

JUNE, 1967



PLITICAL
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CONTENTS

<i>Arnold Johnson</i>	
The People March for Peace	1
<i>John Howard Lawson</i>	
The Stature of Michael Gold	10
<i>William Allen and George Meyers</i>	
The UAW Prepares for Action	15
<i>Sam Kushner</i>	
The Delano Farm Strike	23
<i>S. Pashkov</i>	
The Economic Laws of Socialism	31
<i>Herbert Aptheker</i>	
Socialist and Capitalist Societies: Some Notes	45
<i>Paul Boccara</i>	
On State Monopoly Capitalism	53
<i>Tom Foley</i>	
The Problem of Alienated Youth	61
BOOK REVIEWS	
<i>Ann Barton</i>	
An Absorbing Novel	64

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The People March for Peace

When a half million peace marchers filled the streets of New York and another 80,000 in San Francisco on April 15, a new peace movement was born. This was the largest political demonstration, on the most crucial issue of our times, that the country has ever witnessed. The central and dominating demand of the marchers, and the millions they represented, was to bring an end to the cruel and criminal war of U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam. The massive size of the outpouring shook up the entire country and reverberated in every corner of the world.

A Mass of Humanity

On that eventful day, there were more peace marchers in New York City alone than American soldiers in Vietnam. Every state east of the Mississippi was represented. Special trains brought 7,000 from Wisconsin, Illinois Michigan and Ohio. The same number came by car and bus from every town in Connecticut. Ten thousand came by bus from the cities of Pittsburgh, Washington, Philadelphia, Newark and Boston. One thousand more came by train from Washington, D.C., with many additional hundreds from the deep South. From over 500 college campuses came tens of thousands of students. New Yorkers jammed the subways, streaming in from all areas of the great metropolis. In a few short hours the assembly point at Sheep Meadow in Central Park was filled to overflow with a huge mass of humanity—men, women and children, Negro and white, young and old—but with the youth predominating.

At 12:15 noon, Reverend Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock together with other dignitaries, followed by 100 American Indians, led off the six-hour march from Central Park at 59th Street and Seventh Avenue to the United Nations Plaza at First Avenue and 47th Street. Within the hour, more than 125,000 jammed the Plaza while nearly 400,000 more were on the line of march or waiting their turn in the park.

Veterans of World War II and the war in Vietnam—more than 1,000 strong—were next. Then came the college professors in cap and gown, the thousands of clergymen and religious leaders, spirited contingent of the women, the trade unionists, the high school and college students, the pacifists, the contingent of Communists, the doctors, lawyers and other professionals. With thousands of banners inscribed with varied slogans calling for a halt to the war in Vietnam,

with colorful streamers preceding each contingent, and with floats, balloons and effigies, the marchers walked 20 to 30 abreast, strumming guitars, chanting slogans, singing freedom and anti-war songs.

In New York, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Chairman of SANE, and David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine, acted as co-chairmen of the great gathering. Reverend Martin Luther King, who in recent months has emerged as the foremost figure in the entire peace movement, spoke with eloquence and fervor. Other speakers were Floyd McKissick of CORE, Monseignor Charles Rice of Pittsburgh, Cleveland Robinson of District 65, William Pepper of the National Conference for New Politics, Stokeley Carmichael of SNCC, Pedro Juan Ruan of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, Linus Pauling, the eminent scientist, Linda Dannenberg of the Student Mobilization Committee, Professor Howard Zinn of Boston University and Reverend James Bevel, the National Director of the Spring Mobilization, who brought a new quality of dedication to the peace movement as a whole. Professor Sidney Peck from Cleveland, Professor Robert Greenblatt of Cornell, Abe Feinglass from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and other well-known individuals were present.

A similar group of prominent individuals spoke in San Francisco, including Edward Keating of *Ramparts*, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Paul Schrade, regional director of the UAW, Julian Bond, Willie Brown and John Burton (state legislators from Georgia and California), Charles Duarte, president of ILWU Local 6, Gerald Hill of the California Democratic Council, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg of Toronto, Mrs. Grace Mora Newman, Robert Vaughn, TV's "Man from U.N.C.L.E." and many others.

Greetings came to both meetings from all parts of the world.

The Peace Movement Gathers Momentum

For six months prior to the April 15th Mobilization, the peace movement had been gathering momentum in all areas of the country. The mass revulsion to the escalation of the war, to the cynical bombardment of civilians in Hanoi and Haiphong, the reckless employment of napalm and chemicals, found its expression in the November 1966 elections. Wherever the choice was present the people voted against the Johnson war program.

Millions, resentful that the Johnson Administration had callously rejected the "peace feelers" during the periods of truce at Christmas and New Year, called for a halt to the bombing as a necessary step towards negotiations. Eight thousand academic figures from colleges across the country cried "Stop the Bombing" in a *New York Times*'

advertisement which covered two pages. The Committee of Professionals brought another 8,000 signatures in support of a more complete program. Some 475 Yale faculty members made a special appeal to Johnson to halt the war and similar statements by the faculties of other colleges followed. Two hundred student government presidents and editors, who had not been involved in the anti-war campaign, spoke out vigorously, and gave a new dimension to the peace movement on the campuses.

The Angry Arts, involving writers, actors, musicians and artists conducted a week of diverse and effective protests in New York. Some 2,500 clergymen and religious leaders conducted four days of lobbying and protest actions in Washington and established an organization of the Concerned Clergy, which includes some of the most prominent religious leaders in the country. In January, the Women Strike for Peace brought 3,000 women to Washington to pound on the doors of the Pentagon in angry protest.

Receiving little publicity, but of decisive importance, were the organized peace expressions involving rank and file trade unionists and sections of the trade union leadership. Trade Unionists for Peace brought together members of diverse unions in the fight for peace, followed by many conferences and meetings of trade union leaders, from New York to California, resulting in the establishment of chapters of the new Labor Division of SANE.

Seeing young Negro men slaughtered in the thousands—53 per cent of all those killed in Vietnam—and the war on poverty and for equality scuttled at home, the Negro people in ever-increasing numbers saw the fight for freedom bound up with the fight to end the war in Vietnam. The major civil rights organizations—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SNCC and CORE—joined the two issues, and helped to inspire the whole peace movement with a new sense of urgency and determination. In many areas the civil rights activists became the backbone of the growing peace movement.

The peace movement became the central focal point for millions recognizing, as Reverend Martin Luther King pointed out, that it was the United States which had become the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." Less and less were the people taken in by the pious words emanating from the White House. They disbelieved the Administration's insistence that the onus of the aggression rested upon the Hanoi government. The most powerful imperialist power in the world stood exposed as the aggressor out to stifle the will for independence of a small and poor nation. Anti-imperialist consciousness became a mass phenomenon.

Spring Mobilization Committee Coordinates Mass Action

Throughout the country leading personalities in the peace movement realized the need of uniting these diverse activities and movements into a powerful, central, coordinated action that would make its full impact felt in Washington and influence new millions of Americans. In November, 1966 a conference of some 200 individuals, representing the various sectors of the peace movement, was held in Cleveland, Ohio, under the leadership of Rev. A. J. Muste, Professors Sidney Peck and Robert Greenblatt. After considerable discussion and debate it was decided to hold two massive demonstrations—one on the East Coast in New York City, and the other on the West Coast in San Francisco—to dramatize to Washington and the entire world, the determination of the American people to bring to a halt the brutal, genocidal war of aggression U.S. imperialism was waging in Vietnam. With the objective of rallying a million people, an Ad Hoc Committee, soon to be known as the Spring Mobilization Committee, was established with central headquarters in New York City.

In a short time, Spring Mobilization Committees arose in all the major cities. Conferences and meetings brought together representatives of the various organizations and groups—old and new—to provide the day to day leadership in the many months of work leading up to the huge demonstrations. The Student Mobilization Committee reached out into hundreds of campuses organizing the student contingents.

The major organizing work for the Spring Mobilization was carried out by the participating organizations, using their own resources and personnel. Thus, the Ethical Culture Society sent out some 50,000 letters to its members across the country. The Women Strike for Peace, local organizations of SANE, the Committee of Professionals, the Angry Artists, SDS and the DuBois clubs, the many pacifist organizations and groups, CORE and SNCC—all carried on many-sided activities to bring out the people. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference provided many cadres, in the first place, Reverend James Bevel, who became the National Director of the entire Mobilization. Reverend Martin Luther King spoke in different areas of the country—in a *Nation* symposium with four U.S. Senators in Los Angeles, at the Easter Demonstration in Chicago, at the Riverside Church in New York City—all as part of the preparatory activity for the Spring Mobilization. The leadership of the Spring Mobilization Committee kept the doors open to new participants; it helped to convene conferences and appeared at dozens of preparatory meetings; it worked

to expand the sponsorship, and in taking care of the endless necessary details required to realize so massive an undertaking.

One of the important features of the Spring Mobilization was its non-exclusion policy. Non-Communist leaders of the Mobilization, in the meetings of representatives of the various organizations, repeatedly and persuasively raised the necessity and advisability of maintaining a policy which will unite all groups of all political shadings—a broad unity in diversity—in order to assure a maximum mobilization of all supporters of peace. This policy meant that Communists were an active force within the Mobilization on all levels, and that official representatives of the Communist Party participated openly in the leading bodies throughout the country.

When, for example, the leadership of the Mobilization were informed that the Communist Party in New York would have its own contingent and march under the banner, "Communist Party, New York Area Council," the idea was readily accepted. As the contingent of several hundred Communists, headed by Gus Hall, James Jackson, Claude Lightfoot, George Meyers, Gil Green and several young Communist leaders, marched down the street, the repeated enthusiastic applause from the onlookers, confirmed the correctness of this public participation. The distribution of 20,000 copies of *The Worker*, thousands of leaflets containing the Party's statement on the tasks ahead, were warmly received by the participants of the march.

Divisive Strains and Weaknesses

While the Mobilization was all-inclusive, and nobody was excluded from joining the march, this did not mean that there were no divisive pulls and strains that had to be overcome, nor that mistakes were not committed. Representatives of small ultra-Leftist groupings were a constant irritant, because of their efforts to restrict the march only to participants that would subscribe to the most advanced slogans. They opposed speakers on the platform from peace groupings who had not yet broken with their adherence to the two-party system. They resisted the involvement of elected trade union leaders and prominent clergymen in the Mobilization or as speakers at the march. They downgraded outstanding leaders of the civil rights and peace movement, who in their opinion were not going far enough. They advanced slogans and proposals which were aimed to keep away all those who had not as yet taken an open anti-imperialist position. In the final days prior to April 15, they made clear they would violate the discipline of the leading body and march as the "revolutionary contingent" under the banner of the National Liberation Front.

The varied groups of Trotskyites violated all democratic procedures and pursued a practice of packing committees and conferences to get extended speaking time in their attempt to impose, by their numbers, opinions and conclusions that did not represent the body as a whole. They closed the door against more representative leadership, by taking organizational posts, utilizing them for their narrow ends. Such irresponsible practices turned away spokesmen of mass organizations who, singly, represented more than the total membership of all the Trotskyite groups. The net result had a divisive effect on the movement as a whole.

On the other hand, there were groups who refused to sponsor or participate in the action for fear they would be compromised by the advanced stand and militant slogans of some Left groups. Some insisted, as a condition for their participation, that the Mobilization adopt the position that the responsibility for the continuation of the war rests equally on Hanoi and the U.S government. Thus, the Socialist Party leadership refused to endorse the Mobilization. The national leadership of SANE, despite the active involvement of its chairman and others leaders, did not throw the entire organization behind the march, though it did not discourage local committees from participating in whatever way they saw fit.

But these elements did not prevail. The wise leadership of the Mobilization, especially that of Reverend Bevel, held firmly to a broad united front approach that would assure a maximum turnout.

There were other weaknesses. While serious efforts were made to get trade union participation, there was inadequate follow-up to reach the ranks of organized labor and relate the peace demands to their vital interests. Many good resolutions were made to establish relations with the Catholic community, but, here too, the efforts were inadequate from the first. As one peace activist declared on the day following the demonstration, "We could have gotten a million out into the streets had we overcome all our mistakes."

The massive turnout on April 15 went beyond all expectations. This explains the attempt of the press to minimize the numbers. Even the attempt of the FBI, in its last-minute report to the White House, on the need to investigate "Communist domination of the peace movement" did not intimidate the participation of men and women from all walks of life. Truly, as the Mobilization Call had originally declared, the April 15th actions were "not merely a protest but a new beginning." How to transform the breadth of the Mobilization into a powerful grass roots movement, involving new strata of the population in a program of many-sided activities that will continue to exert

pressure on the Administration and force a retreat from its disastrous course, is now the main task on the agenda.

New Tasks Ahead—A Peace Ticket in 1968

The peace movement today must give primary attention to the need of staying on the offensive, defeating all efforts to divide and silence it, and to supplement the many-sided peace actions with concerted pressure in the political arena to guarantee that the people have a peace alternative in 1968.

Th various Spring Mobilization Committees that have arisen—both nationally and in the localities—have a big task in front of them to give organized expression to the enthusiasm created by the April 15th demonstrations. While they will not encompass all peace organizations and groupings, they can provide the necessary leadership to encourage the setting up of new peace committees on all levels to enlist those who came out on the marches. Necessary forms will have to be found to build new peace committees among trade unionists and in local unions throughout the country; among veterans in cities where such committees do not yet exist; in the Negro ghettos and among other minority groups; in working class communities, etc.—creating a new network of peace committees to supplement those now in existence.

Of major importance at this moment is the draft resistance movement, which has gone far beyond the individual actions of isolated young militants, to embrace hundreds and thousands of young people on the campuses, in the high schools and particularly among Negro youth who have responded to Stokeley Carmichael's slogan: "Hell, No! We Won't Go!" The dramatic declaration of Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay) the world boxing champion, that he could not don the uniform to "help murder and kill and burn other people simply to help continue the domination of white slavemasters over the dark people the world over," has inspired many youth to follow his lead. The determination of young people to act in accord with the dictates of their conscience received new encouragement by the declaration of Reverend King when he said:

As we counsel young men concerning military service we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is the path now being chosen by more than 70 students at my own Alma Mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and

unjust one. . . . Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

A significant supporting movement to the draft resistance of the young people facing immediate call-up is taking shape around the defense of the Fort Hood Three. Muhammad Ali and others serving sentences or facing imprisonment. The women's groups are giving birth to a mothers' and sisters' movement in opposition to the draft. The clergy are involved in a mass "turn-in" of draft cards in Washington. Hundreds of students on campus are signing petitions explaining why they refuse to fight in an "unjust war."

