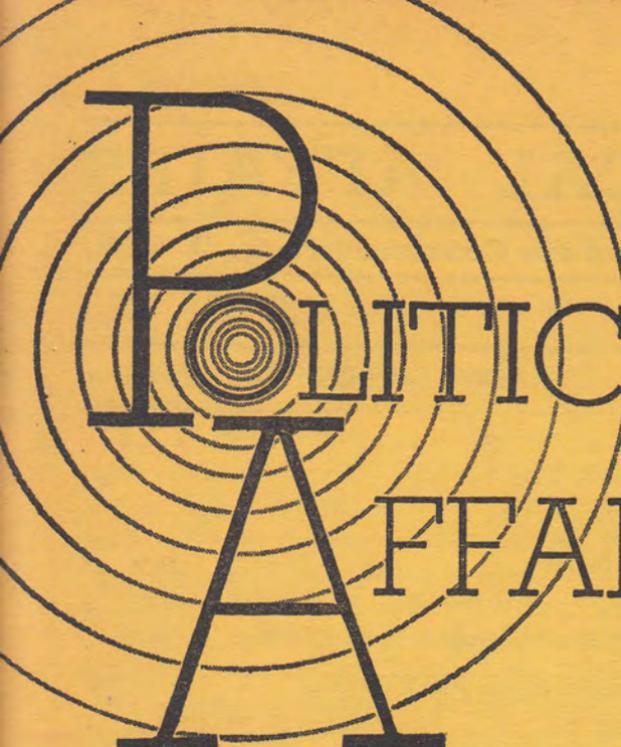


AUGUST, 1966



**P**OLITICAL  
AFFAIRS

**On the 18th National  
Convention, C.P.U.S.A.**

Gus Hall: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Daniel Rubin: ON THE CONVENTION

THE CULTURAL FRONT

Herbert Aptheker

Joseph North

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE JEWISH QUESTION

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# POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

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Vol. XLV, No. 8

AUGUST, 1966

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HYMAN LUMER, Editor

BETTY GANNETT, Executive Editor

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POLITICAL AFFAIRS is published monthly by Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., at 23 West 26th Street, New York, N. Y. 10010, to whom all orders, subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be addressed. Subscription rates: \$5.00 a year; \$2.50 for six months; for foreign and Canada: \$6.00 a year. Single copies 50 cents. Second class postage paid at the Post Office in New York, N. Y.

## Our Work Begins\*

We have passed a number of motions thanking the comrades who have worked so hard to keep this Convention going. I would like now to move that we thank the delegates and alternates who have contributed so greatly to its success. (*Applause.*)

So that there would be no misunderstanding and no feeling by the visitors and observers that we had any ulterior motives in inviting them here, it was suggested that we observe the amenities and not ask them to join the Communist Party during this Convention. However—and I'm sure everybody has observed it—what has happened is that all through the Convention I have been getting notes about and introductions to new members of the Party who came as observers and are leaving as members. (*Cheers and extended applause.*) And for those of you who haven't as yet joined—well, we're going to be here for another couple of hours. (*Laughter.*)

The work of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, is over. The work of the 18th National Convention now starts. (*Applause.*) The tasks set for the first five days of the 18th Convention have been fulfilled beyond all expectations. It has been such a tremendous experience that—at least speaking for myself—life will have to correct a political weakness that I have developed because of this Convention. I feel that I am now overconfident, overoptimistic and overly positive. But I am not worried about it—life has a way of correcting such weaknesses.

In a very basic sense, however, through this Convention and the preparations for it we have elevated the work of the Party and firmed it up on a new level, and I believe it will continue on this new high level. In this sense, the discussion here has been one of the most stimulating and exciting I have ever witnessed in any convention.

In such a system of organization as a Communist Party, a convention serves a unique purpose. It is the culmination of a discussion, a preconvention discussion. It thus draws on the experiences of the preceding period. Its political conclusions and policies are then binding on all within the Party. However, in the Communist system of organization the convention does not thereby put into hibernation

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\* Concluding remarks delivered at the 18th National Convention, CPUSA, June 26, 1966.

the processes of continuous checking and elaboration of these policies. On the contrary, as reality changes the molding of the policies and the sharpening of tactical and strategic concepts will go on constantly through continuing discussions within the Party.

I want to take this occasion also to thank the fraternal delegates again for their most meaningful contribution to this Convention. I'm sure you all agree that one of the most exciting high points of the Convention was the international evening. On that evening the warm, human spirit of proletarian internationalism came to life.

### *Life Bears Witness . . .*

While we have been meeting here, life has been going on. And events during these days have continued to bear witness to the correctness of the policies we have hammered out here. Thus, the civil rights march in Mississippi keeps setting the pace and the federal government, as we said, keeps sending condolences and "I am sorry" notes. And since this Convention opened on Wednesday, another piece of evidence has come to light exposing the Administration of the Total Lie that we have in Washington.

The initial attempt to cover up the attack on North Vietnam took the form of the issuance of a State Department White Paper. As you may recall, this was released to the world and trumpeted forth at the United Nations as the excuse for the bombing of North Vietnam. The main point in that White Paper was the charge—including even the names of divisions—that there were thousands and thousands of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam and that therefore the United States was justified in its policy of bombardment.

But now, during the days of this Convention, Senator Mansfield has stated that he has definite knowledge that when that White Paper was issued there were, if anything, *less than 400 troops from North Vietnam* present in South Vietnam. And the Pentagon, on being questioned, now admits that this is true and that the White Paper was a total falsehood from beginning to end.

The concepts we have projected here were also verified in a different way by yesterday's elections in North Carolina. A candidate for Congress there, supported by a Negro-labor electoral alliance, won the election. (*Applause.*) And I would say that the reports of the latest developments within the Communist Party of Japan indicate that the process of reunification of the world Communist movement continues apace. (*Applause.*)

The reason it was Senator Eastland who made the announcement

yesterday about the intention of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to investigate us is that one other member of that body is too busy right now to be making any such announcements. Senator Dodd (*laughter*), the ex-FBI agent, the infamous anti-Communist witch-hunter, is trying hard to close the lid on a smelly mess of corruption of the worst type imaginable. As you know, it involves the stealing of large sums of money as well as illegal relations with certain ex-Nazis in West Germany. Furthermore, the hearing on Senator Dodd's case is, I think, an added example of political corruption in America because it is itself a swindle. The legal rulings are being made by Judge Holtzoff. He and Dodd are both part of the inner FBI fraternity. Judge Holtzoff was a kind of private attorney for J. Edgar Hoover for a good many years. So if ever there is going to be a white-wash, this is the setup for it.

Thus life, as I say, continues to give evidence of the correctness of the direction of our policies as we have hammered them out here in convention.

### *The New Epoch*

Now, there are certain questions to which I would like to give some additional thought. One of them is the question of the epoch that we live in and its meaning. The discussion on this point is not an exercise in semantics, as it may appear to some. It is a very fundamental question for us. It is fundamental for the purposes of the struggle, for our tactics and policies. Our understanding of the nature of the epoch enables us to outline what our policies and tactics should be. It enables us to determine what is the direction, the overall thrust of the social forces in this period, what are the dominant forces and what, therefore, is the balance of forces.

In the discussion, some questions were raised in a manner that could leave the matter of the basic nature of this epoch in doubt. This would be a serious error. It is one thing to draw all necessary conclusions from setbacks or weaknesses which occur in this period; it is quite another to view them as proof that our conception of the character of the forces of this epoch was wrong.

There *was* an era when imperialism was the dominant force, the dominant trend, and when the balance of forces was tipped in its favor. Therefore we must determine: is this that same epoch, that same era? Is this the era or the epoch of the dominance of imperialism? This is the fundamental question on which we must be clear. And on this point, what we say in the report and what we have been

saying for some time is that a new relationship of forces has emerged, that there is a new main thrust, a new main dominant force in the world and therefore a new main direction. Now, what is this force?

Yesterday somebody asked me why I don't quote Marx or Lenin more often. I think it may be a valid criticism. Therefore let me correct this weakness by citing Lenin on this subject.

"Marx's method consists," said Lenin, "first of all, in taking due account of the objective content of a historical process at a given moment, in definite and concrete conditions; this in order to realize, in the first place, the movement of *which* class is the mainspring of the progress possible in those concrete conditions. In 1859, it was not imperialism that comprised the objective content of the historical process in continental Europe, but national-bourgeois movements for liberation. The mainspring was the movement of the bourgeoisie against the feudal and absolutist forces." (*Collected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. 21, p. 143.*)

Lenin also says: "An era is called an era precisely because it encompasses the sum total of variegated phenomena." He expands on this in the following quotation:

... Here we have important historical epochs; in each of them there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward now backward; there are and will always be various deviations from the average type and mean tempo of the movement. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc. Only on that basis, i.e., by taking into account, in the first place, the fundamental distinctive features of the various "epochs" (and not single episodes in the history of individual countries), can we correctly evolve our tactics; only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundation for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another. (*Ibid., p. 145.*)

I think that gives a clear picture of the nature of an epoch and of why it is so important fully to understand it as the foundation for policies and tactics.

