that the public would understand the issues and be sympathetic to the struggle of the seamen.

A number of years have passed since June 15th carried this particular significance.

This June 15th the seamen find themselves without perspective or immediate possibility of solution to their problems. They are defenseless in a period of the rapidly worsening economic situation and faced with one of the most vicious anti-labor bills, part of the cumulative attacks against labor since the end of the war.

Bourgeois as well as liberal economists are crowing that the recession is over, but the thousands of seamen on the beach prove otherwise.

For a seaman to get a ship, he has to go to the union and get a registration card. This card used to be good for 30 days. If a seaman had not shipped in this time he had to re-register unless he had a legitimate excuse such as illness. Now, as a reflection of the increased unemployment in the industry, cards are issued for a period of 90 days. However, the bulk of the seamen have a longer waiting period, as the number of extensions attest. That is, after the 30 days are jobs, seamen's registration cards, seamen's registration cards are automatically extended on a day-to-day basis.

Among those employed, the rate of turnover, that is of seamen leaving ships, has been drastically reduced. Because of the lack of jobs seamen fear leaving their berth to seek better employment . . . even when they are

The so-called package plan of the imperialists is just the reverse of Swiss cheese, a lot of holes with few bites of cheese for bait and flavor. Note that it is precisely at these substantive points in the "package" that Andrei Gromyko is directing his positive approach and agreement. While at the same time, the imperialists insist "the plan is one indivisible whole". . . take all or take nothing".

The plan proposed by the Soviet delegation soberly weighs the facts and the realities of the German problem and especially of its relation to peace and European security. Then they suggest the only possible solution consistent with present world realities. The Soviet plan calls for

1. Recognition of both German states.
2. CALLS FOR PEACE treaties with both German states.
3. CALLS FOR THE federation of both German states on the basis of the Potsdam decisions of curtailing the power of German militarism.
4. CALLS FOR THE final withdrawal of both states (separately or unitedly) from military blocs (NATO and Warsaw.)
5. CALLS FOR THE withdrawal of all foreign troops from German territory.
6. Placing the responsibility and the right to decide on German reunification on the German people themselves and no one else.

These proposals correspond with the wishes of all peace loving humanity and with the interests of the German people.

They may be rejected now by the imperialists, but no force on earth can stop its eventual realization as history develops.

working under intolerable conditions.

Contract violations go unchallenged. The shipowner, aware of the weakened state of the union, demand complete submission by employed seamen; unjust firing, abusive language, violations of safety rules (as witnessed by the increase of the accident rate at sea), are the daily bread of the seamen.

Life aboard ship has deteriorated to such an extent that hospitals no longer are used by sick and disabled seamen, but have become the private locker room for the medical officer (the chief mate). In the Mormack ships making the run to Baltic ports, the hospital room is used as lodging quarters for the shore gang. Due to automation in the loading and unloading of ships there is a faster "turn-around" of vessels, thus limiting the time a seaman spends on shore with his family.

The shipowners take full advantage of the artificially created antagonism between employed and unemployed seamen to weaken the union and to increase their profits.

The plight that seamen face today is the logical result of the class collaborationist policies pursued by Curran since the end of the war. These policies have not only reduced the union membership, but have also curtailed its fighting capacity.

Beginning with the demand for the "gimmick" of pre-war discharges in order to qualify for jobs on passenger ships, Curran nullified the cornerstone of the organization, the democratic set-up of rotary shipping, whereby any man that was qualified for a job was shipped out and the company had to accept him. Curran knew full well what this meant.

This tactic undermined the democratic foundation of the union and paved the way for Curran's drive for one-man rule.

The next step was to reduce the membership by the elimination of the alien seamen. This two-pronged attack was to weaken the union numerically and create a reserve of unemployed seamen to man foreign flag ships. (Foreign flags but owned by U.S. shipowners to the last rivet.)

How can Curran NOW talk about run-away when he himself helped the shipowners to build these fleets?

With the pre-war discharge set-up Curran obliged the shipowners, and with the acceptance of "alien quotas", the government!

With union democracy castrated, Curran got ready for the big kill — the elimination of all "Communists" from the union.

This proved no easy job even though Curran had the help of the Seamen officialdom of the CIO, and of course aided by the shipowners, and tutored by a Mr. Herman Cooper, lawyer and specialist in company dominated unions like Con-Edison.

Curran used all his skill and the tools at his command. However, it was not until Mr. Truman came to his rescue that Curran was on the way to full control of the NMU. Utilizing American intervention in the Korean Civil War, Truman issued the "Executive Order" . . . which eliminated all "subversive personnel" from ships.

This cleared the deck for Curran even more than some of his ex-associates realized. For before they knew what hit them, they too were thrown to the wolves! It was easy for Joe to do this. The un-democratic procedures established by the Coast Guard gave him the weapon he required.

It should be mentioned that since then the Coast Guard ruling has been ruled unconstitutional by the District Court of the Southern District of California. This victory was in the main achieved by the stubborn struggle conducted by the seamen.

Curran in connivance with the shipowners and the government refuses to comply with the Court ruling that these seamen be reinstated to their original status. The Seamen's Defense Committee has taken legal action to force Curran to comply with the Court order.

With all opposition "eliminated", Curran was free to continue unimpeded in his class collaborationist policies. Acceptance of America's imperialist foreign policies, meant also accepting the domestic application of said policies — Taft-Hartley, the anti-labor laws, discrimination, insufficient protection of the unemployed, etc. Curran was willing to give up all types of struggle in his quest for "respectability," after all, it was only the seamen and the American workers who were footing the bill.

While Joe is busy moving towards personal control of the strike fund, the legislators are having a field day in Congress. The Kennedy bill, already passed by the Senate, is a cinch to pass the House according to Joe. This of course, as far as he is concerned, negates the need for struggle.

The AF-CIO top leadership is reported to be "studying" the Kennedy bill. Studying it for what? No doubt to accommodate themselves to it! Only complete mobilization of the membership, militantly demonstrating its protest can be a guarantee of the defeat of the bill. Unless this is done labor will have to live with it.

In order to fight effectively against any such legislation, the democracy once enjoyed in the CIO, must return to it and be established throughout the entire labor movement. The escalator clause and extended contracts must be eliminated.

A return to rank-and-file control in the NMU is the only guarantee that June 15th will be revitalized and again looked upon by the seamen as a day to take stock.

Struggle against the shipowners and in defense of the men in the maritime industry will help to alleviate the plight of the seamen. For only when socialism has been secured in this country, will seamen together with the rest of the working class of the United States will be free forever from the toils of monopolistic exploitation.

Waterfront Area
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