On April 23, only a week following the April 15 Mobilization, Reverend Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Robert Scheer of *Ramparts*, Greg Craig, representing the 200-student government presidents and editors, Carl Oglesby, formerly of SDS, Chester Hartman and Gar Alperovits of Harvard held a press conference launching the "Vietnam Summer." Taking a leaf out of the freedom movement summer activities they called "for 10,000 youth and clergy volunteers to work for peace this summer as they worked for civil rights in Mississippi in 1964." Expecting to enlist 2,000 full-time peace organizers and another 8,000 volunteers, "Vietnam Summer" aims to ring doorbells in thousands of communities to extend the involvement in peace activities of new sectors of the population. The project has the endorsement and support of distinguished sponsors and such established organizations and committees as SDS, SNCC, SCLC, Clergy Concerned, NCNP, Inter-University Committee, National Council of Churches, SANE, Spring Mobilization Committee and others.

The following day, on April 24, Reverend King together with Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Gerhard Elson of the National Council of Churches, Philip Baum of the American Jewish Congress, William J. Butler of SANE, and Joseph L. Rauh of Americans for Democratic Action, held a press conference in New York City to announce the initiation of a petition to secure a million signatures calling for immediate peace negotiations. Demanding that the United States end the bombing of North Vietnam "now and without conditions" as a step towards realizing negotiations, this petition campaign has already secured support in most areas of the country.

In a number of states—stimulated by the peace referendum in Dearborn, Michigan during the last elections—ad hoc committees are collecting signatures to place peace referendums on the ballot in the

municipal elections in many cities and states—providing peace activists new opportunities to speak and to rally many people that have up to now been passive on the anti-war front.

Underlying all the activities being planned for the immediate months ahead, is the growing conviction that peace advocates must make known their determination not to support Lyndon B. Johnson if he runs for President in 1968.

In many parts of the country—independent forces inside and outside the two-party system—are speaking out. New independent political formations have arisen, working to realize a Peace Presidential Ticket as an alternative in 1968. In some states, as in California, plans are well under way to put forward a slate of peace delegates to the Democratic Convention; in others, peace candidates will challenge war hawks in the primaries, and independent peace candidates are being groomed to run for Congress and state legislative bodies. All these many forms of electoral activity can help to strengthen the mass movement for an independent Presidential Peace Ticket that can receive the support of millions of Americans who want to end the brutal, unjust war in Vietnam.

The pro-Johnson and reactionary war camp are concentrating their efforts to defeat even the most vacillating opponents of the Administration's war course. A vindictive and unscrupulous campaign has been launched to defeat such Senators as Wayne Morse, J. William Fulbright and others, who come up for reelection in 1968. Counter-activities, spearheaded by the peace forces, in alliance with labor, the Negro people and other democratic forces, can defeat these efforts, exerting pressure at the same time to make unequivocally clear that Lyndon B. Johnson and those supporting him will come down in defeat, unless the war in Vietnam is ended and the people of Vietnam given the right to determine their own destiny.

There is much work ahead. This is no time for sitting back. Nor is this the time for pessimism and defeatism. The rising anger of American opinion can force the Johnson Administration to retreat. The battle for peace can be won. If all those now committed to peace will work to bring into being a movement representing the will for peace of America's millions—peace can be imposed on a reluctant Johnson Administration and the world saved from the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

WE WILL NEVER FORGET



Michael Gold

April 12, 1894

May 14, 1967

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

The Stature of Michael Gold

Mike Gold's death is a blow to all who knew and loved him. But this is not a eulogy, and it is certainly not a dirge. I have no wish to indulge in the rhetoric that is customary on these occasions, nor do I wish to write nostalgically about the "great days" when Mike was an influential figure in American letters.

Praise from friends may have the effect of isolating the person who is honored. It may be pleasing to many readers of *Political Affairs* to tell them what they know—that Mike is a hero of our time, a writer of courage, wisdom and—perhaps his greatest quality—stubborn integrity. These are rare qualities. But I am concerned about the readers of literary and scholarly publications who have never heard of Mike Gold, and who will be unaware of his death. I wonder about the young people of what is known, rather inaccurately, as "the New Left," rebels and activists and others who are potential rebels, students and angry artists, the troubled desperate crowds in a hundred ghettos, the young who will change the world. How many know that Mike wrote a column under that title, and that it was the deepest meaning of the life he lived?

It is not enough to accept the view that Mike is a hero to a limited group of older progressive Americans. This implies that he is apart from the dominant culture, even though he may be superior to it. It is true that he has suffered brutal misjudgments and cold neglect from the cultural establishment. But there is no sense in condoning this situation, or lending credence to the false notion that the Marxist influence in the arts is separate from the mainstream of American culture, unrelated to the aesthetic currents and creative ferment of our time.

I resent this view and it has been too much tolerated, and it cannot be fought by glib phrases. The Marxist influence on the arts in the United States has varied from year to year and from day to day. It is part of a complex development, which required unprejudiced examination, in the true spirit of Marxist scholarship.

The debt we owe Mike is a just appraisal of his achievement, his place in our literature—I do not mean "ours" in a narrow sense, I mean the culture of the people of these states, the tides of change, of thought and feeling and action, that have brought us to our present crisis.

I am not prepared to judge Mike's stature, and I do not consider

that it can be taken for granted. I think of him as having a quality of genius. But, like all artists in our country, he faced great pressures and almost insuperable obstacles. Like all artists, he experienced psychological and creative difficulties that were a reflection of real circumstances and an attempt to cope with the circumstances. The inner purity, the sensitivity and temperament of the man, did not make it easier, but far more difficult, to fulfill his tasks. His love of art did not tolerate the art of compromise.

Hemingway wrote in the mid-thirties that "we make our writers into something very strange." It is well to remember that this was true in the thirties, and that it was a burden on Hemingway—as well as on a thousand others—and the strain was so great that Hemingway eventually found it unbearable. Mike, in the sickness and near blindness of his last years, was unbreakable, buoyant, excited by new movements in the arts.

Yet he did not write the great stories which seemed to be waiting to be born when he published *Jews Without Money* in 1930. He was involved in criticism and journalism. But his main creative drive was not fully realized in these pursuits.

Michael Folsom has been intimately associated with Mike Gold in preparation of an autobiography, and it is to be hoped that Folsom will complete the unfinished work and make invaluable use of the available materials. But many people should be engaged in the study of Mike's work, because it involves many crucial aspects of American experience.

Mike's passion for the theatre and his influence on the drama have been ignored. He was associated with the early days of the Provincetown Playhouse, but he was a more creative force in his association with the New Playwrights Theatre in 1927 and 1928, an enormously significant experiment, the first workers' theatre in the English language in the United States, the first use of Brechtian techniques. His plays of this period, *Fiesta* and *Hoboken Blues* are startlingly imaginative, poetic, developing theatrical modes that are still fresh today.

Mike's influence on the theatre of the thirties was largely expressed through his reviews and his personal contacts. I can testify that he exerted a strong influence on me. He has recently written of his participation in discussions between Brecht and the Theatre Union, when Brecht objected to the interpretation of his adaptation of Gorki's *Mother*. That controversy, and Mike's part in it, are of crucial importance in the history of the modern stage.

Mike was an emotional critic. Corruption in the arts roused him to

fury, and he struck out against it fiercely, and sometimes unwisely. He had no use for the false "good will"—the polite knife in the back, the damning with faint praise—which were, and still are, the rules of the literary game. It was not a game to Mike. It may be argued that he did not have the temperament of a critic. Yet he wrote with prophetic fervor of the function of literature. He aroused consciences. What he said of the responsibility of the writer is no less compelling today than it was thirty years ago.

In everything he said and did, Mike was intensely personal. A ridiculous notion has been cultivated (by the representatives of the establishment) that intellectuals of "the old Left" thought and behaved alike. These men and women, I can testify from intimate knowledge, are people of the most varied and individualistic traits. My temperament and my views of art are so different from Mike's that it has sometimes been difficult for us to understand each other. Yet the differences were fruitful, and brought deeper affection.

He believed in the discipline of truth; he believed that there is a struggle between exploiters and the victims of exploitation. His heart and soul were with the victims, and he knew the simple truth that they cannot defeat their oppressors or win their rights without organization. He believed in himself, because he loved his fellow-men. He expressed himself with passion and compassion, because he had faith in the human spirit, the unconquerable heart.

The power of *Jews Without Money* lies largely in the depth of personal experience from which it is derived. There are other important works dealing with the East Side slums of New York. James Oppenheim wrote a forgotten novel, *The Nine-Tenths*, in 1911, portraying the heroism of the women who organized the garment trades. Oppenheim's novel describes the Triangle Fire, and it ends with the hope that New York will sometime be "a city of five million comrades." Another book that touches greatness is Samuel Ornitz's *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl*, a searing picture of gangsterism and exploitation published in 1923. In 1928, the New Playwrights produced an astonishing play by Em Jo Basshe, *The Centuries*, a poetic history of a ghetto street, which also included the Triangle Fire in an unforgettable moment of drama.

I mention these outstanding works—and there are many others—because it is necessary to place *Jews Without Money* in the framework of a living tradition. Mike's book had a psychological depth, an involvement of the author's being, which made it different from the others and which helped to shape the thought of the thirties.

These are merely suggestions, rough notes to suggest areas which

require study. I propose, soberly but with urgency, that there is work to be done.

In February, 1929, Mike gave me a copy of a book that preceded *Jews Without Money*. It was called *120 Million*. Inside the front cover, he scribbled a dedication—"To Jack Lawson, 'Let's organize a revolutionary theater!'" He was making a wry joke, referring to our troubles in the New Playwrights. Yet he bespoke his life's purpose. This combination of humor and conviction was characteristic of him. It was a good idea—and it still is!

That book contains some beautiful stories. It also includes a major contribution to the dramatic styles of the depression decade: Mike was the author of the first mass-recitations to be chanted at workers' meetings, and a number of them are memorable —

Listen to the drums of a strange funeral.

Listen to the story of a strange American funeral.

The last of these songs, in the 1929 volume, is addressed to the *120 Million*:

I saw the sun walk over the Rocky Mountains,
I saw the wheatfields blaze in the plains . . .
It is a strong and beautiful earth,
And I, a worker, loved it,
But how could I love those who kill workers?

Who killed Sacco and Vanzetti?
Not you, O Mississippi River.
Who extorted the world's gold?
Not you, O Allegheny Mountains . . .

Are those lines outdated? Are the questions no longer worth asking?

WILLIAM ALLEN
GEORGE MEYERS

The UAW Prepares for Action

The 1,660,000 auto workers in the United States and Canada, members of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, America's second largest union, have chartered a fighting course for the rest of 1967. At a special UAW Economic Convention held in Detroit, the heart of the automobile industry, nearly 3,000 delegates and 1,000 invited guests met for three action-packed days and nights, April 20-22, to hammer out a united position on two decisive questions.

First, the delegates decided to go after the biggest economic package in the union's 30-year history, when negotiations open with the industry's Big Three—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Contract talks formally begin in July to replace the present agreement due to expire on September 6.

Second, the delegates overwhelmingly endorsed the initiative taken by the UAW leadership designed to revitalize the entire labor movement. The mood of the convention was sharply critical of the "do-nothing" policies of the top AFL-CIO leadership.

The economic package adopted by the convention has been estimated to come to more than \$1.00 an hour in wages and fringe benefits. Its major features call for a "substantial wage increase"; continuation of a cost-of-living clause for protection against the war-induced price increases; parity in wages between Canadian and U.S. auto workers, and elimination of wage differentials between the skilled workers in the auto industry and those in the craft unions.

Rank and File Presses Its Demands

The impact of the rank and file on the contract proposals was an outstanding feature of the convention. There is no doubt but that the pressure of the membership greatly influenced the character of the proposals finally adopted. In his opening address, UAW president Walter Reuther made a strong plea to make a Guaranteed Annual Income—yearly salaries to replace hourly wage rates—the top demand. But the rank and file placed their emphasis in an entirely different direction. They supported such concrete demands as a substantial

pay increase, elimination of wage differentials, improvement and protection of pension rights, an end to the brutal speed-up and compulsory overtime.

The number of rank and file job actions in auto plants across the country has been mounting steadily over the past few years. Job actions—including strikes—have taken place against speedup, arbitrary work loads, company discipline against militant workers, and a whole host of unsettled grievances.

With a determination to make their demands known, rank and file unionists have been caucusing by locals, sections and entire divisions, in preparation for the Economic Convention. One caucus favoring a dollar an hour wage increase staged demonstrations before General Motors and Ford plants already last fall. The Points Four for Progress Committee, claiming to speak for some 300,000 auto workers from Flint, Cleveland, Toledo and other auto centers, stressed what it called the "Big Raise"—a 30 per cent increase in wages spread over three years. It called for a reduction in working hours to 35 hours with 40-hours pay, retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age, and for car insurance to be paid by the companies. Twenty-six UAW locals formed a caucus in support of the demands of the production workers. White collar workers held a conference to discuss wages, organization and other questions. There were caucuses of skilled workers as well as of workers in the parts and supplier plants.

Polls taken prior to the convention, to test membership reaction to Reuther's proposal for a Guaranteed Annual Income, showed little enthusiasm. At the sub-council meetings of General Motors workers, UAW vice-president Leonard Woodcock reported that "it went over like a lead balloon." In the poll at Dana Corporation it ran way down the list, and in Ford's Frame and Cold Heading Division, it couldn't make the top six demands.

Resolutions and programs adopted at various caucuses and local unions were sent from one area to another. Thousands of leaflets containing the proposals of the rank and file were distributed at the convention. A great demonstration of 1,000 production workers, carrying hundreds of banners with their demands, and wearing overseas paper caps with such slogans as "A Substantial Wage Increase" and "Humanize and Civilize the Plants," paraded before the convention hall in a pouring rain. With the permission of the delegates, they marched into the huge meeting hall, where hundreds of delegates and guests left their seats to join them, in a demonstration that lasted over an hour.

Demands Endorsed by Delegates

The 3,000 convention delegates reflected the mood of the workers in the plants. One speaker after another stressed the militant demands of the membership. Many took issue with the proposal for a guaranteed annual income, expressing a strong feeling that it did not meet present demands. Few delegates, if any, supported it on the floor. As a result, Reuther in his final remarks before the vote on the Contract Resolution, made very little reference to the idea. While the proposal for a guaranteed annual income remains among the list of demands adopted, it has dropped to a secondary position, with the major emphasis placed on winning a "substantial wage increase."

One of the major demands which won endorsement by the convention, was wage parity for Canadian auto workers and bringing the wages of the skilled workers in the auto industry in line with those in the craft unions. Skilled Canadian auto workers are paid \$1.00 less an hour, and production workers 41 cents less, than workers doing the same work in the United States for the same corporation. The convention clearly indicated that the time had arrived to eliminate this wage differential.