Did the birth of the Soviet Union change the world relationship of forces and bring on this new epoch? It did not. This is not to deny the world-shaking character of the October Revolution. It broke

the universal rule of imperialism and created a socialist sector of society. But imperialism remained the dominant force and the Soviet Union was the one socialist country within a capitalist encirclement. Therefore it was the beginning of the process but it did not yet tip the scales.

Was the concept of the new epoch ever tied to the industrial production index of the Soviet Union? Never. To set it up now as a determining factor and then knock it down is something less than a serious approach to this basic problem. Frankly, I fail to see that the question of whether Soviet industrial production is going to surpass that of the United States in 1970, 1973 or 1975 has much to do with determining the nature of this epoch. If it turns out that it is going to take place some years later than was originally estimated, is this something that should basically influence our policies or our estimates?

Among the variegated phenomena of this epoch, the emergence of the world socialist system is basic. It is in the context of this development that the economic, scientific and military might of the socialist forces takes on its full epochal significance. Did the appearance of this world socialist system change the balance of forces? It did not. Though it embraces one-third of the world's people, and though it represents a great leap forward in the transition to socialism, the coming into being of a system of socialist states after World War II did not yet do away with the dominance of imperialism. This was in fact accomplished only a number of years later as the result of a combination of factors—of variegated phenomena. There then emerged as the dominant force on the world scene, for the first time in history, the world working class and its allies.

We have been talking about the split in the world Communist movement. Serious as it is, however, it cannot be considered as changing the character of the present epoch. In this connection I would only note that a year ago many comrades resisted our coming out and stating concretely the damage created by this split, yet somehow or other it now emerges as a big factor which, it is suggested, should lead us to make a different decision as to the nature of the epoch and the direction in which it is moving.

The second of the variegated factors which Lenin speaks about is the national liberation movement. Is the main thrust of this movement over? Do the setbacks which have taken place indicate that the sweep of the colonial liberation revolutions has come to a halt, or has even been reversed? I don't think so. Such a conclusion would be a serious error in assessing historical trends.

I will not go into the other variegated factors. They are given in the report, including, for example, the fact that the majority of the working class in Italy and France since World War II are socialist-oriented and led by the Communist parties of these countries.

### *Lessons From the Setbacks*

There is a need to extend and deepen our understanding of the meaning of the epoch much further. A correct estimation of the class forces at each moment is a bedrock necessity for the formulation of correct policies and tactics. An examination of the ups and downs of specific phases of various movements or sectors of the struggle should result in a deeper understanding of the nature of the epoch, not in a questioning of the main direction of its thrust or the nature of the main class forces. It is in this sense, I should like to suggest that the report has two aspects which are in the nature of drawing lessons from some of the setbacks.

One is the emphasis placed on the new level of mass political consciousness and the idea that the mass work of parties must be geared to it. The second is the idea that in reacting to the political shock waves created by major breakthroughs in one or another part of the world, parties must guard against attempting to apply those experiences of others which are not adaptable to their situations.

These are two fundamental lessons from the setbacks, from which I think the world movement and our Party as well can benefit. Parties have suffered setbacks because, in an effort to adapt that which is not adaptable in the experience of other countries, they have shifted their emphasis from the base of the self-interest of their own people. Some have shifted from reliance on maximum mobilization of the new political mass consciousness, based on sensitivity to the self-interest of the masses, to reliance on military groups, to reliance on overall generalized concepts instead of the specific concepts of the self-interest of the people. The general concept of anti-imperialism is not sufficient. It must be related to the specific problems facing the masses in one's own country. If we study the setbacks not only in Indonesia, not only in Ghana, but even closer to home, it seems obvious that these are some of the lessons we must draw from them.

The new level of mass political consciousness dictates a need for new dimensions in the content, methods and scope of the political and ideological mobilization of the masses. Many of the concepts of mass mobilization developed when working-class revolutionary parties spoke for a minority viewpoint on most questions are today out-

dated and do not measure up to the present level of mass consciousness.

I wish to express one other concern. That is that the discussion on the nature of the epoch took place as part of the discussion of our Draft Program. I am concerned because our Program is based on longer-range processes and trends, on an understanding of this epoch and its variegated phenomena. When questions about these things are raised under the heading of program discussion, one is led to ask: are there questions that should be rediscussed concerning the basic premise on which our Draft Program is written? If that is the inference, I would be against it. But it may very well be that the reason this came up under this point on our agenda is simply that there wasn't enough time in the general discussion.

With regard to the study of the setbacks and of the particular levels of development in specific countries, the question one must ask is: do the shifts in specific phenomena suggest any change in policy conclusions? The fact that there have been these setbacks, that there are these problems—does this suggest any such changes? For instance, one of the very basic conclusions from the nature of the new epoch is that now world wars are not inevitable. This is one of the policy conclusions we drew from our interpretation of the relationship of class forces of this epoch. In the previous epoch, when imperialism was the dominant force, it was correct to say that wars of conquest, wars between imperialist powers, were inevitable. The shift in the world balance of forces made possible a shift in outlook. The danger of world war continues to exist, but its possible prevention has become a fact and a part of the policy of Communist parties around the world. Should this outlook be changed now? Has something so fundamental happened that we should abandon it? I don't think so. The danger will be with us, the possibility of world war will be with us, but I don't think world war has now become inevitable. If one decides that it *is* inevitable, one must also be ready to draw all the necessary policy and tactical conclusions. World war cannot be ruled out; the danger is indeed great. But neither can its possible prevention be ruled out.

Or should we now consider that the historic sweep of the national liberation movement is over for this period because of the setbacks in Indonesia and other places? I don't think we should. I think that particular policy conclusion is correct and should be retained.

In assessing the ups and downs, advances and setbacks of the national liberation movement, the developments in Algeria should not be forgotten. There are some very important lessons in what hap-

pened there. When the Ben Bella government was overthrown, many had a pat answer to this development: a Right-wing counter-revolutionary coup took place—period! We tended ourselves in that direction. But is it not clear that in Algeria the struggle for political direction continues? Is it not clear that the fundamental forces of the epoch, including the new mass political consciousness, were factors that could not be ignored by the new government, that these factors have tended to push it back and to hold back the Right-wing character of that coup? That is a very important lesson concerning the nature of setbacks in this epoch: they all come up against these powerful forces of history and that is why we can say they tend to be temporary, which is something we couldn't say in past periods. This is the result of the new relationship of world forces.

### *We Must Fight for the Party*

I turn next to some questions regarding political action. The report and the resolution tried to give guide lines for this very difficult area of activity—difficult because the forces involved are in large part at a very minimal level of development, while some are at a higher level. Therefore I want here only to restate the political goals that we had in mind in working out our specific tactical approaches for electoral activity in specific states.

The political and electoral struggles must include a continued exposure of the ultra-Right and maximum mobilization against it. But side by side with that, we must now work for maximum mobilization against the Johnson policies of aggression and for exposure of the Johnson war demagogy. These go together as political goals in this period. Third, the stimulation of independent movements and candidacies must be carried on at all levels both within and outside of the two-party system, and with special emphasis on the election of Negro, labor and peace candidates. And finally, it is necessary to put forth Left and Communist candidates in as many places as possible. (*Applause.*)

I have no illusions, comrades, that in every campaign, in every situation, we will be able to fulfill these tasks and goals in full. But that does not lessen the need for finding the ways of fulfilling as much of this outlook as possible.

In speaking of the labor-Negro alliance in the report, I used the phrase “an alliance is born.” How is this meant? No tree emerges full-blown from the soil. It is a sapling that sprouts and pushes its way into the sunlight. It is in this sense that I mean the phrase “an

alliance is born.” And the discussion has disclosed ample evidence of the birth of this alliance. If this were not the case, comrades, we should have to reconsider our overall estimation of the level of the popular forces in the United States—that's how fundamental this question is.

The labor-Negro alliance is a historic necessity for social progress. It is now before us; historic necessity has placed it there. As a matter of fact it is a weakness of our discussion that there was not enough examination of concrete experience in fields of struggle, including particularly this field. I wish we could have had discussion of instances in which we have started from the self-interests of each sector and worked to realize this alliance. A discussion of the difficulties encountered in trying to do this on a shop level or in a given union or city or state would have been invaluable—a discussion dealing with the efforts of a Communist organization and its leadership in setting out consciously to develop parallel interests and to find ways of building this alliance. That kind of discussion would have been a very big contribution to this Convention.

I want to say just one word on the trade union resolution. We should definitely seek out ways of having the final draft written with the direct participation of our comrades in the shops and the unions. Therefore I want to propose that in the course of our work on the final draft of this resolution we hold regional and national conferences of Communist shop and trade union workers. (*Applause.*) I want to suggest a discussion on the concept of the “labor aristocracy” by steel workers, auto workers and shop workers generally.

Now as to the struggle for the Party, comrades, this will be the yardstick by which this Convention will be measured. This is the yardstick for each of us. I am sure you will understand me if I borrow an expression that was popular among steel workers when I worked in steel, which was in the days before automation. The steel workers worked in crews, in which each had to do his share. The saying in those crews was: “More bull means less pull and less bull means more pull.” I think that building the Party is a very concrete task and that bull will not do it. It takes a real struggle, real work. And as I said, the Convention will be measured by the degree to which we shift the emphasis of the Party to the fight for the Party.

The struggle for the Party does not spring from an inner purpose. It doesn't have a selfish motive. A strong Communist Party is an indispensable factor for progress in every field. As the working class is indispensable, so the party that reflects its point of view is indispensable.

Is there a struggle for the Party in our ranks? No. This has been one of the most serious weaknesses of this past period. There is not really a fight for this Party by the Communists. The reasons for this are manifold. There are political and ideological weaknesses that result in downgrading the role of the Party, and there are some wrong estimations of the level of mass consciousness. We must achieve a fundamental change in the political attitude toward this question in our Party and we must achieve it by starting with ourselves.

Let us check this political attitude toward the fight for the Party right here in this hall. You can't see it, but I have here a "political attitude meter" and when I ask you a question, think about it because it will register on this meter. (*Laughter.*) When was the last time you recruited anyone? Ten per cent of those of us here can recall. That's what the meter says. When was the last time—oh, this meter is never wrong (*laughter*)—when was the last time you tried to recruit anyone? Fifteen per cent. When was the last time you even thought of recruiting anybody? Twenty per cent.

That's what is wrong—the political attitude towards the fight for the Party. Think about it. And if that is true of us, I think it's correct to say it must be even more true of other sections of the Party, for I believe that we who are here are the most conscious among the Communists in this country. But I think this weakness exists. There isn't a struggle for recruitment. There isn't a struggle for the press. There isn't a struggle for our literature. There is an attitude that if we have it and if somebody comes for it, good. If we don't, or if somebody doesn't walk up to us, as someone did at this Convention, and say: "I want to get into your Party," that's all right too. More pull is necessary on this matter.

### *To Speak For the Millions*

The 17th Convention's concept of speaking to the millions was considered a fantasy when it was projected, but we have made it a reality. Now we must set a new goal. Now we must try to become a party that not only speaks to the millions but speaks *for* the millions. (*Applause.*)

Many changes will have to take place before we can become a party that speaks for the millions. It requires a more precise reflection on our part of the self-interests, the political and ideological levels of our people. It means being especially with the key sections of the working class, the Negro people, the poor. We cannot speak for the millions without a mass press or a mass distribution of literature. And

I want to be very blunt with you about this question. Consider the distribution of the Party's Draft Program. It has become a political best-seller in the commercial market. But did we sell this program like a Party that can or wants to speak to the millions? Not by a long shot. We have not shown the same enthusiasm and determination in selling it as we showed here yesterday for the Program itself. What is needed is more pull.

To become a party that speaks for millions means that we must struggle in many ways to change the character of our cadre and of our Party generally. We have to fight for Communist standards. There must be a continuous struggle for such standards—for Communist standards of thought, of collectivity, of conduct, of morals, of commitment, of responsibility to class and to party. Without going into detail, I should like to suggest that, yes, Communist standards are higher than those of any other organization in the United States. (*Applause.*) We must constantly seek to raise the standards and concepts of our work.

Let me add that whatever we do, we must be influenced by a sense of responsibility as to how it affects the unity of our Party. We may have the best of ideas, the best of intentions, the most advanced concepts, but if we present them in a form that creates disunity, it does a disservice instead of a service for the Party. Therefore, whatever we do, always think through the question: how does it affect the unity of this party? This is part of the struggle for higher Communist concepts.

There is, in a sense, an air of expectancy about this Convention that is in many ways just unbelievable. This is present even in the articles and columns of those newspapers which are not happy with such prospects, and it appeared in many columns in the last couple of days. They worry because they sense something new. They sense these new mass currents and new winds in the world and in America. They sense that this Convention has been propelled by these currents. They are worried that our presence as part of these new currents will add a new quality to them, a new ability to surge forward, a new militancy, a new sense of direction.

There is also an air of expectancy by those who wish us well. To them I can only say that we will pledge to do our very best to fulfill the potential of this Convention. The Party has given each of us a special responsibility by electing us as delegates. Now this Convention gives each of us in turn a new responsibility. That is to transfer its meaning, its spirit to the whole Party.

This Convention should have, and I think it has, made of each of us

a better fighter for the Party. I think it has made each of us a better fighter against U.S. policies of imperialist aggression, a better fighter for civil rights, a better trade unionist, a better American a better fighter for socialism.

Let us prove, then, that we are worthy of being delegates to this most exciting and historic 18th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (*Prolonged applause.*)

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*More than at any other moment in the history of our class, automation is going to force the working class to take up the fight against the forces of state monopoly capitalism. As with everything else, the government-monopoly conspiracy has harnessed this technological achievement of man to the grinding out of maximum profits. As long as automation is in the grip of big business joined with and using the struggle against its effects will not be won in one shop or even in one industry. The trade union movement will have to join in a broader struggle to break both the conspiracy and the right of monopoly to control automation. This dictates new, radical concepts of struggle, new relationships.*

*A divided class, a divided trade union movement, is not going to be able to meet this challenge effectively. The very essence of working-class unity, which is the key to social progress, is the unity of Negro and white workers. . . .*

GUS HALL, *For A Radical Change*, pp. 25-26.

## The 18th National Convention of the CPUSA

The 18th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. will go down in the history of the working class and the Communist movement of our country as an historic turning point. While assertions of "historic importance" are sometimes too easily made, it is also necessary at times to take a step back and look at a longer period to be able to see the full import of the moment. This was the first convention since the start of the cold war to register and further project an upturn in the total situation of the Communist Party.

At the 16th Convention in February 1957, the Party faced an internal crisis which threatened its very existence and it was the merit of the convention that the attempt of the Gates revisionists to liquidate the Party was defeated. By December 1959 the 17th Convention marked a stabilizing of the Party situation in the face of continuing external and internal problems including pressures to liquidate it under cover of both Leftist slogans and the remnants of Right-revisionist views. These problems continued for several years and were intensified by the McCarran Act decision of June 1961. They were especially aggravated by the ideological conflict and the split created by the Chinese Communist Party in the world movement.

Hence, it was several years before the new mass movements that came into being after the 17th Convention began to be registered in terms of the position of the Communist Party in the political life of the country. But already two or three years prior to the 18th Convention, the Party had begun to move forward again. The 18th Convention was so greatly successful because it reflected most of the positive developments of the last couple of years, while playing a large role in helping to assure that this upturn would continue and would help to overcome the lagging aspects of Communist Party work. In itself the Convention was a major political event in the life of the country that helped greatly to advance the relationship of the Party to large masses of people.

### *How the Convention was Viewed*

Different sections of the population viewed the Convention with differing questions on their minds and with varied objectives. There

were those who wanted to use it to prove that the Communist Party was indeed a deep, dark, conspiratorial organization inimical to the interests of our country. But the conspiratorial smear was smashed by the TV cameras inside the convention hall and the front-page news stories and pictures from within the Convention, which reached hundreds of millions of people in this country and throughout the world. We were front-page news in every city, town and hamlet of this country and of all the western capitalist countries, not to mention the voluminous treatment given in the mass media of the socialist countries.

Much of the publicity identified the Party with the struggle to get the U.S. out of Vietnam as our number one task. Considering the level of mass sentiment on this issue, such publicity, far from projecting the Communists as alien to the U.S. scene, related us closely to the deeply felt sentiments of millions of our countrymen.

Another section of the mass media was hoping to continue its former attack and to use the Convention to wipe the Party off the U.S. scene once and for all as a significant factor. They have tried to picture the Communist Party as a tiny, declining group of isolated older people having nothing of relevance to say in relation to the insurgent movements of our times, and as merely one of a number of small Left sects, none of which was going anywhere. There were those on the Left who went along with such views propagated by big business mass media. But a convention in which 40 per cent of those voting were youth and in which youth played a prominent role in the leadership and on the convention floor helped lay these distortions to rest. Nearly 50 per cent of the close to 450 observers at the Convention also were youth.

In fact, a large part of the mass media became fearful that the Communists whom they had been describing as dead were becoming a serious factor in the peace, civil rights and other movements and might even become the accepted leadership unless some change in conditions occurred.

Mark Arnold, writing in the June 27 issue of the *National Observer*, tried to reassure his audience that the Communist Party was unimportant, but then concluded by saying: "Yet I left the Convention with an uneasy feeling. Opposition to the war in Vietnam and the struggle for civil rights have created a condition of domestic unrest, Party leaders said, unmatched since the depression." William S. White, in his syndicated column of June 28, 1966, writes an article whose theme is expressed in the lead given it by the *Wilmington, Delaware News*, "Communists Tempting Liberals Again." And the *Indianapolis News* of June 27 expressed fear over the appeal Com-

munists might have for Gary, Indiana Catholic workers following the interview with James Kennedy, 27, of Chicago, on Catholics and the Communist Party.

### *Attendance and Tasks*

Many in the democratic movements and on the Left were watching the Convention to see whether the Communists had anything to offer these movements. Some of those from Students for a Democratic Society, the Du Bois Clubs of America, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam who came to the convention were expecting to see a cut-and-dried affair and were surprised to see the lively give and take, the political creativity and the way in which the contributions of younger and older delegates were drawn together and synthesized. They saw a democratic organization at work. A Communist Party that showed such strength in so many ways could no longer be considered in the same breath with Left sects. It showed greater strength than any other organization of the Left with respect to workers and trade unionists. Some 25 per cent of the delegates and alternates present were trade unionists, and a majority were working-class individuals.