Frequently, management brings skilled workers—electricians, bricklayers and other building trades crafts—into the auto plants on contracts. These workers are paid from one to two dollar more an hour than their counterparts in the UAW. The delegates expressed the determination that the corporations be compelled to abide by the demand of equal pay for equal work.

The 350,000 parts and supplier plant workers, outside the Big Three, have long been demanding that their wages be brought up to the level of those in the Big Three. They now receive approximately 80 cents an hour less than the production workers in the big auto plants. Their contracts run out shortly after the Big Three contracts expire. In the past, they were compelled to wait until the negotiations with the Big Three were concluded, before they could act. They have now been given the right to strike if they do not reach a satisfactory settlement, regardless of the status of negotiations with the major auto companies.

The terrific speedup and compulsory overtime are issues that have created widespread discontent in the shops throughout the country and were the cause of many on-the-job actions during recent years. These two evils take a terrible toll in the strength and health of the workers. While there is no record of the permanent disabilities, such as heart disease and nervous disorders, caused by the intensity and

long hours of work, there has been a record jump in the number of industrial deaths and accidents, directly traceable to these inhuman conditions. Production line workers and inspectors maintain that exhaustion, stemming from speed-up and compulsory overtime, is directly responsible for the rising number of faulty cars and trucks coming off the assembly lines. They have called for a Congressional investigation in the interest of public safety.

The convention went on record against compulsory overtime, for increasing the penalty on overtime work and, except in emergencies, to make overtime voluntary and to be equitably distributed among the workers. In addition to negotiating for a further increase in relief time, there was agreement to support the right to strike over unsatisfactory production standards and to rescind the infamous "company clause" which has given the management the sole right to determine production standards and to discipline the workers for failure to adhere to them.

There was substantial sentiment for a 35-hour week with 40-hour pay and for full retirement pay after thirty years service regardless of age. These demands stem from the grave concern of the workers with the consequences of automation and other technological changes in the auto plants. As Reuther himself pointed out in his opening remarks, there were 626,000 workers in the industry in 1947 who turned out 4,792,000 cars and trucks. In 1966, the industry employed 671,000 workers who turned out 10,358,000 cars and trucks. Thus seven per cent more workers produced 116 per cent more cars and trucks. What is more, Reuther went on to show, these were not the same cars and trucks; they were bigger, more compact, and more difficult to build.

It was not surprising that many of the caucuses had placed these two demands—shorter hours and earlier retirement—in the forefront. Yet, when they came up on the convention floor as amendments to the resolution, they did not carry. However, these demands were not rejected in principle. The vote came in response to Reuther's plea for "flexibility" in the early stages of contract negotiations. The delegates voted to withhold them, although both demands are recognized as part of the contract picture.

While there were healthy differences with the UAW leaders, the rank and file movement that found expression in the convention was based on issues of struggle and did not have an anti-leadership orientation. The anger of the workers is basically directed against the corporations, not the union. A marked spirit of unity prevailed as the convention drew to a close. Both the leadership and the membership

know they are going into a tough fight with a powerful and ruthless foe that may force them to strike before settlement is reached.

For a Revitalized Labor Movement

There was a roaring, standing ovation from the 4,000 delegates and guests in support of Walter Reuther's strong appeal for a revitalized AFL-CIO. Beaming faces and resounding cheers greeted the demand for a crusade to organize the millions of workers still without union representation and protection. There was a spirited response when Reuther criticized the AFL-CIO leadership for its reluctance to throw itself into the struggle for Negro rights. He declared that the labor movement must be in the forefront of this battle and should "lead the parade in the moral struggle for human dignity and human rights."

With only five dissenting votes, the delegates endorsed a series of steps designed to force a change in the AFL-CIO, from "the comfortable, complacent custodian of the status quo" into a dynamic organization that stands at the head of the drive for social progress.

First among the proposals to revitalize the AFL-CIO, was a concrete program for a national organizing crusade to double the present AFL-CIO membership in the next six years. The program called for a commitment of \$15 million a year to launch a massive organizing campaign, with a minimum of \$5 million earmarked annually "toward organizing the farm and migratory workers, and the millions of working poor" in the cities, who were described as "the most deprived and disadvantaged of the work force, the have-not citizens of America." Stress was placed on the organization of the millions of unorganized industrial and construction workers as well as teachers, white collar, professional and government workers.

At the present time, only some two or three per cent of the AFL-CIO budget is devoted to organizing. This is in contrast with 25 per cent, by George Meany's own admission, spent on "international activities," to "export democracy" abroad. Recent revelations have confirmed, what has been known for a long time, that this "export of democracy" has been nothing more than a front for the reactionary machinations of the CIA. (For documentation of the Meany-Lovestone betrayal of union trust, see George Morris' *C.I.A. and American Labor*, International Publishers, \$1.25.)

A program was adopted to strengthen and modernize collective bargaining. Here emphasis is given to the need of coordinated collective bargaining, as typified by the eleven unions that stood united in the negotiations with General Electric.

A major proposal in this program is the establishment of a United

Labor Defense Fund, with every union to contribute a dollar per member. Special mention was made of the need to help unions trying to win their first contract, and to help weaker unions who are up against union-busting corporations out to destroy them. A practice widely employed in the "right-to-work" states in the South, but by no means limited only to the South, is the dragging out of negotiations endlessly, provoking a strike and then running in scabs in the effort to smash the unions. Such a united strike fund would enable workers to effectively combat these open-shop employers.

The program included a demand to end discrimination against Negro workers and other minorities once and for all and to place the labor movement solidly behind the struggle for civil rights. Reuther sharply criticized Meany's refusal to give AFL-CIO support to the March on Washington in 1963, despite the fact that the majority of the Executive Council were ready to endorse it. However, it must be noted here that this question is far from settled within the UAW as well. Out of some 260,000 Negro workers in the auto plants, less than one per cent hold the better paying jobs as skilled workmen, white collar workers and technicians. Thus it behooves the UAW to set the example by launching, without delay, a meaningful struggle to end the discrimination against Negro workers in the auto plants.

The convention urged the AFL-CIO to "play its rightful role and meet its responsibilities" around such issues as better educational opportunities for all; a fuller measure of security and dignity for America's older citizens; a crusade to "abolish human poverty in this land of plenty"; a comprehensive medical health plan; and for "rebuilding our cities and rural areas, making low cost, high quality housing available through the use of the new tools of science and technology."

In presenting proposals for internal reform and democratization, Reuther gave several examples of the dictatorial rule of AFL-CIO president George Meany. He declared it was so bad, that the UAW was forced to go outside the Executive Council in order to get a hearing for their differences.

The adopted proposals are being sent to the AFL-CIO and all affiliated unions for their consideration. For the next four months the UAW intends to concentrate on contract negotiations. After they are concluded, it is then going to ask for a meeting with the AFL-CIO Executive Council. If there is no positive reaction, the convention gave the leadership the right to withdraw from the parent body.

However, there was no sentiment for disaffiliation from the AFL-CIO; there is little if any in the UAW locals. The drive is for unity,

not for disaffiliation. As Reuther told the delegates, "We don't want to divide the labor movement. We want to revitalize it." But he went on to say, "You can't have labor unity within the circumstance of a big fat zero . . . the only way you can give it meaning and substance is to build programs and policies and actions that carry the labor movement forward."

The convention took no formal action, one way or another, on the war in Vietnam. Yet there was a clear recognition that it would be a factor in the coming negotiations. One delegate proclaimed the hope that "they don't use this lousy war in Vietnam to keep us from getting what we are entitled to." Another got a strong hand when he directly urged Reuther to give a flat "no" to President Johnson, "when he asks us not to strike because of Vietnam."

When the representative of *The Worker* questioned Reuther, at a packed press conference, as to the possible effects of the war in Vietnam on the auto negotiations, he responded, "We will not permit the corporations to hide behind the war in Vietnam, defense contracts, or anything else in our fight for the things to which we are entitled." But, it cannot be denied, that the failure of the convention to take a forthright stand against the war in Vietnam shows that the UAW leadership has not yet learned that an effective struggle for the workers' economic demands under today's conditions calls for a simultaneous struggle to bring about an end to the war in Vietnam. It would be well for Walter Reuther to take a leaf out of the book of Reverend Martin Luther King.

Time to End Red-Baiting

While red-baiting was on a much lower key at this convention than in some previous UAW gatherings, Reuther demonstrated that he still does not appreciate the high price labor has paid for the anti-Communist obsession of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. If nothing else, surely the revelations that even the UAW allowed itself to become a tool in the reactionary machinations of the CIA, should be enough to prove that anti-Communism takes the guts out of unionism. Nothing has so militated against the vital interests of the American labor movement as its adoption of the Big Lie of anti-Communism.

At one point of its position paper, the UAW leadership urges American labor to "resist Communism and all forms of totalitarianism that would enslave the human spirit." In almost the same breadth, it challenges the Meany-Lovestone foreign policy as being "narrow and negative," and urges labor "to reduce world tension by helping

to build bridges of understanding . . . leading toward a reduction in armaments, removal of the threat of nuclear annihilation and the building of a just and enduring peace in which people with diverse economic and social systems can live peacefully in a more rational and responsible world community."

How can Walter Reuther have it both ways? Can there be a "just and enduring peace" without labor joining in the struggle to end the cold war which U.S. imperialism has waged for over 20 years under the guise of combatting Communism? Can the AFL-CIO be revitalized, as a militant crusading organization of the American working class, without putting an end to its anti-Communism which now poisons its every action?

* * *

The UAW negotiations and the fight to revitalize the AFL-CIO are of the utmost importance to all democratic forces in our country. Substantial gains in a new contract will not only improve the lot of the auto workers, it will encourage other sections of labor to defeat the offensive of the employers against working and living conditions. At the same time it will strengthen the hand of the UAW leadership in the fight to revitalize the AFL-CIO.

The fight the UAW is making deserves the fullest support of all sections of organized labor, the freedom movement, and every other democratic force in our country. In the auto plants, continued rank and file pressure on the corporations will strengthen the position of the union negotiators, and is the best guarantee they will come up with an agreement that meets the demands of the workers.

The solidarity of the entire labor movement behind the struggles of the auto workers can help to stay the attempt of the Johnson Administration to impose compulsory arbitration on American labor. The threat of compulsory arbitration is now a built-in part of all labor-management contract negotiations. Only a solid front of labor, supported by all democratic forces, can end this threat.

The Delano Farm Strike

It has become almost an axiom to say that a strike in the fields is all but lost if it lasts more than a couple of months. Yet the Delano grape strike, which began in September, 1965, against more than 30 Kern and Tulare County growers, showed no sign of weakening after more than 20 months; on the contrary, it had gathered strength and new support.

From a trade union point of view probably nothing dramatizes the effect of the strike better than the three union hiring halls in several California cities from which farm workers are now dispatched to work at union wages and under a union agreement.

Significant though this development may be, it constitutes but one of the major results of the protracted drive to unionize field workers. *La Huelga*—as the strike is better known—has become an all encompassing movement with a visible impact on significant sections of the labor movement, the newly radicalized youth, church groups—Catholic and Protestant—and the Mexican-American people of the Southwest.

"When a banker in Southern California gets down on the farm, it's hard to hold back the superlatives," said the January 1965 *Southern California Report* of the Security First National Bank. No wonder! In 1963, farm production in the 14 Southern California counties, which included the counties in which the strike has been taking place, came to almost \$2.4 billion. The land in the fertile San Joaquin valley, we are told, is "among the richest in the world," and a seemingly obvious point is added in the report that "all that is required to produce bountiful crops in the Southland is water."

There we have the winning combination from the banker's point of view—fertile land plus water equals juicy profits. Financed, of course, in this highly seasonal industry, with funds from the Bank of America and by other bankers who have deep financial roots on California's farms. No mention is made, of course, of the workers who produce the billions of dollars of farm products.

All but one of the 14 Southern California counties are among the 100 top agricultural counties in the country. And the three leading farm counties in the country, according to the Security First National Bank report, were precisely the ones in which the Delano strike has had its main base. They are, in the order of their national standing, Fresno, Tulare and Kern counties.

As for the water, so badly needed to irrigate the land, American taxpayers have been subsidizing the growers to the tune of \$577 per acre, per annum. The growers, who use between 2½ and 3 acre feet of water per year, pay only \$123 per acre out of the total cost of \$700.

There is, of course, another side of this multi-billion dollar industry, the largest in California. Agri-business reports virtually ignore some other statistics: those dealing with the poor who work the fields for the multi-million dollar firms but who remain constantly in poverty.

"Nearly one-fifth of all families in the Southwest are poor, but among families whose head is a farmer or farm worker, 44 per cent are in this category," according to the Los Angeles Mexican American Study Project at the University of California.

Contrary to the claims of the growers, Spanish-speaking farm families are mired in poverty. Using the federal government yardstick of \$3,000 annual income as the dividing line which characterizes "poverty," the 1960 census revealed that almost one out of every three Spanish-speaking farm families in California was adjudged "poor."

The Strike Begins

The mounting discontent in the fields was no doubt accelerated by the developments following termination of the Bracero Program—Public Law 78—under which American growers had been assured unlimited Mexican national labor at very low wages. This ended December 31, 1964, and the U.S. Department of Labor ruled that California growers could still seek Mexican laborers, provided they paid \$1.40 per hour and showed an absolute need for additional workers who could not be recruited in the United States.

Sporadic strikes broke out throughout the state led by the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). In most instances the strikes were against the labor contractors, not directly against the growers. In some cases agreements were reached with the contractors for \$1.40 an hour and the hiring of union labor.

One such strike took place in Coachella Valley during the grape picking season. This strike, in May 1965, resulted in winning a higher rate: \$1.40 an hour plus 25 cents for each box of grapes picked. The old rate was \$1.20 an hour and 15 cents a box.

In September of that year some of the same Filipino farm workers had moved with the grape crop to the Delano area where the rate was below that which they had won in Coachella. On September 8, after unsuccessful efforts to negotiate an agreement with the local growers, a sitdown took place in some of the work camps in a number of ranches. Thus began the bitter struggle which is still going on.

Within a few days the growers cut off the food supply, the water and sanitation facilities in the camps. The AWOC workers then appealed to the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), an independent organization led by Cesar Chavez, to join them in strike. Almost all the NFWA members were Mexican-Americans. At a huge and dramatic mass meeting the issue was put to the NFWA members by Chavez, and on September 16 the AWOC and the NFWA joined together in striking the fields. Initial reports indicated that several thousand workers left the fields.

Chavez and the NFWA were at first reluctant to enter the strike. A group of Mexican-American activists like Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla, Tony Orendain and others, had organized the NFWA in 1962. Their outlook was to spend at least five years in laying the groundwork for an unshakeable organization, which would be powerful enough to organize the workers.

It was a dues-paying organization with about 1,500 families enrolled. It was organized and fully controlled by the farm workers themselves. Too many previous experiences showed, Chavez said at that time, that when the organization of farm workers was dependent on unions from the outside, decisions were made in which the farm workers had little or no part. This time, he and his co-workers said, the fate of farm labor unionization will rest mainly in the hands of the men and women in the fields.

The September 1965 strike brought an initial period of organization, consolidation and parallel action between AWOC and NFWA. This had not been anticipated. Some erroneously believed that this walkout was but a repetition of that long list of abortive strikes which the growers had succeeded in breaking over the years.

The Strike Gains Wide Support

While not fully prepared for the massive effort necessary to put the strike into immediate high gear, leaders of the NFWA were not exactly unprepared. They had studied the history of farm labor strikes, including those led by Communists in the same valley in the 1930's. They had reviewed the experiences of the civil rights movement and its use of volunteer workers. And they had, above all, made contact with sympathetic trade unionists, with Mexican-American organizations and activists, and with friendly church groups.

It was the utilization of these contacts which made the NFWA hall in Delano a beehive of activity in the early days of the strike, in sharp contrast with the AWOC hall, where the strike was a "business-as-usual" operation. Radical students from the campuses, civil rights

activists, militant Mexican-Americans from nearby cities, priests and ministers, started manning key jobs in the *Huelga*. They received no pay, slept in sleeping bags on the cement floors of the union hall or in the homes of strikers, and ate the sparse fare in the strike kitchen.

They saved the strike. They transformed the strike into a movement enlisting all who were on the side of the farm workers. To a large degree it has been held on this course, despite the misgivings of some of the strike's original supporters, who looked upon the strike as a "quickie," and were disappointed when complications developed.

The strike rapidly brought widespread response from Mexican-Americans in California and throughout the Southwest. It not only got their support; it inspired them. A new militant wave swept the Mexican-American communities, and this militancy continues. Much of the credit for this, in city after city, is attributed to the spirit and determination of the farm workers and to its leader Cesar Chavez, for having helped to bring it about.

Labor leaders, especially from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers, worked closely with the strikers. Some of their members joined the picket lines, and the very much needed donations started coming into the Delano strike headquarters.

The 1965 grape season had come and gone. By all "normal standards" it was time for the strike to fold. But the so-called normal standards did not apply to this strike. The week turned into months; the determination to carry on the struggle grew, and so did the support.

The union initiated a boycott program, singling out the Schenley Corporation as its prime target. The AFL-CIO endorsed the boycott; UAW president Walter P. Reuther came from the AFL-CIO Convention in San Francisco personally to pledge the solidarity of the federation. And then began the first of the several nation-wide programs initiated by the farm strikers. Teams of strikers and volunteers went East and to the Midwest to enlist support.

Victories Bring Union Consolidation

In the midst of an historic Delano-to-Sacramento, 250-mile, 25-day walk, which was climaxed with a rally of 10,000 on the capital steps on Easter Sunday, 1966, the Schenley Corporation announced that it was ready to sign its first contract with NFWA. The "Boycott Schenley" signs were burned. In their place new ones appeared reading: "Boycott DiGiorgio."

The Schenley agreement, which included provisions for a union hiring hall in Delano—the first in American labor history for field

workers—and a \$1.75 per hour minimum wage, set the stage for the next major battle with the largest grower in the state, and the giant of agri-business, the DiGiorgio Corporation.

Under pressure from the Mexican American Political Association, former Governor Edmund G. Brown appointed an investigating committee to probe an election which the DiGiorgio Corporation conducted in collaboration with the Teamsters Union. The Teamsters Union had militantly supported the strike during its early months, but suddenly it reversed its position and announced that it was competing with the NFWA and AWOC for representation rights.

The governor's committee recommended a new election and, subsequently, the company and the Teamsters agreed to it. The NFWA won it handily. It now represents DiGiorgio workers at three properties: in Delano, in Arvin near Bakersfield and in Borrego Springs, San Diego County. Another election is scheduled to be held in July in Marysville, north of Sacramento, where DiGiorgio has two additional properties. The contract with this major corporation, partly as a result of an arbitrator's award under the terms of the election agreement, provides for a union hiring hall and a minimum wage of \$1.65 per hour.

This victory, and subsequent ones at smaller ranches in the state, consolidated the union which came into being through the merger of AWOC and the NFWA. The merged union was chartered by the AFL-CIO as the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee with Cesar Chavez as its director and Larry Itliong, former leader of AWOC, as its assistant director.

There is no doubt that the dominant personality in the strike, and in the movement it generated, is Cesar Chavez, a 40-year-old farm worker. He has displayed an ingenious ability to deploy the many, often contradictory forces, who have rallied to support the movement. Time and again, he has emphasized that the strike is primarily the property of the field workers, and that anyone supporting it must join it on the terms set by the strikers.

As in the civil rights movement in the South, the role of the volunteers, who were so indispensable in the first weeks and months of the strike, has changed. Many volunteers who held key posts have now been replaced by strikers—most of them young farm workers who matured rapidly in the strike. Some are young women, such as Dolores Huerta, sometime referred to at Delano strike meetings as "La Pasionaria" of "La Huelga."

Many forces have gathered around the strike: militant Catholic priests, Protestants ministers and volunteers from the California

Migrant Ministry, civil rights activists and others. An increasingly important role has been played by William Kircher, AFL-CIO national director of organization, who has literally made Delano and the strike front his main assignment. Paul Schrade, director of the UAW on the West Coast, has also helped rally significant support for the strike.

Some Problems and Strains

One of the problems that has arisen in the strike has come as a result of the recent conflict between Walter Reuther and George Meany. This has, to a degree, been reflected in the support for the strike, especially in relation to its tactical direction. Chavez and the other UFWOC leaders have insisted that they will not permit themselves to be caught in the crossfire within the AFL-CIO.

The sharpest differences of opinion relate to the role of the Teamsters Union in the fields. There is little doubt that this powerful union has, by and large, been playing an inglorious role in relation to the strike. Despite sharp pressures from within, the Western Conference leaders of the Teamsters have insisted on intervening in many situations where the farm union is organizing. They have but one contract in the fields—with the Perelly-Minetti Company in Delano—signed after the workers there walked off the job last September and asked UFWOC to represent them. While the strike was in progress, the Teamsters negotiated an agreement with the company and brought in busloads of workers to work in the fields.

Negotiations between UFWOC and the Teamsters to arrive at a jurisdictional pact have, at the time this is written, not as yet resulted in any agreement. UAW leaders insist that a major share of responsibility for this can be attributed to the hard-nosed position taken by national AFL-CIO leaders toward the Teamsters. This view is shared by some of the top leaders of the ILWU.

Despite the differing estimates among its labor supporters, Chavez and his co-workers have been assiduously attempting to work out an agreement with the Teamsters which would remove an important block from the projected organizing campaign. Second-line leaders among the West Coast Teamsters have been working towards the same end. Chavez, deeply indebted to the ILWU, AFL-CIO, the UAW and even to the Teamsters (for their early strike support) is certainly not happy about the raiding situation and the differing positions taken by tried and tested friends of the strike.

The open opposition of the growers and, especially, the role of the John Birch Society, which put out a special red-baiting pamphlet slandering the strike, has not had as much effect on the strike as the

differences that have developed among those who have been supporting it. The Birch-inspired attempt to tie the Communist Party in with the strike backfired when Albert J. Lima, chairman of the Northern California Communist Party, testified at a State Senate Committee hearing on the strike.

Among strikers and strike supporters, the *People's World* is widely read. Its strike coverage, as well as its coverage of events in the Mexican-American community, is warmly appreciated.

While the strike still enjoys wide support from many of the young people on the campuses and in the cities, including many usually associated with the "New Left," it has had its rough moments. The affiliation with the AFL-CIO, and the endorsement by the union of Governor Brown in last year's elections (explained in a union statement as an expression of their appreciation for his intervention to break the DiGiorgio deadlock), has brought about some ruptures with sections of the young people.

How far some in the "New Left" are from a real understanding of the labor movement and the significance of the strike, became evident at the New Politics Conference in Los Angeles. Here some individuals openly accused Chavez and his union of "scabbing" because of their endorsement of Governor Brown for re-election. Many of the New Left do not appreciate the political effect of the strike nor the initiative taken by the militant Mexican-Americans in the fields. They do not consider these developments meaningful.

Inspiring Example for Organization of Poor

The strike's overall effect, especially on the young Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, is difficult to assess. But in city after city, many who say they were brought into activity by the Delano farm strike, are now involved in the picketlines, the demonstrations and the protest rallies of Mexican-Americans.

While the union as such has taken no position on the war in Vietnam, many of the union leaders are in serious disagreement with U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. Recently the peace issue has been frequently raised at the rallies called by the union and its supporters.

Above all, the union insists, it will take as few stands as possible which might endanger its complex series of alliances. It still faces major battles. While it is firmly grounded as a dues paying organization, with a considerable membership and a challenging perspective, the union is seeking a path which will keep it on the progressive road without isolating it from important, and much needed, allies.

Perhaps the best evidence that the union has not become part of

the Establishment, as some have hastily and erroneously charged, is the fact that the organizers, including Chavez, still receive no more than the striker's wage of \$5.00 per week.

The union is now establishing a structure which more accurately reflects the wishes of its members. Organizing a union, while carrying on a strike against a powerful opponent, is by no means an easy matter. While there are those who see these organizational matters as "institutionalizing" the union, others in the Southwest and California view them as much needed moves to move ahead with those steps that will lead to the unionization of the half-million farm workers.

At many union rallies in Delano, I have heard numerous union officials—national and local—tell the strikers: "Don't thank us for the help we are bringing you. It is we who should be thanking you for reminding us of the role labor should have been playing all these years. You are the conscience of the labor movement, the conscience of those of us who now receive high wages and have forgotten our brothers who need support. You have given a new meaning to the word solidarity."

There is no question that the Delano strike has inspired labor and others who see an alliance between the poor and the organized labor movement as a key to the future welfare of both. It has brought many of the radicalized Left in contact with farms workers and Mexican-American people for the first time in their lives. For many it has been an experience which has surpassed all others. Also, of significance, is the effect the strike has had on helping to focus national attention on the plight of the Mexican-American people in the Southwest—urban and rural.

Just as the sitdown strikes of the thirties opened a new era for organized labor and progressive-minded people of the nation, the Delano strike has opened new vistas for organizing among the poor in this period. This is particularly important for the five Southwest states. An alliance which would include farm workers—Negroes, Filipinos and Mexican-Americans—organized labor, radicalized students, the militants in the Negro ghettos and others, would be a powerful new force for progress.

The Economic Laws of Socialism*

Knowledge, understanding and proper application of the economic laws of socialism are of primary importance for the practical management of the socialist economy. This question is particularly pertinent now that economic reforms are being carried out in the USSR and several other socialist countries, reforms aimed at substantially enhancing the efficiency of socialist production.

The question of the economic laws of socialism cannot be considered separately from social production relations. Socialist production, as any other, constitutes a combination of productive forces and production relations. Characteristic for socialism is the fact that it represents a more advanced system of social production relations as compared to the capitalist mode of production.

The basis of socialism's system of production relations consists of the social ownership of the means of production. It is precisely this factor that determines the social character of this system, that makes it socialist. Socialism is the first mode of production in history, the first system of production relations, that allows to set before society and to solve successfully, the problem of the fullest possible satisfaction of the growing needs of all its members.

Complete social ownership of the means of production in all sectors of the national economy ensures the unity of key economic interests of society as a whole, of the classes, the social groups, and the individuals making it up. This unity does not mean identity, of course. The interests of society, of the personnel of individual enterprises and of individual workers, may not coincide and may contradict each other, but the socialist system of economy makes possible the optimal combination of these interests. This is precisely the purpose of the economic reform currently carried out.

The State and the Production Relations of Socialism

One of the difficult questions of the economic theory of socialism is the relationship, the correlation between the socialist state and the production relations of socialism. One view is that the socialist state, being a political organization of the working people, should like any other, be considered the society's superstructure and outside the so-

* Reprinted from *Planovoye Khoziaystvo*, No. 1, 1967.

cialist society's basis, i.e., outside the production relations of socialism and standing above them. In our opinion, this assertion contradicts the actual facts of social life in the countries of socialism. It does not explain the economic substance of socialist state property. If the socialist state is merely a political organization, the conclusion seems unavoidable that state ownership of the means of production is only a juridical and not an economic concept. It turns out that socialism's system of production relations lacks its key, determining link, i.e., economic property relations. State property in the USSR is the property of the whole people. However, society cannot discharge its economic function as the subject of ownership of the means of production without a proper economic organization. The Soviet state discharges precisely this function.

If the socialist state is defined merely as a political organization, it is impossible to explain not only state ownership of the means of production, but also state planning and directing of the national economy, which undoubtedly represent a definite stage, a link in the socialist society's public production relations. The objective need for centralized planning and direction of the national economy is explained by an economic factor, namely, the very high level of production socialization under socialism. The principle of democratic centralism in economic management, advanced by V. I. Lenin, is the principle of organizing public production and economic relations.

The work of state planning institutions, ministries, and departments is of a political character, but essentially it is economic and is carried on within the limits of the society's economic basis, its public production relations. If this question is interpreted differently, we get an artificial rupture of the principle of democratic centralism in the process of planning and managing the national economy; centralized guidance turns out to be outside the production relations, above them.

The Program of the CPSU, adopted by the Eighth Party Congress in 1919, pointed out that with the start of the epoch of socialization of the means of production, expropriated from the capitalists, state power ceases to be a parasitic apparatus standing above the production process; it begins to turn into an organization directly discharging the function of guiding the country's economy.*

The process of turning the Soviet state into an organization directly discharging the function of economic management has made great headway since the Eighth Party Congress, and particularly pertinent today is the question of achieving the optimal combination of state

*CPSU in Resolutions of Its Congresses, Conferences and Plenary meetings of the Central Committee, Part I, 1954, p. 427.

economic guidance and the independence of enterprises, encouraging the economic initiative of each separate personnel collective.

Lenin stressed that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a new system of economic life, a new type of labor organization, which are higher than those under capitalism. He said that economic policy assumed primary significance after political power had passed over to the working class, after the basic means of production had become the property of the people. Lenin distinguished two types of institutions in the state apparatus of the USSR: one type discharging purely political functions, i.e., the functions of administration, and the other performing the functions of managing the country's economy. He regarded the Supreme Economic Council set up at the end of 1917 under the Council of People's Commissars as a militant organ of the workers' dictatorship, which offers practical guidance to industry. Rejecting the proposal of the Left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries that the Supreme Economic Council be set up under the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and not under the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin pointed out that "the Supreme Economic Council should not be reduced to the status of a parliament, but should be the same kind of militant organ for combating the capitalists and landowners in the economy as the Council of People's Commissars is in politics."* The state apparatus of the first type, Lenin maintained, would gradually die off, while the central apparatus for directing the country's economy would not only survive but would "grow, develop, and gain strength, accounting for all the main efforts of an organized society."**

The democratic principles of economic management are growing and developing along with the streamlining of the centralized economic management by the socialist state.