In the election of the national committee a solid majority were working-class. And though the Convention was greatly dissatisfied with the Party's work and growth among Negroes, among people of Spanish language background and among women, it still showed itself far ahead of other Left organizations when it elected 25 per cent women, 25 per cent Negroes, a number of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican Communists, and 25 per cent youth to the national committee.

Geographic representation at the Convention included delegates from twenty-eight states. Among the delegates and alternates, the regions of the country represented were as follows: East 34 per cent; Midwest 27 per cent; Far West 26 per cent; South 9 per cent; Rocky Mountain states 4 per cent.

The number of those in attendance who were active in peace (300), civil rights (250), political action (200), and other movements also showed the relative strength of the Communist Party among those on the Left.

Among the Communists who came to the Convention, expectations were varied. Some were fearful that the treatment of the Convention as a mass public political event, with television and press present

at some sessions, with hundreds of non-Party observers on hand, would prevent deep probing and proper development of policy. They feared the Convention would take on the character of a public rally and would not achieve its policy-making functions. However, as all who attended will attest, there was a full airing of views and deep probing on basic policy questions in many fields. Far from hindering this, it could be argued, the public character tended to give a broader mass outlook to the policy discussions, and to create greater appreciation for the possible and necessary role of the Communist Party on the various issues of our day in the light of its current stature among the masses.

From reactions around the country, it can be safely said that virtually all the delegates and alternates found the Convention an inspiring, stimulating and exciting event. This is true despite a number of shortcomings which will be elaborated later. The 18th Convention faced a number of complicated tasks. How could a four-day convention summarize the conclusions to be drawn from seven years of the richest and most complex mass struggles and the development of the Party during such a period? How could it take advantage of the new stature of the Party and the new possibilities for its work among the democratic movements and yet not curtail the democratic and policy-making features of the Convention? How could it absorb the experience and thinking of the large number of new and young members while benefitting fully from the tested experience of older comrades, and how could it synthesize their contributions? How could it function in view of both the Supreme Court victories on the McCarran Act and the continuing McCarran Act threats?

Complicated political and organizational problems were involved in holding a convention attended by 750 delegates, alternates and observers in the spotlight of the country for the first time after a period of seven years. While the convention was in general a great success, not all of these problems were adequately handled and none were perfectly solved.

A Communist Party convention performs the function of arriving at basic policy conclusions after a period of discussion so that a firm guide exists for everyone's work. But while it settles many questions, it usually reveals new areas on the frontier of experience and policy formation that cannot yet be settled but need more probing. From the new plateau of policy conclusions reached at a convention, new questions can be seen that need further elaboration. Both these aspects—the reaching of conclusions and the clearer defining of questions yet to be answered—were especially true of the 18th Convention.

### *What Was Accomplished*

The prime task of ending U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam overshadowed the whole convention. A good deal was accomplished toward elaborating the Party's estimates of the situation, on the problems of developing the movement, and on the special contributions of the Communists. In connection with Vietnam and other world developments elaborated both in the main report and the Draft Program, there was affirmation and clarification of our concepts of the present new epoch, its relationship to setbacks for the people's forces and the role of conscious mass struggle.

A number of areas for strengthening the Draft Program were discussed and the decision was reached to hold a conference within a year to adopt a final draft. In the meantime the Draft Program discussion is to be continued and further organized, and the mass circulation of the document is to be given a new and even bigger push.

In the discussion on the resolution on Communists and the Trade Unions, our basic position on the working class was reaffirmed and the discussion revealed considerable areas of common estimate of trends and currents and of specific Communist tasks. At the same time, however, differences in estimate of the positive and negative features of the trade union movement and on the Communist stand toward these emerged and were defined but not resolved. These questions, together with the question of definition of the labor aristocracy, were referred to the incoming leadership for further elaboration in the final draft of the resolution. The Convention was in agreement that the attention of the whole Party can and must be turned radically in the direction of the working class and our concentration policy put into practice.

The struggle for Negro rights was a major area of concern to the Convention. Our basic definition of the nature of the struggle and the strategy for Negro freedom were affirmed and further developed. The line of the draft resolution was adopted with some propositions for its strengthening emerging from the panel and floor discussions. There was a refining of questions to make our policies more responsive to the problems in the movement, and there was new emphasis on the task of winning white workers to the struggle. While there was a good deal of attention to the struggle in the political arena and to the concepts of majority Negro rule in areas of Negro majority and a just share of representation in all other areas, some of the sophistications and interpretations that were just emerging at the time of the

Convention were left open for more detailed treatment on the basis of the policies outlined in the resolution.

There was a lively debate on the draft resolution on youth and on a special report by Bettina Aptheker, reaffirming the Marxist concept of the youth question as a special question. Debate centered on the estimate to be made of the current level of development of the mass of youth and especially its white working-class component. It focused also on the extent to which special problems facing youth cut across class lines. The line of the resolution, which embodied the more optimistic assessment of working-class youth, was adopted. It was agreed that the resolution needed more elaboration on Negro youth as well as on all working-class and trade union youth, clarification of our attitude toward the ultra-Left, and more treatment of the question of socialism. Within the context of the general policy set forth in the resolution, further discussion is to be held on these points. The goal was set of doubling the youth membership of the Party and quadrupling its membership among Negro, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican youth.

The line of the draft resolution on political action was adopted and there was general approval of the idea of an independent presidential candidacy in 1968 suggested in the main report. There was also agreement that restrictive legislation barring Communist candidates needed to be challenged. Some differences remained on the relative emphasis to be given to different degrees of independence from the two-party system and on assessing the speed of breakaway from the Democratic Party. Increased stress was placed on Communist candidacies and on Communist electoral work and initiative.

With respect to Party organization, there was general acceptance of the draft resolution's evaluation of the advances of the Party in the past few years and of the new possibilities that lie before it. On overcoming the lag in various aspects of Party work and bridging the gap between the new possibilities and present achievements, the following points were emphasized:

- 1) The need to associate the entire Party as closely as possible with the mass struggles of the people on the basis of the vital contributions the Party has to offer to these struggles;
- 2) The vital necessity of turning the Party toward the working class and implementing a policy of concentration;
- 3) The need for a major improvement in educational and ideological work;
- 4) The building of the Marxist press as the key instrument for closing the gap;

5) Ways and means of strengthening the club as the basic Party unit;

6) Ways and means of strengthening both the democratic and centralist aspects of the principles of Party organization.

There was a general revival of attention to strengthening of Party organization and to a number of neglected organizational fields.

Throughout the Convention a strong feeling was evident on the need to make a sharp turn in our work with respect to women and to the special problems confronting them. This was expressed also with respect to work among the Mexican-American and Puerto Rican minorities, to the fight against anti-Semitism and work among the Jewish people, to concerning ourselves with the much-neglected problems of the American Indians, and to other aspects of national group work. The same renewal of interest was shown with regard to work in the cultural field.

The Constitution was amended to strengthen both its democratic aspects in policy formation and its centralist aspects in policy execution after decisions are reached.

Among the highlights of the Convention was the new level of working-class internationalism which was achieved. For years the Communist Party had been cut off from the working-class leaders of other countries, and representatives of fraternal Communist parties were prevented from attending our conventions. Despite the efforts of the State Department to repeat this example of U.S. "freedom" by the wholesale denial of visas, a number of fraternal delegates succeeded in attending. At a special "International Evening," Joseph Zukin, member of the National Committee of the Canadian Communist Party, Juan Santos Rivera, General Secretary of the Puerto Rican Communist Party and Maria Maniella, member of the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist Party, spoke. They added a new dimension to the Convention and gave those present a greater appreciation of world developments and of the place of our Party in those developments. This International Evening was one of the most inspiring moments of the entire Convention.

There were a number of other such high points that lent a spirited and enthusiastic quality to the Convention. These grew out of the political discussions, the cultural performances, the convention exhibits, the convention dance, etc. One of these moments came at the very end of the Convention when the Communist Party symbolized its role in the struggle for Negro-white unity by a thunderous confirmation of the National Committee's election of Henry Winston as Chairman of the Party and Gus Hall as General Secretary.

### *Some Shortcomings*

The Convention registered the previous achievements of the Party and carried them further. From the beginning to the end there was a process of greater political and ideological unification of the Party on a higher level of understanding. It also revealed, of course, the key problems and weaknesses the Party now has to tackle.

In the preparations for the Convention, the discussion got off to a late start following the opening of the pre-convention discussion period on February 15. In part, this was due to insufficient leadership in organizing the discussion around the Draft Program. In part it was due to late issuance of major draft resolutions. The latter fact reflected changing opinions on how many and what resolutions should be presented for pre-convention discussion and convention action. District conventions were uneven. Some tended to discuss national draft resolutions without reference to local experience and others tended to focus on local political developments to the exclusion of national draft documents.

The convention discussion itself did not sufficiently bring to bear the rich mass experiences of so many of those in attendance in evaluating policies. In part, this was a reflection of the number of newer comrades present who wanted to examine the correctness of basic policy positions before going on to elaborate questions more immediately related to current experiences. It was also clear that there is need for further study and discussion on a number of questions, such as:

1. The nature of the epoch.
2. The historic and current role of the working class and the trade union movement.
3. The status of the youth and the nature of the youth question.
4. The nature and level of Negro unity, Negro-white unity and the labor-Negro alliance.
5. Electoral strategy and tactics.
6. An estimate of the Party situation and of the role of the Party.
7. The nature and current application of democratic centralism.