The claim that state guidance of the economy is not an element of socialism's production relations, is particularly advocated by Y. A. Kronrod: "Although economic guidance under socialism inseparably combines forms of direct economic and national guidance, it would be incorrect to confuse them. The forms of state guidance are actually superstructural political forms. Their feature is economic management, relying on the political power of the state and aimed at ensuring general, necessary conditions for its planned operation and development. Economic management, on the other hand, means direct guidance of joint labor, directed at effecting each concrete production process and

*V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, (Russian edition) Vol. 35, p. 134.

***Ibid*, Vol. 36, p. 378.

relying on the discipline and authority inherently characteristic of the collective process of labor itself.”*

Here we observe a gap between state guidance and economic management. If we follow the above definitions of state and economic guidance, we shall arrive at the conclusion that economic management is direct guidance exercised by an enterprise manager, a shop superintendent—guidance of enterprises exercised by their corresponding primary association—while guidance of enterprises and their associations by the state institutions (the State Planning Committee, a ministry, a state committee) is not economic management, does not rely “on the discipline and authority inherently characteristic of the collective labor process,” but is only a form of “reverse,” superstructural influence on the economy, a sphere of politics.

In our opinion, the guidance exercised by state bodies over enterprises and their associations is also economic management. It relies primarily on the solid economic foundation of the social ownership of the means of production, whose domination inevitably extends the “discipline and authority inherently characteristic of the collective labor process itself” far beyond the limits of individual enterprises and their primary associations. Of course, the socialist state’s guidance of enterprises and associations of enterprises, relies also on the political power of the state, something that considerably enhances the role of centralized economic guidance, the need for which arises from an economic factor, the high degree of specialization of production.

The Substance of the Economic Laws of Socialism and the Nature of their Operation

The economic laws of socialism are an expression of substantial, solid, constantly repeating internal relationships and dependences in the public production relations of human beings, in economic phenomena and processes, and also between phenomena and processes.

Each economic law is an expression of one definite vital relationship or dependence in human production relations, while the substance of all the production relations of socialism, the sum total of vital relationships and dependences, find expression in the system of socialism’s economic laws.

The economic laws of socialism, as of any mode of production, are objective in character. Socialist society cannot establish at its own discretion, cannot arbitrarily choose the laws it prefers in respect

*Y. A. Kronrod, “Economic Laws and Economic Practice,” *Mysl*, 1966, p. 20. See also *Laws of the Political Economy of Socialism* by the same author, Moscow, 1966, pp. 554-55.

to others; for instance, it cannot give preference to spontaneity over planned development, distribution according to population over distribution according to labor, direct supply of the population with produce over commodity exchange according to value, i.e., according to the socially necessary labor expenditures, etc. Under socialism, economic laws act as internal forces governing the social side of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. They are the internal regulators of human production relations, of the organization of these relations and their development.

The objective character of the economic laws of socialism is explained by the objective character of socialism’s public production relations, because economic laws express the vital relationships, the mutual dependence of precisely public production relations.

Most of the Soviet economists denied until the end of the twenties the possibility of the existence of economic laws under socialism, arguing that purposeful and planned economic activity was incompatible with the existence of objective laws. This argumentation is incorrect if only because it is one-sided and limited. Conscious regulation and planned economic development are incompatible, not with the existence of objective economic laws as such, but with the predominance of spontaneous laws, for instance, the economic laws of capitalism.

The classics of scientific communism proceeded from the premise that the economic life of a socialist or communist society will be subjected to laws of an objective character. The works of Marx and Engels scientifically forecast definite laws of socialism and communism. On the basis of his analysis of the experience of the first years of socialist economic management in the USSR and the prospects of its development, Lenin just as scientifically corroborated the laws of the economic life of socialism and communism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state have, in fact, always proceeded from the recognition of objective laws in the economy of socialism.

In his comments on Bukharin’s *The Economy of the Transition Period*, published in 1929, Lenin pointed out that economic laws would continue to operate under communism as well. But the objective character of the economic laws of socialism was denied for a long time after their existence had received universal recognition. The socialist state was ascribed the ability to establish economic laws: “The laws of development of the socialist economy are created by the socialist state itself, directed as it is by the Communist Party.”* But

**Bolshevik*, N. 1, 1937, p. 24.

the potentialities of the socialist state are great precisely because it relies in its activities on social ownership of the means of production, on objective economic laws which it neither creates nor modifies, but on the contrary, strictly observes in order to make its power real.

The principles of economic policy, the forms and methods of socialist management, are established with due consideration for the requirements of the economic laws of socialism. Each of them has definite forms of manifestation and a mechanism of action. Thus the law of the growth of social labor productivity manifests itself concretely in a reduction of the expenditure of human labor in the making of the product, in increased output of products per working-time unit, economic spending of past, materialized labor; the law of value, in the output of products for the market and their sale at prices corresponding to the socially necessary labor expenditures; the law of distribution according to work done, in remuneration in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor, etc.

Of tremendous practical importance is the question of whether the cognition of the objective economic laws of socialism is an indispensable condition for their correct use, for mapping out an effective economic policy. These economic laws are often well hidden behind the external forms of human production relations, behind the phenomena and processes of economic life.

The history of Soviet society shows that the use of the economic laws of socialism starts not with the disclosure of economic laws as such, but with the elucidation and corroboration of the principles of economic policy, of the forms and methods of socialist management, which ensure the necessary efficiency of production, the achievement of the concrete goals that society, represented by the Communist Party and the Soviet state, consciously set up in the sphere of economic development.

It is common knowledge, for instance, that V. I. Lenin proved already in the early twenties the need of offering material incentives to the production personnel, the need for strict adherence to the principle of remunerating the workers of state enterprises according to labor, the need of having piece-rate forms of wages. Many different principles, forms and methods of distributing consumer goods were tried in the USSR in the process of collectivization—according to the number of mouths to feed, according to the work done, according to the work done with consideration of the property contributed by a laborer when joining the collective farm. Practical experience has shown that the only correct principle of distribution on collective farms is distribution according to labor. However, the objective

law of distribution of the personal consumption fund received comprehensive theoretical substantiation in Soviet literature approximately from the fifties on. In the meantime, experience has shown that the effective economic policy of a state depends largely on the extent of cognition, and the correct use in economic practice of the objective economic laws of socialism. Disregard of the economic laws of socialism, a desire to bypass them, can cause grave damage to the national economy, as evidenced by the example of the communes in China, which ignored the economic law of distribution according to labor.

The principles underlying the economic policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, the forms and methods of socialist management, are constantly developing.

The extent of cognition of the economic laws of socialism, the ability to determine the correct concrete principles and forms of economic policy, conformable to their requirements, are of great importance for economic practice. Objective economic laws operate irrespective of the consciousness and will of human beings; but it is not a matter of indifference whether the people act consciously in conformity with the demands of these laws or violate them. The economic policy of a state will be most effective if it is in line with the operation of the economic laws of socialism. But it may also impede the operation of an economic law, as occurred in our country, for instance, with the law of value applied to agriculture. In such a case damage is inevitably inflicted upon the national economy. The economic policy of a state will be correct and effective to the extent to which it relies on the requirements of the objective laws of socialism.

The Twenty-third Congress of the CPSU stressed, therefore, the need resolutely to oppose all manifestations of subjectivism in economic management, all underestimation of objective laws, and pointed out that it is necessary for the economists to elaborate a theory for the planned guidance of the national economy on the basis of a thorough investigation and efficient use of the objective laws of socialism. The forms and methods of economic management improve as society delves deeper into the economic laws underlying economic life. Thoroughgoing disclosure of the substance of the economic laws of socialism permits to determine more correctly and scientifically the principles and essence of economic policy, the forms and methods of socialist economic management, applicable to concrete conditions. The raising of the efficiency of socialist production, of the scientific level of economic guidance, is possible only through cognition of the economic laws of socialism, through perfecting the concrete forms and the mechanism of their operation.

The Basic Economic Law of Socialism

The economic laws of a socialist society can be divided into three different groups. The first includes the specific laws of socialism, which emerged due to the appearance and development of public ownership of the means of production: the basic economic law of socialism, the law of planned economic development, the law of distribution according to labor, the socialist law of population, etc. The second group consists of laws that are the same for all structures: the law of conformity of production relations to the character and level of the development of productive forces, the law of growth of the productivity of social labor, the law of the division of social labor, the law of enhancement of the people's requirements, etc. And, finally, the third group includes laws that are common for only a number of socio-economic structures: the law of value, the law of differentiated land rent, and certain other laws. The existence under socialism of laws that are common for all, or for a number of socio-economic structures, reflects a definite historical order in society's economic development, a relationship between the socialist mode of production and the preceding ones.

In conditions where social ownership of the means of production predominates, all economic laws are an expression of the socialist production relations, and each law taken separately governs a vital relationship or an interdependence in socialist production relations. The division of economic laws into genuinely socialist ones and others, alien to socialism, which should be eliminated as quickly as possible—an approach that existed in our literature until quite recently—is theoretically incorrect and practically harmful.

The economic laws operating under socialism that are common for all or for a number of structures are as much internal laws of socialism as its specific ones. But social content of these common laws and the character of their operation under socialism are different. Nor can we agree with the assertion that under socialism the laws that are common for all structures find expression in its specific laws. This interpretation lends a sort of duality to this group of laws. For instance, along with the universal law of the growth of labor productivity, there is the specific law of the steady growth of labor productivity under socialism; along with the universal law of the enhancement of human needs, there is the specific law of enhancement of human needs under socialism, etc. In reality what we observe here is the operation under socialism of, for instance, the law of the growth of labor productivity, common for all structures, but reflecting production rela-

tions, different from those that existed before, having a different social nature and significance.

The question of what is the basic economic law of socialism, what is the best way to formulate it, has been extensively debated by Soviet economists. The amount of attention given this law is explained by its special role in the system of socialism's economic laws.

Despite substantial differences in the understanding or interpretation of individual aspects of the basic economic law of socialism, there is relative unanimity of opinion as to its essence among Soviet economists. Disagreements center mainly on details of formulation. Soviet economists agree that this law can be correctly understood only given a correct methodological approach to its investigation, which in turn is impossible without a thorough grasp of the methodological aspect of Marx's thesis on the production of surplus value as the basic economic law of capitalism.

The view, until recently very widespread, that the key methodological sign of the basic economic law of any society is an indication of the purpose of production and the main way of achieving it, has not received convincing confirmation during the discussion.

At the same time, most of the economists recognize that indication of the purpose of the production of material values is indispensable proof of the basic law, that this goal is objectively predetermined and to point to it does not mean the introduction of subjectivism into political economy. Implied in the concept, objective purpose of production, is the goal set by the "masters of production," and this is realistically ensured by the economic conditions of production, primarily by the corresponding form of ownership of the means of production. The purpose of production is not outside human consciousness. It is set by those who command the means of production. In a bourgeois society it is the capitalists who are "masters of production," who organize it for the purpose of enriching themselves, of making a profit; under socialism society as a whole and the personnel of collective-cooperative enterprises are the masters. This determines the purpose of socialist production—the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of society and of all its members. The steady enhancement of the degree to which these requirements are satisfied is the main criterion and indicator of the growing efficiency of socialist production, a criterion for evaluating the system of directing the national economy, of planning and managing it. The idea that the basic economic law of socialism is inseparably linked with social ownership of the means of production and the key production relationship of socialism has received broad support during the

discussion. At the same time it has been correctly pointed out that the basic economic law cannot be wholly identified with the central production relationship of socialism.

The basic economic law of socialism is a specific law which expresses the basic line, the key feature of the socialist mode of production, the main distinction of this mode of production from others. In our opinion it can be formulated as the law of collective output of goods in the interests of the working people themselves, for the purpose of satisfying ever more fully the growing requirements of society and of all its members.

The basic economic law of socialism is a social law governing the production of goods, their exchange, distribution and consumption.

Each of the economic laws of socialism reflects a definite state of production relations and their development. The basic economic law determines and expresses the main trend in the economic development of socialist society. In this sense, the basic economic law of socialism is the "law of movement" of socialist society.

The Regulator of Socialist Production

The question of the regulation of social production is one of the most important problems in Marxist-Leninist political economy. It is of immense importance for the practical guidance of the national economy under socialism. It should not be confused with the question of the "law of movement" of society. The basic economic law ("law of movement") in capitalist society is the law of surplus value, and the "regulator of production" is the law of value which appears in the concrete form of the cost of production under pre-monopoly and monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism.

It should be borne in mind that each economic law serves as a regulator of social production. For instance, the regulator of wages under capitalism is the law of labor value. The law of supply and demand, operating in conditions of capitalism, finds expression also in the fact that here the industrial manpower reserve acts as a regulator of wages, since it allows the capitalists to maintain wages at a low level. Not every economic law of capitalism is regarded as a main "regulator" of capitalist production, however, only the law which regulates the key proportions of the national economy, the distribution of capital and labor among the different sectors of the national economy, the rates of their growth, etc., is considered decisive. Serving as such a basic, universal regulator under capitalism is the spontaneous (chaotic) law of value, the law of production cost, the law of monopoly prices. Under socialism, on the other hand, each law

(value, growth of labor productivity, distribution according to labor, etc.) discharges the function of an internal regulator of production—and under "regulator of production" we mean that which determines the proportions of production, the distribution of material resources, labor, finances by sector, and rates of growth of production in individual branches and in the national economy as a whole.

In the twenties, the question of the "regulator of production" was one of the most acute problems of economic theory and practice of economic management in the USSR. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois economists claimed in those days, that the law of value continued to be the regulator of the Soviet economy and that it determined the proportions of social production, the rates of growth of the economic sectors. E. Preobrazhensky believed that there were two regulators acting in the transitional economy—the law of value and the so-called law of initial socialist accumulation. Bukharin claimed that the regulator of Soviet economy was the eternal "law of proportionality of labor expenditures," which appears in the form of the law of value in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and will function in its pure form in a socialist society.