In addition, there remain a number of areas in which the generally sound policies which exist need to be worked out more concretely so they are more immediately responsive to the current problems of the movements.

Then there are also those areas of neglected work which we have

already enumerated, where we are only now beginning to take hold again.

While everyone was aware of these and other political or organizational shortcomings of the Convention, there was an overwhelming conviction at the end that there were no problems, weaknesses or differences that could not and would not be overcome in a spirit of united struggle to build the Communist Party and there was a conviction that every Communist would demonstrate his or her confidence in the Party by recruiting new members and winning new readers for the Marxist press.

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*However, we do not equate the concept of a system of organization with bureaucracy, nor do we equate anarchy with democracy. Our conception of system of organization and role of leadership comes from the realization that we are up against a most highly organized class opponent. Our sense of organization is a reflection of our class experiences. The power of the working class is measured by the level of its unity. And unity must of necessity express itself in forms of organization. The working class has been forced to act and speak as a class. Struggles have promoted a sense of class discipline, of adjusting one's individual interests within the framework of the interests of the class.*

*Anarchy in organization is a reflection of the thinking of the middle class. Each person tends to speak as an isolated individual. There is not a sense of class responsibility or class unity.*

GUS HALL, *For A Radical Change*, p. 67

# Draft Resolution on the Jewish Question

With reference to the work of the Communist Party relative to the Jewish question, the 18th National Convention adopted the following proposals:

1. That a national Party conference on work among the Jewish people and the fight against anti-Semitism be scheduled within the following four months.

2. That a full discussion on the Jewish question be organized for the period preceding the conference, with the provision of a discussion bulletin and other suitable media for publication of discussion articles and of statements and resolutions from Party organizations.

3. That a draft resolution be prepared by the incoming national Party leadership immediately following the Convention, to serve as a basis for the discussion and for the preparation of a final draft at the conference.

We present here the text of a draft resolution prepared by the National Jewish Commission as a basis for the discussion and approved as such by the national Party leadership. All Party organizations are called upon to study and discuss the resolution and to submit statements, resolutions and articles to be published in *Political Affairs*, *The Worker* and a discussion bulletin to be issued as the need dictates.

The proposed national conference is tentatively scheduled for the weekend of November 12 and 13. The discussion is to continue until that time.

This procedure was decided upon because of the existence of differing views on a number of important questions and the need to thresh them out thoroughly. We look forward to a rich discussion and a fruitful conference, which will greatly advance the ideological and organizational status of our work in this important area.

National Education Department, CPUSA

## I.

In Vietnam the Johnson Administration is waging a war of annihilation against a colored people. In West Germany, the U.S. government has encouraged the return of former Nazis to positions of power and the growth of a remilitarized, revanchist, warlike regime which it now threatens to arm with nuclear weapons. Everywhere the aggressive, reactionary policies of U.S. imperialism, aimed at the

oppression of other peoples, are based on and foster the rankest chauvinism, racism and jingoism. In our own country they give support and encouragement to all the forces of national and racial hatred. And they have greatly accentuated the age-old problem of anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism has always been an instrument of reaction, of counter-revolution, of the capitalist exploiters for sowing dissension among the people and dividing the working class. The struggle against anti-Semitism has always been part of the struggle for working-class unity, for democracy, against the class forces of reaction in our society.

Today we witness a resurgence of the rabid fascist, racist elements of the ultra-Right in the United States—of the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and others, which engage in spreading violently anti-Semitic propaganda as part of their campaign against democracy, against the Negro people, against peace.

The country is being flooded with anti-Semitic filth, much of it through the U.S. mails. Radio and television are being extensively used by the Birch Society, by the innumerable "crusades," by the agencies of the pro-fascist oil magnate W. L. Hunt, and others. There is a rise of desecration of synagogues and other anti-Semitic acts.

Financed by the dollars of "respectable" big-business corporations and finding fertile soil in the "respectable" anti-Semitism prevalent in our country, the ultra-Right purveyors of racism and anti-Semitism create the constant threat of a violent flare-up of anti-Semitic actions.

The new upsurge of Nazism and anti-Semitism in West Germany gives added urgency to this menace. The neo-Nazi revanchists of Bonn, faithful allies of the Pentagon, are using anti-Semitism in their plot for World War III just as Hitler used it in unleashing World War II. The ominous rise of Nazism and anti-Semitism is shown by the results of the last elections, particularly in Bavaria, by the frequent swastika outbreaks, and by such spectacles as the funeral of former S.S. General Sepp Dietrich, at which seven thousand of his ilk gathered at his grave, each decorated with the Hitler Iron Cross, singing "Deutschland Ueber Alles." The *Brown Book* recently published in the German Democratic Republic amply demonstrates the entrenchment of the Hitlerites in Bonn and the return to power of the magnates who once brought Hitler to power and are now plotting another world war.

Peace forces throughout the world are sounding the alarm over these developments. Among others, the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee have issued warnings against

the world-wide activities (in the "free world," that is) of the Nazi International based in West Germany and spreading its tentacles into many lands.

The struggle for peace and freedom generally is closely interlinked with the fight against anti-Semitism in particular. On the one hand, the forces of progress must relentlessly combat the evil of anti-Semitism if they are to be victorious; on the other hand, the fight of the Jewish people against the discrimination and anti-Semitism to which they are subjected can be won only in alliance with the cause of all progressive mankind. In particular, it is intimately tied to the struggle against *all* national and racial oppression, and above all to the heroic fight of the Negro people for their freedom. The battle against anti-Semitism can be successfully waged only in conjunction with the whole-hearted championing of the rights of the Negro people within the Jewish community and with a determined fight against all forms of racism and chauvinism among the Jewish people.

There exists a dangerous complacency about anti-Semitism in our ranks today. This complacency must be ended. It is time to call the alarm, to arouse the entire American people against this evil which is part of the threat to peace and freedom in the world today.

It is the obligation of all truly progressive Americans, and in the first place of Communists, to stand guard against and combat anti-Semitism, as well as all other forms of national and racial discrimination and persecution, and to join hands with the Jewish people in their striving for full democracy and equality.

## II.

The Jewish community today plays a noteworthy role in the fight for peace and progress. A community of close to six million people, the largest in the world, concentrated in the major cities of the country, and to a large extent integrated in American life economically, politically, and culturally, it is an important factor in our country.

Large sections of the Jewish community—workers, students, professionals, religious figures and others—are currently actively involved, both as individuals and through some major Jewish organizations, secular and religious, in the fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, as well as in other progressive movements. There exists among the Jewish people a strong tradition of the struggle for democracy and progress which goes far back into the history of our country and continues to manifest itself today—a tradition whose roots lie primarily in the masses of Jewish working people. Jewish workers, particularly in

the needle trades, have in the past contributed important chapters to the struggles of the American labor movement and have been an active element in the Socialist and Communist movements in our country. Such traditions of class struggle, still exerting a strong influence, should be cherished and kept alive by Communists; they serve as a bridge with the progressive struggles of today in our country, and as a means of creating closer bonds between American forces and the socialist world.

Significant changes in the class composition of the Jewish community have taken place in recent decades. The strength and influence of middle-class elements have grown considerably. The laboring elements are no longer concentrated in the needle trades, or construction industries but are now spread among the radio, electronics and other "new" industries, among plumbers, printers, taxi drivers, teachers and other professional categories, office workers, retail clerks, teamsters, longshoremen and a host of other occupations. In addition to the needle trades, Jewish trade union leaders are to be found in a number of other unions. What is of basic importance is that like the American people as a whole, the Jewish people continue to be in their great majority wage and salaried workers.

Members of the Jewish middle class who themselves, as workers, had participated in class battles in the past, are today allied with workers in current progressive struggles. Moreover, the existence of the menace of fascism and Nazism, which perils *all* Jewish people, and the memory of the slaughter of six million Jews—one-third of the world's Jewish population—create a deep impression among all sections of the Jewish community. This, together with the long history of persecution of the Jews, as well as the progressive traditions of the past, impels American Jews to participate in a high degree in the struggles for progress.

Such occurrences as the Nazi persecution of the Jews and more recently the emergence of the State of Israel have contributed to the growth of national consciousness and national pride among Jews in all parts of the world and to the creation of a heightened sense of kinship. Such sentiments are natural and understandable, and we identify ourselves with them. This has nothing in common, however, with narrow nationalism which views as fundamental—and even unbridgeable—the distinction between Jew and non-Jew, which gives rise to a preoccupation with questions affecting the Jewish people in isolation from and to the exclusion of all other struggles, and which leads to separatism and chauvinism. An extreme form is political Zionism, which sees anti-Semitism as eternal and the future of the Jewish

people as lying only in the ingathering of all Jews in the homeland of Israel.

To the progressive currents within the Jewish community there are, of course, opposing trends and class pressures. Bourgeois influence is strong and has increased in the postwar period as have Zionist, pro-Zionist and nationalist influences in the leadership of Jewish organizations and institutions. Sections of the upper middle class and the big bourgeoisie exert profound pressures for conformity and the status quo and acceptance of Administration policies, and foster anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism among the Jewish people.