The theoretical struggle over the question of what constituted the economic regulator was in those days a struggle for a definite line in the economic policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. In the struggle against the indicated ideological and political trends of social thought, Soviet economists then arrived at the conclusion that the regulator of Soviet economy was not the cost of value but the plan, the planning state. By utilizing cost of value, it does away with the chaotic spontaneity of its operation, unavoidable under capitalism, and consciously determines the new proportions of the national economy in accordance with the tasks of socialist construction. On the whole it was a correct enough approach, reflecting the vast role of the socialist state in the socialist transformation of society. Its weakness lay in the fact that it restricted the action of the law of value to the narrow limits of the transition period economy, that it refused to recognize the law of value as an objective nature of all economic laws under socialism. Elimination of this serious theoretical shortcoming, i.e., recognition of the objective nature of the economic laws of socialism (the law of value, etc.), made it possible to approach the question of the regulator of social production correctly: the national economy is regulated by socialist planning and guidance. In this work the socialist state, while having special economic bodies, relies on social ownership of the means of production and on objective economic laws, including the law of value. The more correctly and

fully the requirements of the objective laws of socialism are taken into account, the more effective is the state's economic guidance, the role of the socialist state as the regulator of economic development. The economic reform that is now being carried out is aimed at radically improving economic guidance by drawing on the objective economic laws of socialism. The functions of the overall regulation of the national economy remain a prerogative of the socialist state which is, as indicated above, not only a political but also an economic organization of society.

A different view of this was expressed by G. S. Lisichkin. In "The Plan and the Market," although he does not consider concrete questions of the economic reform, the author defines his attitude toward it with sufficient clarity. The system of material stimulation of enterprises and of the workers, based on definite economic indicators and linked to various kinds of "recommendations and instructions," is characterized by Lisichkin as an expression of the evolution of subjective concepts which persist to this day, "as a sort of adaptation of them to new vogues in economics: if the planned indicators cannot be achieved through administrative severity alone, it is necessary to encourage the enterprise and its workers at the expense of a share of the profit. Material incentive to production sounds primitive in this interpretation, because it is divorced from the tasks of accelerating the general process of reproduction on an expanded scale at this or that enterprise, proceeding completely from the vulgar materialistic conviction that it suffices to pay those who deserve it and everything will be done properly. Here the value terminology only serves to cover up the baldness of the old administrative approach, but its substance, neglect of the objective factors that act irrespective of our will, remain unchanged."*

We cannot go along with this interpretation of the current reform, an important aspect of which is further improvement of the forms and methods of material incentive and implementation of the idea advanced and stressed emphatically by Lenin: remuneration should be based not only on consideration of labor performed by the given laborer, but also on the results of the work of the enterprise personnel as a whole.

The central idea of the plan proposed by Lisichkin to perfect the guidance of economic development is its recognition of the law of value in the form of the cost of production as the regulator of socialist production, meaning, as he himself puts it, the recognition of max-

imum profits as the key, the most important criterion and indicator of the efficiency of socialist production. "The cost of production," he writes in relation to socialist society, "makes it possible to achieve greater mobility in the movement of the means of production. Indeed, if market prices deviate from the cost of production, the social means will have to reorientate in the direction suggested by the consumer, meaning that this change will be demanded by a universal, secret, and equal vote in the market by means of the ruble." The goal is to achieve the highest possible rate of profit. "The money and the means of production are directed wherever the rates of profit are highest. Established in this way is a flexible combination of the interests of the consumer, the producing enterprise, and every individual worker employed by it."*

The assertion that the law of value under our conditions is not the regulator of production is characterized by the author of the book as unsound dogma which fails to reflect the actual state of economy and its development.** He claims that the law of value in the form of the cost of production is the regulator of production under socialism.

Lisichkin quite rightly stresses that the laws of both value and profit in conditions of socialism have a social nature different from that under capitalism, and that in conditions of socialism, the law of value does not act as a destructive force, hostile to society; that value is not merely an instrument of accounting; that recognition of the law of value signifies recognition of the need to increase the role of the market, of taking into account the actual needs of the consumers. Despite all this, he is wrong when he claims that the main regulator of production under socialism is the law of value, although the regulating role of this law is of course obvious.

The economic reform in our country is aimed at intensifying the economic methods of directing the economy. It presupposes fuller and more correct use than before of the law of value and of other objective laws of socialism. Connected with this, specifically, is the expansion of the operational-economic independence of enterprises, the perfecting of the mechanism of the socialist market, and streamlining of the system of planning prices. All this signifies enhancement of the role of the law of value as an instrument regulator of the whole national economy, particularly as an important instrument for the planning of proportions and rates of economic development. Nonetheless, the law of value cannot be the main regulator of the economy

**Ibid*, p. 82.

***Ibid*, p. 61.

*G. S. Lisichkin, "The Plan and the Market," *Ekonomika*, 1966, pp. 7-8.

in the socialist society, cannot automatically ensure the proportions and rates of growth of production necessary for society. This role is played by the planning state.

While stressing the objective character of the laws of socialism, we must not forget they are used by society consciously, through planned activity, through a definite state economic policy. The mechanism of regulating the economy under socialism differs from market regulation of the economy under capitalism precisely in that the function of economic regulator belongs to the socialist state in its role of economic organization. The law of value can be the main regulator of the economy only in conditions of private ownership of the means of production, of the spontaneous operation of this law in the mechanism of market competition. The social ownership of the means of production does away with spontaneity, and with it the function of the law of value as the main regulator, at the same time preserving the tremendous regulating importance of the law of value, which is consciously utilized by society through the planned activity of the state.

G. S. Lisichkin's claim that the law of value is the main regulator of socialist production is opposed by M. Atlas, I. Slobin, R. Vinokur, L. Kadyshev, and I. Levitanus. "The law of value and the entire system of value categories," they very correctly state, "act as plan-regulated levers in economic management."*

However, we cannot fully agree with the way these writers understand the regulator of social production. In their opinion the regulator of production under socialism consists only of the basic economic law and the law of planned development. Though the regulating importance of the basic law and the law of planned development are not open to question, the law of value and other economic laws are also immensely important. The basic law determines the main line of society's development. The law of planned development reflects the need and the possibility of harmonious, coordinated development of various branches of production under socialism, but it does not automatically ensure the needed proportions. The correct determination and realization of these proportions is done by the socialist state, which alone regulates the economy, taking into account the requirements of all the economic laws of socialism, determining concrete ways and forms of utilizing these laws in the interests of society and of all its members.

* *Izvestia*, March 17, 1966.

IDEAS IN OUR TIME

HERBERT APTHEKER

Socialist and Capitalist Societies: Some Notes

I want to share with our readers findings in highly reputable U.S. publications which offer significant correctives to the generally reactionary—and often fanatically anti-Communist—position of such publications.

Extraordinary is the essay, "The Essential Characteristics of the Russian Nation in the 20th Century," by Pitirim A. Sorokin, in the March, 1967 issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. The editors identify Sorokin as "perhaps the number one sociologist of the contemporary world." Certainly, he is among the most distinguished in the world: prior to the Bolshevik Revolution he was already of sufficient consequence so that Lenin polemicized with him; his first book appeared in 1913; he established the first chair of sociology in Leningrad but soon chose to leave the New Russia; he established Harvard's Department of Sociology, remains a professor (emeritus) there, and is the author of nearly forty volumes. This biographical sketch is sufficient to confirm professional consequence and an absence of pro-Soviet bias. Both add weight to the article in question.

Sorokin's essay comes to about 13,000 words and these must be read in full, of course, to get the entire thought of its author; nevertheless, the following extracts will in no way violate this thought but rather will convey its essence. He observes that because of the civil war and the two World Wars, the Soviet Union lost about 65 millions killed; a demographic catastrophe probably without equal in modern history, it nevertheless did not destroy the social system—indeed, instead of consuming it, the disaster tempered it. Now the USSR has one of the lowest death rates in the world (7.5 per 1,000 population in 1960 compared with 9.4 in the U.S.) and a quite high birth rate, so that its population, reaching nearly 220,000,000 in 1961, represents an "almost miraculous recovery" and testifies to the "enormous vitality and pertinacity of this nation."

Surely it is not often in the cold war years that a periodical of the character of the *Annals* has printed words like these:

... taken at its intrinsic and aspired values, the Soviet regime is certainly a most radical and political innovation. It aims to create not only political, but also economic and sociocultural democracy; it seeks to eliminate exploitation and injustice far more radically than the regimes of purely political democracy. It attempts to combine the advantages of modern technological centralization, large-scale production, and expert management with the autonomy of local groups; to merge the benefits of collectivism with those of freedom, dignity and self-realization of individuals; to reconcile the rigid governmental bureaucracy with the initiative of persons and groups; to integrate social planning with spontaneity and creative deviation; to harmonize radical equality with inequality of merit and talent; and to unify the responsibility of a society for each of its members with that of an individual to himself and to the society.

Professor Sorokin continues that these have not remained only aspirations—significant as aspirations are in characterizing a social order. No, for he continues:

In some measure these objectives have been increasingly realized by the population of the Soviet Union. By the establishment of this regime the Soviet peoples “hit” something that is on the agenda of history. For this reason the Soviet regime not only succeeded in establishing itself firmly in the Soviet Union but has spread and been imitated by many other peoples, by almost a half of the human population. It also successfully passed the fiery ordeal of the Second World War by defeating Hitler’s armies through the unified efforts of the Russian nation and other peoples of Soviet Russia.

Sorokin points out that the economic disasters of the wars—and especially of World War II—were as profound as the demographic. Thus: “The total economic loss of this period amounted to many hundreds of billions of dollars. And yet the catastrophe was overcome, and today the Soviet Union occupies, economically, second place among all nations and states.”

In other ways—many of them perhaps more meaningful than the economic—progress has been extraordinary. Hence, writes Sorokin:

At the present time the cultural level and creativity of the Russian population in science, technology, philosophy, law, ethics, literature, music, painting, theater, and other fields of culture are certainly at par with those of the West and the East. In some fields

Russia is slightly lagging; in others it is leading, but, all in all, its cultural creativity today is second to none.

Here is the concluding paragraph of this remarkable essay:

If no new world war explodes, there is hardly any doubt that the Soviet Union, still led by the Russian people, can hopefully look to its future. It has successfully overcome “the abomination of desolation” wrought by the world wars and the civil war, has already become a constructive leader among all nations, and is likely to continue its leadership in the decades, even centuries, to come.

* * *

In *World Politics*, a quarterly published by Princeton University Press, there appears an equally remarkable article (issue of January, 1967) by Soon Sung Cho. Entitled, “The Politics of North Korea’s Unification Policies, 1950-1965,” it is the result of research undertaken with funds provided by the Asia Foundation, and sponsored by the Social Science Research Center of the International Christian University in Tokyo. Again, then, as in the case of Professor Sorokin, no reasonable person would believe the sympathies of this author lie with Marxism or Communism, or the government of North Korea—the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

Professor Soon Sung Cho commences by stating that in South Korea “popular support for independent and peaceful unification is rapidly mounting.” He thinks this may be due to “more effective North Korean propaganda as well as to the unhappy economic conditions in South Korea.” Despite the opposition of the South Korean government, its repressive policies and actions and “despite every effort of the South Korean government to jam radio broadcasts and censor newspapers,” this popular support grows.

The most extraordinary feature of this article, however—considering its author, sponsorship and place of publication—are the data it offers on comparative economic development of North and South Korea. The author writes that even if the data are not fully accurate, “one must admit that he [Kim Il Sung, the Prime Minister of North Korea] had achieved a remarkable success in his economic policy.”

Although it is true that North rather than South Korea was more highly industrialized, it is also true that the North was more completely devastated by U.S. fire power during the war of the 1950’s. The author concludes that industrial output in North Korea had grown 8.7 times in 1961 as compared with 1944, and grain output had doubled during the same period. He declares that “by 1961 North Korea had reached a position of considerable economic power vis-a-vis

South Korea, especially in contrast with the situation that had existed at the end of the war." The following table is then offered; in examining the figures, bear in mind that the population of South Korea is almost two and a half times greater than that of the North. Here is the table as given by Soon Sung Cho:

ECONOMIC OUTPUT, SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA, 1961

	South Korea	North Korea	Ratio S:N
Population	24,990,000	10,780,000	2.4:1
Area (sq. km.)	96,000	124,000	1:1.3
Coal, tons	5,888,000	11,788,000	1:2
Electricity, kwh	1,770,000,000	10,418,000,000	1:5.7
Steel, tons	46,000	776,000	1:16
Cement, tons	522,000	2,253,000	1:4.3
Fertilizers, tons	64,000	662,000	1:10
Tractors	0	3,996	—
Textiles, meters	133,000,000	256,000,000	1:1.7
Rice, wheat, tons	4,534,000	4,830,000	1:1
Fishing, tons	434,000	620,000	1:1.4

(For sources: see original article)

This article and, especially, the data in the above table, offer important background material for better comprehending latest developments in Korea as a whole—with some 60,000 U.S. troops still in the South, with about 25 per cent of its total budget still assumed by Washington, and with several thousand South Korean troops and laborers—all paid by the U.S.—supporting American aggression in near-by Vietnam.

The *New York Times* recently (May 7, 1967) headlined a story from Seoul, filed by Robert Trumbull, "Economic Strains Said to Cause Sagging Morale in North Korea," and this was supposed to help explain an allegedly increasing military truculence in the North. In fact, however, the body of the story reported that per capita income in the North was twice that in the South and that: "Everyone in North Korea has a job—an uncomfortable contrast with the south, where unemployment in nonagricultural households was reported at about 13 per cent last year."

Albert Axelbank, a UPI correspondent in Asia for ten years, writes from Seoul in *The New Republic* (April 29, 1967) that unemployment is now about 15 per cent (though 600,000 men are in the army), and that "South Korea continues to lean heavily on American food subsidies." He adds that "U.S. officials say privately that North Korea, with a population less than half that of the South, is economically better off than the South." Quite publicly, in mid-1966, Kim Hyunk

Koo, Director of the South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency, announced, writes Mr. Axelbank: "Any person who demands intercourse between South and North Korea shall be severely punished under the Anti-Communist Law as a subversive element who benefits the enemy."

Of course, Mr. Park Chung-hee was re-elected President early in May, but then, as Axelbank had already written: "It is virtually impossible—some say impermissible [for him] not to be re-elected." Since all permitted opposition parties charged the CIA "with malicious interference in the forthcoming presidential and general elections," and since reporters were arrested and editors beaten up on a fairly regular basis, and since President Park had made it clear that should he not be elected again—by some miracle—"the military could be expected once again to stage a *coup d'état*," one comprehends Mr. Axelbank's remark that his defeat was "impermissible."

All this makes more pointed Wilfred Burchett's dispatch from Pyongyang, North Korea, dated May 14 (and published in the *New York Times* the next day) warning that full defensive preparations had been completed there against a military assault. Perhaps Professor Roche already has drafted President Johnson's speech explaining how, in defense of liberty, American troops must "resist aggression" in Korea, too.

In the leading U.S. lay Catholic magazine, *Commonweal* (May 19, 1967) appeared an essay splendidly illuminating certain basic facts in international relationships. Since the *Wall Street Journal* attacked the latest Papal Encyclical as "warmed-over Marxism," and the *Chicago Daily News* columnist, Mr. Johnson, somewhat more kindly characterized it as "perfumed Marxism," it is perhaps not startling to find a radical reply in this Catholic journal to the question serving as the article's title: "Does the U.S. Exploit the Developing Nations?" The subhead indicates the direction of the answer: "Systematically Preserving World Power"; and the article itself does not disappoint. Its author is David S. French, now pursuing advanced studies at Harvard, and formerly assistant program economist for the U.S. aid mission to Ethiopia.

In some ways, Mr. French's findings are the more convincing, perhaps, for he begins by affirming the necessity "to escape the conceptual fetters of both Marxism and doctrinaire capitalism." Yet this reader saw Marxism illuminating rather than inhibiting Mr. French's analysis; though, while his analysis in no way contradicted the Marxian it was not quite as thorough.

At any rate, here is what Mr. French writes: Outside of Canada and Europe, U.S. direct foreign investments at the end of 1965 came to

twenty billion dollars. Over the two-year period, 1964-1965, net reported earnings for U.S. corporate investments in Asia averaged 36 per cent a year, in Africa, 23 per cent and in Latin America 13 per cent (as compared with about 9 per cent in Europe and Canada). Mr. French also notes that while U.S. investments abroad have been going along at an enormous pace, nevertheless, with these rates of profit the net income flowing *into* the United States during the past six years exceeded the total investment by two billions! Mr. French notes that in the case of India, for example, from 1948 through 1961, foreign exchange losses on private capital account for *nearly three times* gross foreign investments.

But Mr. French still asks if all this is really exploitation? He then offers a definition of exploitation that satisfies him; it is this: ". . . to show that the nature of the world's present—and arbitrary—economic order, including the institutions which sustain it, is such as to work toward a permanent widening of the division between rich and poor nations, as well as toward generally chaotic economic conditions in developing states"; and that "the United States is in a systematic way working to preserve this economic order."

Our author then finds on the basis of the evidence and his own experience that "the nature of the world economy offers little but despair to developing nations, and there is no relief in sight." The U.S. and other "capitalist nations" offer but two alternatives: lucrative concessions to private investors, "thereby turning critical development decisions" over to these foreigners, or for marginal needs, where profits are not likely to be attractive, "there is foreign aid—with all its political ramifications."

Mr. French then cites case after case where in international gatherings the United States voted against any measure that might relieve the inequities—and often the United States was alone in its negative vote. Thus, the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development at its Geneva meeting in 1964 offered the following General Principle Number One: "Economic relations between countries, including trade relations, shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality of states, self-determination of peoples, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries." One hundred and thirteen nations voted for the adoption of this principle; one—the United States—voted against it!

Mr. French concludes, after offering much additional material:

The evidence is persuasive that the United States is working to preserve an international economic order which systematically works to the disadvantage of developing nations; and by my earlier

definition, this constitutes a form of "exploitation" of these nations. Americans need to recognize this fact; most of the developing world has already done so. And it is a problem of some urgency; as Franz Fanon has warned, "the question which is looming on the horizon is the need for a redistribution of wealth. Humanity must reply to this question, or be shaken to pieces by it." So far, there has been only a negative reply from the United States.

Helping to complete a Marxian analysis would be to notice that with socialism, the development of the "underdeveloped" proceeds swiftly and basically. Data concerning North Korea already have been offered. All other experience confirms this—from North Korea to Cuba. Thus, two additional pieces of evidence from recent sources: Ross Terrill, writing in *The New Republic* (May 27, 1967) on "The Polish Consensus," finds that there: "Agricultural production is up one-third since 1956; industrial output per capita is almost 60 per cent that of Britain, having risen from half the world average in 1939 to more than double the world average today. There are 62 university students per 10,000 inhabitants, compared with 14 in 1939." Or, here is Helène Carrère d'Encausse, of the Paris Center for the Study of International Relations, concerning the Asian peoples of the U.S.S.R.:

When Egyptians or Pakistanis visit Uzbekistan, they are not thinking of the American way of life but of themselves; and there the prodigious effort at education, the quality and quantity of teaching at all levels, the development of a purely native research, the progressive substitution of native economic and industrial staffs for the Russian staffs (within the limits of the demands of the political system), the modernization of society, and the standard of living—all show that the Soviet Union has found solutions to the problems of the development of its Moslem peoples.

The realities and contrasts pointed to in the preceding pages, plus the abomination of the U.S. war upon the people of Vietnam, are inducing very significant re-thinking in increasingly broad circles on the whole question of Communism itself and especially, on anti-Communist fanaticism. Evidences of this mount; we offer one example: Prof. J. Edward Barrett of the Department of Religion at Muskingum College, in Concord, Ohio, wrote this in *The Christian Century*, April 19, 1967:

*In an essay, "Marxism and the Moslem World," in N. Lobkowitz, ed., *Marx and the Western World*, Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1967, p. 267.

The Vietnam affair is supposedly a "trial case" in the never-ending struggle with communism. This "conspiratorial" presupposition, in the light of which all historical events are interpreted and all moral considerations anesthetized, needs to be exposed for the paranoid, totally unsatisfactory interpretation of international actualities that it is. In spite of the paranoid tendency to be unimpressed by contrary facts and logic, the evidence against the presupposition is so weighty that it is reasonable to hope for some quick transformation in our thinking.

The transformation is proceeding; it is impossible—if one travels through the country, meets with, talks to, and above all listens to the mountingly worried, dubious and skeptical American population—not to be struck by that fact. The great need is to help push this transformation forward and, especially, to provide it with a viable political alternative to the present two-party vise.

May 22, 1967

YOUR OPINION IS WANTED

We have received some additional suggestions from our readers in reply to the poll we are taking. But still not enough to make a final judgment. Please, take the time and let us know what you think.

Shall we change the name of the magazine; if so, what suggestion do you have?

Shall the cover be livened up by the use of color and/or photographs?

Shall we increase the size of the format?

*! → Shall the front cover indicate that the magazine expresses the Communist or Marxist viewpoint?

On State Monopoly Capitalism*

III. STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AS AN ECONOMIC WHOLE

As a phase of imperialism, state monopoly capitalism is evidently not only a social and economic whole but includes also other aspects—political, ideological, etc. However, in this section, the question is viewed essentially from the point of view of Marxist economic investigation.

1. *Organic, Dialectical Unity of the Diverse Processes of State Monopoly Capitalism*

If, by way of hypothesis, state monopoly capitalism is considered as a *phase* of imperialism, it follows from this that it forms an organic whole. In our opinion there are two opposite ways of failing to consider this whole in a dialectical way.

On the one hand, one can erroneously consider the process which leads to state monopoly capitalism as a linear process and not (or not sufficiently) as a contradictory process.

In reality, it is not a question of a simple continuation of transformations experienced by monopoly capitalism, which will have known, in its turn, a simple progression of transformations occurring within premonopoly capitalism.

Starting from a certain stage of evolution, qualitatively new forms appear which are opposed (relatively) to the earlier forms.

For example, it cannot be considered as essentially a question of a development of the process of capitalist concentration.. This process of concentration would lead to monopolies, then monopolies to public monopoly. In studying the development of monopoly, Lenin already showed that it is not only a result of the earlier tendencies (which moreover do not consist uniquely of concentration) but that it contradicts them dialectically, without however eliminating them.

"Imperialism," Lenin said, "emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental attributes of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and

*This is the second part of the introductory lecture delivered to the International Conference on State Monopoly Capitalism, May 26-29, 1966, at the Maurice Thorez School in Choisy-le-Roi. The first part was published in *Political Affairs*, April, 1967.

very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental attributes began to be transformed into their opposites, when the features of a period of transition from capitalism to a higher social economic system began to take place and reveal themselves all along the line. Economically, the main thing in this process is the substitution of capitalist monopolies for capitalist free competition. Free competition is the fundamental attribute of capitalism, and of commodity production generally. Monopoly is exactly the opposite of free competition. . . . At the same time monopoly, which has grown out of free competition does not abolish the latter, but exists over it and alongside of it, and thereby gives rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, friction and conflicts. . . ." (*Imperialism*, 1939, p. 88.)

Although capitalist concentration plays a very important and obvious role, just as monopoly does not result simply from a higher degree of concentration, so public monopoly or public intervention in favor of monopolies does not constitute a process whose essence consists in raising this concentration to a still higher level. For example, the rules of management of public enterprise are categorically opposed to those of management of private monopoly, *at least in certain aspects*, and form a certain antinomy with them. The public economic forms constitute qualitatively new forms of *capitalist socialization*.

Likewise, it is sometimes said that this movement of increasing concentration culminates in the *fusion* of monopolies and the state. We do not think this expression of *fusion* is well chosen (although it is not for the same reasons as Stalin that we criticize it). The formulation of 1960 speaks more properly of combination in a single mechanism. The expression of fusion conceals the dialectics of the process. The meaning of fusion is that two earlier elements have disappeared (the monopolies for example) and that they are *merged* in the new reality. *Since monopolies have not disappeared, state monopoly capitalism does not and cannot eliminate private monopoly. The new forms unite the economic activity of monopolies and the capitalist state into a single organic whole which functions according to its own laws.* But if there is thus unity, interpenetration and combination, there is no fusion; on the contrary, there are always frictions, contradictions and conflicts inside this single organism.

Moreover the public forms utilized by the monopolist oligarchy can be turned against this oligarchy in a decisive manner, if the working-class and democratic movement seizes control of the state. The new public forms of state monopoly capitalism negate the private

capitalist form of the economy, but in order to try desperately to maintain it within the whole.

In general, the analysis of state monopoly capitalism must show how it deepens the contradictions of capitalism while claiming to resolve them, in particular, the contradiction between the private form of the relations of production and the social character of the productive forces.

In our opinion another nondialectical manner of viewing state monopoly capitalism would consist in not seeing sufficiently the unity of the functioning of the whole and of separating the contradictory elements. This would be an exactly opposite error from the former.

If the contradictions between the new public forms and the old monopoly forms are preserved, there are no essentially different laws which would explain the private economic action and the public economic action within the framework of state monopoly capitalism. The whole constitutes itself into an organic totality seeking to save capitalism but preparing the way nevertheless for the higher rung. From an essential point of view and within the framework of state monopoly capitalism, one can no longer contrast, as has sometimes been done, the action of the state in the public sector properly so-called which would constitute "state capitalism," and the action of the state on the private economy which would constitute public intervention for the benefit of monopolies in "present-day capitalism."

Even if the essential contrast is conceived only potentially, as the eventual *possibility* of "state capitalism properly so-called," based on public ownership, not obeying the law of profit and therefore behaving in an anti-monopoly way, this thesis does not seem correct to us. As with the preceding position, this does not mean that it does not reflect a part of reality. In particular, it reflects the essential contradiction between the public forms and their use in the service of the oligarchy.

It seems to us, however, that all the present interventions of the state (and not only those linked to state ownership of public enterprises), from fiscal policy to public consumption and the regulation of credit, etc., while designed to augment and guarantee capitalist profit, are founded essentially on the same particular feature as the public enterprises: namely the possibility of acting without taking into account the law of profit. And that in the case of state monopoly capitalism, operating for the benefit of the monopolies. In fact, the beneficial character of state intervention for the benefit of the monopolies results precisely from the fact that the state does not seek

profit for itself but for the capitalists, the monopolists, the financial oligarchy.

One thinks, for example, of "subsidies" as one of the elements which would exhibit an "essential difference" from "capitalism properly so-called," and which would be based on public property in the means of production from the point of view of the law of profit. But what is subsidy, if not potential capital which is property of the state and which can be utilized without the need to extract profit, outside the laws of profit, even if it is to augment the profit of the subsidized enterprise in the case of a subsidy to a capitalist enterprise?

The negation of profit exists from the beginning of state monopoly capitalism and in all public interventions, but in favor of capitalist profit. The whole development of capitalism consists in its self-negation linked to the development of its inner contradictions. How does the centralization of capital progress if not by the expropriation of small capitalists by big ones? And isn't monopoly the negation of competition but nevertheless maintaining capitalist competition? State capitalist ownership develops this negation but it is utilized in order to save private capitalist ownership in other sectors.

Let us understand this fully, however. We think there is in effect a very important difference between public enterprise and other public forms. (This is one of the realistic foundations upon which our criticism is based.) Public enterprise, as constituting state capitalism, is not essentially in opposition to other public forms of present-day capitalism; rather, it is the totality which comprises the public intervention embodied in state monopoly capitalism, characterized by a unified organic functioning and by the same dialectical laws. However, the public enterprises clearly represent the final point of *this same* essential development, the most advanced negation by the public monopolist forms of the simple monopolist forms. They constitute a placing on trial of the very foundations of capitalism, the highest form of state monopoly capitalism making an attack on the relations of capitalist production of the material products themselves. Also they play a most prominent role in the class struggle which animates state monopoly capitalism. Thus, the draft democratic program of our Party, without opposing it to other aspects of public intervention, all of which have a high antimonopoly potential, gives a privileged place to nationalization.

At the other pole of society, and in the same manner, we find the profound reticence of the monopoly bourgeoisie concerning public enterprise and their search, to the extent that it is possible at least,

for indirect or mixed means of state intervention. But this does not prevent the oligarchy from systematically utilizing public enterprises.

2. *Description, Partial Theoretical Studies and Synthesis*

If state monopoly capitalism forms an organic whole, descriptive methods of study seem more than ever insufficient. The description of different aspects of state monopoly capitalism is not only useful but necessary. Moreover it is the path that is taken historically by non-Marxist academic research which we cannot dispense with. This is also what is most often attempted in our own economic literature, which accompanies the descriptive analysis with some theoretical reflections and critiques or normative propositions.

But the fullest descriptions (and they will never be complete), filling dozens of volumes, and even the most exhaustive classifications of phenomena in accordance with the formulation of 1958, can never result by themselves in a real explanation. What we need is a theory seeking to interconnect the different phenomena in development, not by way of some general idea, but by way of their very essence and by the discovery of their necessary movement, linking similarly the new phenomena to the old, and by their explanation of the already known theory of capitalism; giving, finally, the laws of the functioning and development of the diverse phenomena to the point of being able to foresee their further unfolding. This is what Marx did in *Capital* with respect to capitalism in general and to its classical stage in particular.

The theoretical explanation arises from the earlier theory by going beyond its level in the light of new practice, in order to utilize it and at the same time to negate it by integrating it into a more comprehensive new whole.