In the pursuit of these reactionary class interests they find a loyal ally and servant in the forces of Right-wing Social Democracy, concentrated around the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the Jewish Labor Committee and the Dubinsky type of leadership in the needle-trades unions. These are firm supporters of the most reactionary exponents of cold war and are among the most rabid adherents of the Johnson policy of aggression in Vietnam. They propagate the most virulent anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, and agitate constantly against the very idea of peaceful coexistence.

The Jewish community is highly organized, possessing over 200 national organizations and thousands of local groups. B'nai B'rith has over 450,000 members, the Zionist women's Hadassah over 300,000 and other Zionist organizations another 200,000 or more. To these may be added other women's organizations such as the National Council of Jewish Women and the Emma Lazarus Women's Federation. There are national fraternal groupings such as the Workmen's Circle, the National Jewish Workers Alliance and the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies. There are numerous cultural organizations including the Workmen's Circle choruses, YKUF, the Reading Circles and the Jewish Music Alliance with more than twenty affiliated choruses and mandolin orchestras.

The three Jewish religious denominations each claim a million adherents, and have numerous women's and young people's auxiliaries engaging in social and recreational activities. The Jewish Children's Schools, with an enrollment of over 600,000 are mostly under religious domination; the secular schools have less than 20,000 students. The orthodox parochial schools, the Yeshivas, are on the upgrade, with an enrollment now exceeding 50,000.

The Jewish Centers for educational and recreational activities, such as the YMHA and YWHA, have an affiliation of half a million. Of particular importance are the Jewish youth organizations, such as

the Hillel Clubs on college campuses. And there are other types of organizations as well, all exerting their influence on Jewish life.

There are three Yiddish dailies, published in New York: the *Jewish Daily Forward* (Right-wing Social-Democratic); the *Jewish Day-Morning Journal* (Zionist); the *Morning Freiheit* (progressive). These have a combined circulation of about 100,000. There are also twenty Yiddish weeklies and monthlies.

The Yiddish press is slowly declining; however, the Anglo-Jewish press is growing and as of 1964 totaled 144 publications—weeklies, bi-weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies. Over 200 books dealing with Jewish themes are published annually in English; some 50 books a year in Yiddish, and a few books in Hebrew.

Since more than 80 per cent of the Jewish population in this country is native-born, the language of the overwhelming majority is English. Yiddish continues, however, to be the language of not inconsequential sections centering around such organizations and institutions as the Workmen's Circle, the National Jewish Workers' Alliance, the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies, YKUF and the numerous Reading Circles, the Jewish Music Alliance, the orthodox parochial schools, the secular Jewish Children's Schools and certain Right-led cultural organizations.

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people in the United States are clearly linguistically integrated; nevertheless, the Jewish community retains its existence as a distinct cultural entity, as is demonstrated among other things by the membership in the organizations and religious institutions listed above.

In view of the great size of the Jewish community, its concentration in the large cities, and its significant role in the economic, political and cultural fields, both the importance of this area of work and the overwhelming magnitude of the tasks facing Jewish progressives and Communists become obvious.

Communists and progressives need to become much more deeply involved in the political, social and cultural life and struggles of the Jewish community, especially of its native-born majority and the mass organizations whose membership they comprise. They need to become concerned particularly with the problems and interests of the Jewish youth, who take an active part in the youth movements and struggles of today.

In their activity, the Communist and progressive forces must base themselves solidly upon the interests and welfare of the masses of Jewish working people, and upon the principles of proletarian internationalism—on the unity of all working people, Negro and white,

Jew and non-Jew. They must firmly oppose the ideological influences of Zionism and nationalism, and they must energetically combat the pressures to support the cold-war policies of the State Department and the rabid support of reaction by Right-wing Social Democracy.

It is necessary, amidst the complex cross-currents within the community, to avoid both Right and "Left" errors. Thus, while we oppose the influences of nationalism and Zionism, we must at the same time not fail to fight, as part of the Jewish people, for their national rights and interests, for their progressive culture and traditions, and against the insidious influences of national nihilism, which rejects the continued distinct existence and role of the Jewish people and the need to give specific attention to their problems and struggles.

Among other things, it is essential to avoid a sectarian approach to religion and religious people. The statements in the Draft Program that "our Party is made up of believers and non-believers" and that "we extend the welcome hand of friendship and solidarity" to religious people active in the struggles for a better life on earth apply to those of the Jewish faith no less than to others. The wide participation of rabbis and religious people generally in the struggle for civil rights and peace emphasizes the correctness of such an approach. Despite the negative influences and the obstacles created by certain Jewish leaders, broad possibilities exist for cooperation with many religious sectors of the Jewish community in the struggles for democratic aims.

The progressive forces, through their fraternal, women's, cultural and educational organizations, as well as through their Yiddish and English press, are an integral part of the Jewish community. It is their task to counteract obscurantist, nationalist, separatist influences among the Jewish people, and to preserve and foster working-class and progressive traditions. We reaffirm the resolution adopted by the 17th National Convention of our Party, which states:

The Party must lead in the fight to safeguard the democratic rights of the Jewish people, to foster the development of progressive Jewish culture and to combat the influence of bourgeois nationalism, which seeks to utilize the justified interests of American Jews in Israel and in Jewish communities in other lands to promote the cold war, and which separates Jewish workers from the general American struggle and the fight by the side of the Negro people against all forms of racism and discrimination.

## III.

There exists among American Jews a warm and sympathetic regard for the State of Israel, founded on the basis of the United Nations Palestine resolution of 1947, with the active support of the socialist states in that body, and after a period of struggle against British imperialism and the machinations of the Truman Administration. After the State of Israel was proclaimed, its people were compelled in 1948 to wage armed struggle for their independence against the onslaught of British-led Arab legions aided by the U.S. embargo on arms to Israel (it was from the socialist states that Israel received arms with which they defeated the invaders).

We Communists, and progressive Jews in the United States generally, wholeheartedly supported this struggle and welcomed the newly-established Israeli state. We unequivocally defend as unchallengable the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state, and condemn all declarations, from whatever source, which falsely label Israel as an artificial creation of imperialism and call for its destruction.

To defend the existence of Israel, however, is not the same thing as defending the policies of its government. After a short period of relative neutrality the Israeli government, under the premiership of David Ben Gurion, swung to full support of the line of the State Department and of imperialism generally—a course of action which led it eventually to the military aggression against Egypt in October 1956 in conjunction with the forces of British and French imperialism. The Ben Gurion government also gravely aggravated relations with the Arab countries by its persecution of the Arab minority in Israel and its refusal to recognize the rights of the more than one million Arab refugees. And not least, the Ben Gurion government entered into economic and diplomatic relations with Bonn, going to the extent of selling arms to the West German army. American Communists and progressives have strongly protested against these policies, as have similar forces inside Israel, and have condemned them as contrary to the best interests of both the Israeli and Arab peoples.

The people of Israel have rejected the extreme "activist," pro-imperialist policies of Ben Gurion. The new government headed by Premier Levi Eshkol has made some moves toward bettering relations with the socialist countries, reacting to the "spirit of Tashkent" (where India and Pakistan, aided by Soviet Premier Kosygin, reached an understanding). But it has not given up the basic Ben Gurion

policies with relation to the Arab minority in Israel, the Palestinian Arab refugees, or the support of imperialism in the Middle East. The struggle of the Israeli Communists and other anti-imperialists is directed against these policies in the interests of the people of Israel, and in defense of the existence of Israel as a state.

For the American Jews, and for the American people generally, the central question is the struggle against the role of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, where it drives to maintain and expand its economic and political domination and to exploit the natural wealth of the area. In pursuit of these aims, as it does everywhere, it allies itself with and arms the forces of reaction in the Arab world against the growing anti-imperialist forces and seeks to use Israel as a pawn, playing Arab against Jew, against the interests of both. This imperialist policy, which fans the flames of war in the Middle East for the sake of the profits of a handful of monopolies, is equally opposed to the interests of the American people.

Regrettably, a number of Arab leaders, some of them outright reactionaries in the service of imperialism and others playing a positive role in the struggle against imperialism, advocate a war to destroy Israel. Indeed, some Arab countries which in 1948 took part in the war against Israel never signed the cease-fire agreement (Iraq, Saudi Arabia). An Arab-Israeli understanding, in the "spirit of Tashkent," is essential to peace in the Middle East. To this end the anti-Arab position of Jewish chauvinist elements is a basic obstacle which must be combatted; however, Arab chauvinism directed against Israel and the Jewish people is also a formidable obstacle which must likewise be combatted.

The widespread sympathies of American Jews for Israel arising from generations of persecution of Jews in many lands and from the Nazi extermination of a third of the Jewish people, is sometimes mistakenly regarded as a form of Zionism. Although Zionists are certainly among the most active supporters of Israel, the support given by most American Jews is rather an expression of solidarity and friendship. It has little to do with party-Zionism, much less political Zionism which for many years, particularly since the Balfour Declaration of 1917, based itself on British imperialism and now adheres to the line of the U.S. State Department. Many of the Jews interested in the building of Israel are opposed to this political line, and many are involved in the movement against the war in Vietnam. It is necessary, therefore, while fighting against the reactionary ideology of political Zionism, not to identify this with all who support Israel.