Nevertheless, in order really to go beyond all the earlier experience in utilizing it, it is necessary to consider it not as a collection of finished results but as a process, as an uncompleted movement. Our epoch more than ever imposes the necessity of understanding that the economic work of Marx, as great as it is, is doubly dated and limited. Not only because it reflects the epoch of Marx's lifetime, but also because it reflects a process of research interrupted by Marx's death. It is moreover consciously limited and this is what gives it its greatest force. We know Marx's plan at the beginning of his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

We know that *Capital* sought to represent only a limited part of this initial plan, albeit the fundamental part. Marx speaks very often in *Capital* of the problems which he cannot treat there because they

are outside of his plan and are part of the next sections he will eventually deal with, such as the phenomena of competition. It is often a question of putting aside the most immediate problems, such as those concerning, according to Marx's original plan, the unproductive classes or the state. This is not an accident, for the evolution of thought and society was undoubtedly not yet mature enough to treat them at that time in all their fullness.

However, in *Capital*, with regard to the domain covered, we have a completely elaborated theory. In the case of Lenin, who could devote to his economic research only a much smaller amount of time than Marx, the incompleteness involves, in our opinion, the theoretical explanation given in *Imperialism* itself. In his "pamphlet on vulgarization" (as he himself calls it without false modesty), it again remains largely at the level of synthetic classification of the descriptive materials, to which he returns some months later, moreover, in mentioning the transformation to state monopoly capitalism. The theoretical explanation is only outlined by Lenin and we must boldly follow it up.

It is necessary, beyond the stage of description of the diverse elements of state monopoly capitalism, to start with theoretical hypotheses and to develop them conceptually in their application to practical economic reality. Thus, speaking of the materialist conception of history as it is expressed, for example, in the preface of *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Lenin says in *What the "Friends of the People" Are*: "Since the publication of *Capital*, the materialist conception is no longer a hypothesis but a scientifically demonstrated doctrine."

These theoretical hypotheses can be developed at different levels of economic reality.

To begin with, we can envisage (and have effectively envisaged) hypotheses at the level of the development of the economic structure, at the level of the modification of capitalist economic relations of production, circulation, distribution and consumption, in conjunction with the progression of the material productive forces.

In this sphere two questions, among others, seem particularly worthy of interest. The first concerns the evolution of the productive forces. Some hypotheses have been set forth in regard to this, for example, on the passage from the stage of the manufactory to that of modern machine industry at the close of the 19th century (forming the second stage of the industrial revolution), then from machine industry to the technological revolution embracing the full scope of automation. The second question, intimately linked with the first,

relates to modifications of classes and social strata.

It is dominated by the problem of the multiplication of the service activities—outside of material production properly speaking—and above all by the extension of wage earners into all social activities. This extension is of a decisive strategic importance in view of the growing economic community of the mass of wage earners, at the center of which are situated the industrial workers. The robbery of all strata of the toiling population (particularly through taxes and even more through inflation, etc.) makes the state in state monopoly capitalism a collective exploiter serving increasingly to reinforce the basic capitalist exploitation. The polarization of society between the monopolist oligarchy and the great majority of the population tends to be pushed to its extreme, at the same time that the proletariat becomes more and more the symbol of the general oppression and the heart of the general emancipation.

This approach at the structural level is necessary. It provides the framework of the analysis of the new economic forms. But to the extent that it remains confined to the economic and social relations without considering (as Marx did in *Capital*) the functional economic forms of their movement, it reveals its insufficiencies.

Other hypotheses may be considered at other levels. Thus, there is the level of the contradictions of the essential functioning of capitalism, such as the contradiction of the capitalist form of production as manifested in cyclical crises, for example, with the overaccumulation of capital.

Many other hypotheses are possible and necessary, for example, on the problem of the transformation of the mercantile economy through the extension of the credit economy, or on the relations between the new public forms and the transformations of the world economy.

In general, these hypotheses have to do with the new deepening of the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. The private form of ownership of the means of production comes into sharp and direct conflict with the socialization of the material productive forces, no longer periodically but chronically. Moreover, this involves not only the bourgeois management of the economy but the very root of capitalist relations—the condition of the proletarian, exploited and deprived of control over the conditions of production, who comes into conflict with the present-day socialization of the material conditions of labor. This socialization will more and more demand the flowering of the faculties of all individuals as free producers—socialism and communism.

It is also necessary to consider the possibility of a theoretical synthesis of the whole, uniting the levels of structure, of function, and of the extraordinary concrete struggles—the social struggles which constitute the tie between economic relations and economic forms.

This leads me, *in conclusion*, to underline the interest of this conference for us as French Communist economists.

But it is not reasonable to seek to elaborate such a total synthesis immediately. Numerous investigations, individual and collective, national and international, are necessary.

At this conference many approaches, more or less theoretical or descriptive, elaborated on the basis of French experience, will be submitted for your discussion and criticism. Indeed, we have an enormous amount to learn from the experience of other countries and from the works of specialists of other Communist parties represented here.

Certainly, historical materialism is not economism. The politics conditioned by the economy does not flow from it mechanically and fatalistically. On the contrary, it reacts on the economic development itself. However, the political import of a sound economic theory of state monopoly capitalism is very great. It permits a deeper analysis of the conditions of our struggle for democracy and socialism, for peace.

This is why our Party attaches great importance to the economic study of state monopoly capitalism in France and to the contributions by the comrade specialists from various fraternal parties through which we can benefit.

We are still in need of copies of *Political Affairs*, August, 1965. if you have one available, will you send it in. Many thanks.

The Problem of Alienated Youth

Don Hammerquist in "Alienation and the Marxist Vision," (*Political Affairs*, October, 1966), has given us a good resumé of the Marxist concept of alienation, but he has not really answered any of the very important questions about alienated youth he touched on in his article.

Hammerquist seems to assume alienation among youth is a pseudo-problem, based on ideological confusion, as if it were a matter of conscious choice on the part of certain individuals for a philosophy ("existentialism") to serve as a pretext for dropping out of the Movement.

Secondly, Hammerquist uses a definition of alienation that automatically excludes most of the people he is writing about: if alienation stems from the worker's exploitation as part of the process of capitalist production, how can students, the New Left and young people who generally are not directly engaged in production, be alienated?

Obviously, Hammerquist does not believe they *are* truly alienated. This is why he discusses young people and alienation without reference to the real, concrete conditions of modern American society. If he had taken the trouble to look at this society, he would have found millions of young people who could only be described as alienated, and who present an enormous social problem in their own right.

Clearly, the problem of alienation among young people is *not* one of ideological confusion, but rather a *mass social phenomenon* closely connected with the changing pattern of the social relations in this most advanced of capitalist societies.

Hammerquist is entirely correct when he notes (p. 33) that all other men are "indirectly" alienated by the exploitation inherent in capitalist production. What this seems to mean is that a society based on exploitation is an alienating society. The individual who lives within this society cannot be anything other than alienated, but this alienation is not a contradiction between the worker and the work-process, but *between the individual and society*.

The intensified process at work in American society today is a simultaneous "atomization" and "massification" of the individual: the individual's familiar ties with his environment are disrupted, while, at the same time, he is forcibly integrated into a new, impersonal, standardized environment. He becomes one anonymous atom among millions of others, solitary, but never alone.

This process is ruthless, brutal, and utterly dehumanizing, but it is also non-personal, non-physical. The individual reacts to it by feelings of frustration and despair, and what Adam Schaff calls "exaggerated anarchism."*

Some of the major areas of

concern of the New Left in particular are closely tied in with this process:

1) "*Massification.*" The New Left's concern with bureaucracy, manipulation of the individual, "the system," participation, and so on, are all related to the emergence of an urbanized, computerized, standardized society where nothing is required of the individual other than that he follow printed directions and not bend, fold, or mutilate his IBM card. The necessity in this process of not only "programming" data, but also individuals to fit into the narrow range of computers, can and does cause extreme violations of the dignity and rights of the human being.

2) "*Atomization.*" The New Left's strong emphasis on community, valid interpersonal relationships, love, sensitivity to the feelings of others, and also "participation," can be traced almost directly to this disintegrating tendency of modern society. And here it might be well to point out, that defeating the system through love, does not mean that the term "defeat" is being used in the sense of "overthrow." It means thwarting the dehumanizing aspects of this process.

It is a basic, human reaction to an oppressive system to draw closer together for support; Negro slaves, the persecuted Jewish people, the poor everywhere and at all times, have "defeated" oppres-

* Adam Schaff, "On the Problem of Alienation," *Marxism Today*, February 1967, pp. 50-56.

sion in this way. Criticism of this reaction is, fundamentally, a denial of human solidarity.

The members of the New Left are among the most conscious elements of the youth of our country. But to go on and try to analyze young people in general, some remarks have to be made about their social psychology and the concrete historical conditions under which they live.

Young people have a very special interest in the future. The future is the world they will live in. What the future holds for them is what makes it worthwhile or not to grow up. But young people are in a transitional period; they are no longer children but not yet adults. They are socially isolated and in that isolation they are especially vulnerable, because they have not yet developed lasting, adult relationships.

Every "younger generation" has had its own protective "ingroup" to overcome these handicaps, with its own music, language, hair-cuts, and dress. What is *qualitatively* different about the situation today is the cold war.

After twenty years or more of cold war, American society has begun to equate *any* deviation or criticism with treason. Young people are confronted with an entirely new, furious, and implacable demand that they conform in every respect, and what seems to be a *refusal*, rather than an inability, to understand them. This interferes with the natural need of young people to "rebel" and

criticize as part of the process of developing an individual personality.

Secondly, young people today have grown up in the atmosphere of nuclear war. Many other generations of youth have faced grim futures, but none has faced *no future*. Moreover, the decision for or against annihilation rested entirely with the older generation; *they*, and not the young people, would decide whether or not the young were to live or die. This represents a qualitative change as well, and is related to the distrust of the young for the older generation ("anyone over 30").

Then, no one can deny that the health, education, and welfare of young people are being increasingly neglected by this parasitic, imperialist, monopoly-dominated society. Young people are aware of the fact that "the system" is providing them with less and less opportunity to live. It is a well-known fact that no matter how critical young people are, they are acutely responsive to the value assigned to them by their parents, adults, and society.

Young people's response to the neglect, apathy, and hostility shown to them by this society has been "anti-social" attitudes and behavior in the broadest sense; not only such obvious facts as the rise in crime and drug addiction, but a truly alarming increase in mental illness, suicide, and "exaggerated anarchism" of all kinds. This is clearly a subjective response to the objective, disintegrating alienation of society.

I am optimistic about the young people of our Party. The young people are beginning to fight back. Their consciousness of the acute need to change this society, to end the cold war and the threat of nuclear annihilation, is growing. We have a tremendous task before us *at this very moment* of convincing the more advanced young people that the new, humane society they are working toward can only be a socialist society. For these young people are just on the verge of realizing through practice that somehow the entire system has to be changed. In the course of struggle itself, they will come to understand that life is not hell, but man's dearest possession.

Young people will play a tremendous role in this radical change. Here, I must disagree most sharply with Hammerquist's statement on p. 40 that the working class itself develops the revolutionary consciousness necessary to change the system. As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, "such a view is radically wrong. . . . Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without.*" In developing this consciousness, our Party and the young people can be *decisive*. But in order to find out what is to be done, we *must* start listening to the young people, discussing and analyzing their problems with them in truly Marxist-Leninist terms, and showing them that we value and respect them, their humanism, their courage, and their dedication.

BOOK REVIEWS

ANN BARTON

An Absorbing Novel*

In the mythical West African country of Kalya, the story's "locale," American foreign policy operates as it operates throughout the world today. In Kalya it cherishes the despotic rule of The Family, corrupt, graft-ridden, exploiting and terrorizing its people, plundering the country, but a mainstay of U.S. policies of West Africa.

Within this frame, an idealistic group of young Peace Corps men and women, who had arrived in Kalya with grand hopes of helping the poverty stricken villagers, become confused and demoralized, their efforts sabotaged. Preparing to go home, they wonder why they came and what, if anything, their contribution had been.

Lew Corleigh, who joined the Peace Corps as an emotional response to the death of President Kennedy, is assigned to deliver supplies by truck to Peace Corps workers on the road between Kalya's capital, Fort Paul and the village of ZinZin. Lew becomes sympathetic to the efforts of the underground, The Forge, which plans to end the odious rule of The Family and form a democratic government that will cope with the people's needs.

* Fletcher Knebel, *The ZinZin Road*, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N. Y. \$5.95.

Lew protests the anti-villager, anti-Peace Corps activities of the local representative of The Family. But lined up against his protest, the local Peace Corps head, the American Ambassador, the CIA agent—ensconced in the U.S. Embassy offices—Peace Corps headquarters in Washington and, finally, the President of the United States himself, insist that Lew do nothing to oppose The Family in any way. As the Ambassador puts it, all American agencies in Kalya must pull together to "keep Old Number One [the Premier] and his government inside the U.S. ball park. . . . We all know how much it means to keep him on our side and away from the fire-eaters and the Marxists."

"Lew is forbidden, also, to interfere in Kalyan politics by giving testimony which will save the leader of The Forge from execution on a framed-up charge of attempting to assassinate the Premiere. Lew refuses to give information to the C.I.A. on the activities of the underground and turns to his own conscience to find his personal responsibility.

The ZinZin Road is easy reading and an absorbing novel. It shows the inevitable frustrations of this strata of young middle class idealists, which might not have been so deep had they, en-

meshed as they were in a pattern of imperialism, understood more about its causes and workings. The novel does not pretend to be a profound analysis of the various aspects of American foreign policy. But it shows honest concern for U.S. foreign policy, which

has given financial and military support to a long line of despots and dictators, Chiang Kai-shek, Diem, Ky, Rhee, and their ilk, who support the aggressive drives of the United States against the peace of the peoples of the world.

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Dear Reader:

As the June issue goes to press we are happy to announce that we received a total of \$836.00 in cash, 10 new subscriptions and several advance renewals in response to our urgent appeal in the May issue. Two readers in New York City gave us \$100.00 each; a friend in Connecticut \$200.00; several sent in \$50.00 each and A. J. B. sent her contribution with the notation "in memory of dear Mike Gold." We also received several fifteen, ten and five dollar checks.

Many, many thanks. We are heartened by this immediate and generous response and greatly appreciate the encouraging letters. With this amount coming in during only two weeks of May, we are convinced that we can raise the modest sum we need to ease our immediate financial difficulties.

If you have not as yet sent in your contribution—will you do so as soon as you read this. Any amount will help.

Can you see one or two friends to convince them to donate a small sum to keep our magazine going? Surely, PA has many friends that wish it well even if they do not read the magazine regularly. We need \$1,000 during the month of June to meet the minimum of our commitments.

One of our readers, who sent us an advance renewal, pledges to raise some money and to get one or two subscriptions. If every reader of PA would get one additional new subscriber, this would more than raise the sum we have set out to raise. In fact, if 200 new subscriptions could be secured during the month of June that would give us the thousand dollars we sorely need and at the same time widen the circle of our readers.

Do you know one or two individuals whom you can persuade to subscribe to *Political Affairs*? Why not devote an evening or two to do this small task.

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