It is similarly necessary to differentiate among various groupings within the Zionist movement. Thus Hadassah is primarily a philanthropic organization, building and maintaining non-sectarian hospitals in Israel. There are differences on important questions between the Labor Zionists and the General Zionists (Zionist Organization of America). And to the left of these is the Mapam grouping, Americans for a Progressive Israel, which is part of the World Peace Council, opposing the war in Vietnam. Even among the General Zionists there are the followers of the late Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, an outspoken opponent of the cold war; today there are such figures as Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld of Cleveland (newly-elected president of the American Jewish Congress) and Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein of Chicago, (President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis), both well-known fighters for civil rights and peace. Clearly our attitude toward such groups and individuals and our readiness to collaborate with them must be based not on their profession of Zionism but on their position on specific issues.

#### IV.

There is also a deep interest among American Jews in the life of Jews in the socialist countries, above all in the Soviet Union. The socialist solution of the national question in the Soviet Union, and especially the transformed status of Soviet Jews and the unprecedented flourishing of Jewish culture in the twenties and thirties, won a sympathetic response from almost all sections of American Jewry. This was enhanced by the Soviet measures during World War II which saved millions of Jews from Hitlerite extermination, and by the outstanding role played by the Soviet Union in the establishment of the State of Israel.

The news of the suppression of Jewish cultural institutions and executions of cultural figures during the Stalin regime served to alienate considerable sections of the Jewish people in the United States who had previously been active supporters of Soviet-American friendship. It also gave new impetus to the cold-war elements in this country in their unending anti-Soviet campaigns under the banner of "Soviet anti-Semitism."

This slogan is a slander and an outright fraud, which must be rejected and fought. Not only is there no official policy of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, but anti-Semitism and all other forms of national discrimination (or privileges) are prohibited by the Constitution of the USSR. Jews are actively participating in the building

of socialism. They are to be found in the government, the army, industry, the arts and sciences. While the Jewish nationality in the USSR occupies eleventh place in size of population, it occupies third place in the number of scientists, exceeded only by the Russians and Ukrainians. Jewish university students exceed in numbers those of the Uzbek and Georgian Republics, which are much larger sections of the Soviet population. The same may be shown in other areas of social and economic participation.

Today, as in the past, the Soviet Union is the staunchest champion of peace and human freedom in the world. The interests of the Jewish people, certainly no less than those of any other people, lie in seeking friendship with the Soviet Union and in combatting anti-Sovietism.

The fraudulent slogan of "Soviet anti-Semitism" is grist to the mill of the cold-war forces fighting the Soviet Union as a bulwark of world peace and as the world's first land of socialism. These have launched an intensive campaign designed to undermine U.S.-Soviet relations and to promote a policy of aggression and war. In this campaign they have sought to utilize every error, every shortcoming which may occur in the process of erasing the results of the crimes of the Stalin period and restoring Jewish cultural institutions in order to mislead many honest people, even some leading figures in the civil rights and peace movements. The existence of such shortcomings as the crude, fallacious anti-religious propaganda embodied in books of the Kichko or Schaknowitz varieties, in continued limitations (such as lack of prayer books) experienced by religious Jewish people, the absence of a campaign against persistent expressions of remnants of anti-Semitism, the slowness of restoration of Jewish culture, have enabled the cold-war instigators of the campaign to meet with a considerable degree of success in these efforts.

In the past several years, substantial advances have been recorded in the return to Leninist norms in this area. Anti-religious books of the Kichko type have been withdrawn. Premier Kosygin has spoken out against anti-Semitism in his Riga speech of August 1965, and an editorial in *Pravda* on September 5, 1965 called attention to Lenin's position against anti-Semitism. These are welcome beginnings of a campaign against remnants of anti-Semitism.

The Yiddish magazine *Sovietish Heimland*, established toward the end of 1961, has been recording continued growth, and has become an outstanding Jewish cultural institution. Yiddish books have been appearing, although at a slow pace. Yiddish concerts are given in many Soviet cities with record attendances. Some 213 books by Yid-

dish writers were translated into Russian and other languages between 1955 and 1964, with a total circulation of over 26 million copies.

While emphasizing these advances, we look forward to the continuation of the process now under way and its progress toward full restoration of the administratively suppressed Jewish cultural institutions. We support the approach expressed in the editorials in *Political Affairs* of June and July 1964 with reference to combatting remnants of anti-Semitism in the USSR, the approach to religion and anti-religious propaganda, and for the restoration of such institutions as a Jewish state theater, Yiddish newspapers, education, and other means of Jewish culture.

## V.

Our Party will rally all its forces in the fight to eradicate the evil of anti-Semitism in our country.

We will strive to unite the Jewish people with the Negro people and other oppressed minorities in common cause with all Americans against all national oppression. We will energetically combat all manifestations of white chauvinism and the reactionary Jewish nationalism and chauvinism which isolate the Jewish people from its allies and lead it in the direction of becoming a tool of U.S. imperialism.

At the same time, we shall work for the development of progressive Jewish culture and against all manifestations of national nihilism.

We will strive to win the Jewish masses to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism, for the achievement of a world without war, without exploitation and without national oppression.

We applaud the important contributions to the cause of progress made by the *Morning Freiheit* and other progressive Jewish publications. We will work to build the circulation of *The Worker* among the Jewish people and to bring them in growing numbers into the ranks of the Communist Party.

# No Wall Between Politics and Culture\*

One might say there are two principal attitudes toward literature, toward culture, perhaps three. The simplest was expressed by that late expert, Field Marshal Hermann Goering, who founded the Gestapo. "When I hear the word culture," he said in a characteristic statement, "I reach for my revolver." Now what made him so hot and bothered about culture? Why such emotional pyrotechnics? Let us search for the clue to the Nazi's discomfort. It may be worth while.

## *Politics and Culture*

Is the clue to be found in the view expressed by Archibald MacLeish, famous American poet and former librarian of Congress? He said in a well-known poem during the thirties, *Invocation to the Social Muse*: "We are whores, Fraulein, poets are persons of known vocation following troops. They must sleep with stragglers from either prince and of both views." Well, I believe that concept would leave Goering reasonably content. So let us hunt farther.

A third view was contained in a letter written by Walt Whitman, who would probably have been a delegate here or at least have carried an observer's card if he lived today. Walt said: "The trouble is writers are too literary, too damn literary. There has grown up, Swinburne, I think an apostle of it, the doctrine . . . Art for Art's sake. Think of it, Art for Art's sake! Let a man really accept that, let that really be his ruling and he is lost. Instead of regarding literature as an instrument in the service of something larger than itself, in the service of humanity, it looks upon itself as an end, as a fact to be finally worshipped and adored. To me that is a horrible blasphemy."

With some amendments against over-simplification, I believe Walt's injunction can stand. And as Pablo Neruda said at the P.E.N. Congress the other day, "If some people would call me a propagandist, and they do, let it be. I will accept the description." Yes,

\* Remarks delivered at the 18th National Convention, CPUSA.

he is a propagandist, this poet of universal fame and veneration. I believe he is supplying us with a clue. I want to cite two more witnesses. They confirm the concept that there can be no ultimate wall between politics and culture. I want first to quote a man who perhaps put best what Emerson, Whittier, Thoreau, Whitman and other giants of our Golden Age of Literature felt. I am quoting a foreigner who was nonetheless close to their viewpoint—or theirs to his. His name was Tolstoy. He said: "Belief in the triumph of good vitalizes a race; enlightened optimism fosters in man a constructive purpose and frees him from fears that fetter his thoughts."

This quotation came to my mind when I read the concluding paragraph in a stirring description of the Party's program which Gus Hall wrote in the current issue of the magazine *American Dialog*. The article—I wrote the title on it—is "The Case for Optimism." In it Gus Hall says: "I think if one analyzes the processes, the world relationship of forces, the levels of development in this epoch, what is happening in America, the probing, etc., it gives one an optimistic viewpoint."

How welcome is an optimistic viewpoint at a time when pessimism reigns over the domain of American letters! In much of it we wade through marshes and swamps. We are given pictures of the world, of existence, as a vast wasteland, and Americans, mankind, as waste, grass that sprouts for a day and then is gone.

I hold with that paragraph in the Draft Party Program which says, on page 15, speaking of television (and it can go for virtually every other form of our national culture):

Monopoly contaminates the air waves. Profit is the governor of the sights and sounds disseminated through these principal channels for shaping the intellectual attitudes and moral values of society. Corruption of public taste is fostered for immediate commercial returns. But such corruption also reflects deeper causes and serves broader ends. Insensate violence, reduction of human emotions and relations to animal levels, are brutalizing cultural conditioners for the shameful role of world policeman and nuclear triggerman. The demeaning of the human personality, the emphasis on the irrational, the flight from reality—all cultivate a sense of futility and irrelevancy of ordinary man in shaping the world he inhabits. Thereby they reinforce the image of monopoly as all powerful and indestructible.

Recently science discovered the existence of anti-matter. Much, most of our American world of letters today is anti-human. The liter-

ary men of the Establishment see corruption, ugliness, horror everywhere they turn. Most of it they see in the soul of the human being himself. Gone in our Establishment literature is the brooding humanism of Nathaniel Hawthorne, of Herman Melville, or the social daring of Jack London, Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, the titanic laughter of Mark Twain, the continual sweep of Thomas Wolfe, the elemental sorrows of Ernest Hemingway, the Gothic dimension of Faulkner. Gone is the hero from our contemporary literature. Our anti-novel, anti-life literature is, of course, anti-hero. We must cut man down to the size of, well, say who, Richard Nixon? computer-brain McNamara? that Galahad out of the Golden West, Ronald Reagan?

"The Family Romance of Freudian Mythology" as literary historian Maxwell Geismar describes it, speaking of Saul Bellow's number one best-seller *Herzog*, or Norman Mailer's number one best-seller *The American Dream*, or John Updike's latest number one best-seller—well, this "new literary psychology," Geismar says, is "a convenient escape from the crucial issues of world history. Alas for Asia, alas for Africa, alas for South America, such continents exist not in this constrained embrace of thwarted child and hostile parents, any more than American society does." He describes this as a kind of "do-it-yourself brain-washing which marks our fashionable literature today."

I agree with him, in large part. I disagree, however, with his perspective of the future. Geismar seems to lack hopefulness, confidence in tomorrow.

### *Heroes of Our Time*

Now what is wrong with most of our present-day writers is not their lack of talent. Many have that; talent is not as rare as diamonds. Rather, they lack knowledge, experience, contact with reality, with life's struggles, they fail to see how they themselves have been brain-washed. Take one of the titans of our modern literature, Faulkner. He saw, brilliantly, the phosphorescent decay of our aristocratic South, the end of the Magnolia era. But he could not envisage one single Medgar Evers. Although he lived nearby, he could not dream up that heroic little seamstress, Rosa Parks of Montgomery, who refused to go to the back of the bus, and marked the boundary of a new period. Though he lived in their midst, all his life in Oxford, Mississippi, Faulkner could not imagine an entire heroic generation of Negro youth who faced the fang of police dog, the torture of electric prod, the bludgeon of the southern constable, and continues to face them in the irresistible crusade for freedom. For Faulkner was not

color-blind; he was blinded by color. His prejudice hobbled his genius. So, great a writer as the world deems him, he failed as prophet. This is in large part true of so many of our present and past generation of writers and artists. I believe that Sidney Finkelstein, in his latest book *Existentialism and Alienation in American Literature*, had many thoughtful and sage, as well as provocative insights on this crucial question. It is published by that valiant publishing house, International Publishers.

The truth is, as everybody in this room knows, that we *have* heroes in America. This continent is rich in resources and it does not fail us when we come to the greatest capital of all, the human resource. Yet where is the literature that captures their existence, the vision, the epic, simple every-day heroism of the anonymous. The Establishment wants to rob us of them, for heroes are our most precious possession. Hence, we must ask today, as Mike Gold asked Thornton Wilder thirty years ago, is this the literature to describe America? We can, with equal and perhaps greater justice, ask it again today. Yes, who has caught Medgar Evers in a novel, a poem, an opera, a symphony? Who has described the giant Henry Winston blinded by his jailers as surely as though they had forced a branding iron into his eye-sockets, yet who willed himself to live, to triumph over them, to retain his vision though they had robbed him of his sight, and who continues his titan labors for the freedom and peace of the American community—a human lighthouse. What I say of him goes in great measure for a whole generation of Communist leaders, and one of the suggestions I make for the final draft of this inspiring Program is that it lose its over-modesty on this score. A saying of an old Hebrew sage comes to mind:

If I am not for myself, who shall be for me  
If I am for myself alone, what good am I?  
And if not now, when?

Let us find a way to tell the truth about this generation of Communist leaders, for I assure you, you will not find it elsewhere—not as yet. The truth as I have seen it, men maligned, imprisoned, forever under the threat of prison, ever at the borderline of poverty, yet they stood, they stand. Get that to the youth, for they yearn for heroes. They are weary of the Establishment image.

And our literature must tell them of the anonymous heroes of labor, say, the early six thousand members of the National Maritime Union who went down on the freighters bringing the stuff to Europe during

World War II (John Howard Lawson caught that in his film, "Action in the North Atlantic"). But one swallow does not make a summer, one film is not enough for the imperishable epics of labor, like that of Republic Steel and the many similar that built the unions, or the epics of the starving Americans who marched and counter-marched and forced the Establishment to relinquish the few dollars for some degree of social and unemployment insurance, and all the rest you know so well.

We had the beginnings of such a literature in the work of the splendid writer who has gone from our ranks this past year, Philip Stevenson, in his novels about the miners of New Mexico; Mike Gold's *Jews Without Money* is a classic, as is Conroy's *The Disinherited*. I see Meridel Le Seuer in this auditorium and I await her next inspiring works; I saw Philip Bonosky; I remember the work of Lloyd Brown and his *Iron City*; of Alvah Bessie whose pen matches the rifle he carried against Franco. Barbara Giles and her early book, *The Burning Bush*. Strong is the poetry of Walter Lowenfels. These writers began something which I believe belongs to the reason Herr Goering reached for his revolver. They show the heroism of the common man. They show that we can have nothing to do with fascism, with slavery, we can triumph over the corruption of the human spirit.

Give us our heroes! Put down on paper the roll of honor. It is too long for me to cite here. What about the youth of today? Those who march against the criminal war in Vietnam. What about the writers, like Arthur Miller, Robert Lowell, and the many others, the professionals who—despite their places of relative quiet, in classroom, or study, or laboratory, or office—come out into the storm and add their voices, put their names to the petitions for peace, knowing full well some computer-brain in Washington is noting it for some possible future reference which can mean their jobs, as some in Washington plan, their very freedom or even their lives.

### *A Rebirth of Letters*

It has not been written down. But I see the beginnings. I know that I differ with most of the American writers I met at the P.E.N. Congress last week, in that I foresee a renaissance of American letters greater than ever in our history. It can already be found in the new poetry, the new independent film and theater, the budding satire. It is already coming from among the young who have been down to Mississippi. We have begun to see it in the works of young Negro poets and writers and playwrights. We see it in the Southern Free-

dom Theater which gives masterpieces in the heart of Eastland territory. We saw it in the tragically brief life of Lorraine Hansberry, and I wish we would pay especial tribute to that heroic spirit here, for she would have been among us were she living today. We see it in the work of John Killens, in *Youngblood*; in the stories of Alice Childress; in the works of Gwendolyn Brooks, in the essays and other books of James Baldwin; yes, one can look toward the Negro young writers to spark the Renaissance that is surely coming. And the young white writers shall join just as many did, in life, in the past several years, as Schwerner and Goodman joined Chaney.

I see the future shaping in the life that is focussed around such a magazine as *American Dialog*. In this issue, as I mentioned earlier, we signed up the man who delivered the keynote speech to this convention, Gus Hall. He wrote as part of our presentation of views on literature and politics today by men of decency whatever their political label. Here in the midst of this swirl of danger, of conceivable nuclear devastation, emerges a voice which says we can overcome. He gives the case for optimism.

Well, there is such a case and he makes it. That is the business of this Convention. In the past several days there was further proof of it in the vineyard I work in, at the P.E.N. Congress. They brought to this country, as their guest, a writer from Chile. His name is Pablo Neruda. The State Department at first refused a visa. But spokesmen of P.E.N. did not cower; they put up a fight, carried it to the White House and the visa was forthcoming. Later I saw events of a sensational and inspiring nature. I saw most writers here promptly repudiate the Russian renegade and self-exile Valeri Tarsis, who assailed Neruda, Sholokov, the Nobel award, and topped everything off by calling for "hot war."

Under P.E.N. auspices Pablo Neruda gave a reading of his poems at the 92nd Street YMHA. The place was jammed to the rafters. Never have I seen such enthusiasm for a writer. North American poets crowded forward after the readings to kiss the hands of the Chilean writer. (How different reality is at those grass roots, for in the waters of Latin America the gunboats of the Establishment roam, cannon at the ready.) Now this Chilean poet, it should be said to anybody who may not yet know it, is what is known as a card-carrying Communist for a generation, and is proudly so. His dues are paid up, in every conceivable way. His poetry has ringed the world in innumerable translations. Its worth has shattered political barriers. This is the poet about whom Shelley wrote when he said that the poet is the natural legislator of mankind. Neruda was elected to the

Senate of his country in a constituency, let me remind West Virginia here, where miners made up the majority. Miners elected a poet. Incidentally it is happening in our country too. Julian Bond, the poet, whose verse appeared in the last issue of *American Dialog* is a case in point. He will get his seat in Legislature as Pablo Neruda got his place in the heart of the world, of which he is a governor. No, the tide is turning, it has already turned, even if it will take some a while to realize that. But they will. Pablo Neruda wrote, "Let the Railsplitter Awake." The sons and daughters of that railsplitter are awake and they are marching, Pablo, and many of them are in this room.

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*It appears, then, that in present-day social conditions the fruits of art for art's sake are far from delectable. The extreme individualism of the era of bourgeois decay cuts off artists from all sources of true inspiration. It makes them completely blind to what is going on in social life, and condemns them to sterile preoccupation with personal emotional experiences that are entirely without significance and with the phantasies of a morbid imagination. The end product of their preoccupation is something that not only has no relation to beauty of any kind, but which moreover represents an obvious absurdity that can only be defended with the help of sophisticated distortions of the idealist theory of knowledge.*

G. PLEKHANOV, *Unaddressed Letters, Art and Social Life*, pp. 216-217

## IDEAS IN OUR TIME

HERBERT APTHEKER

### For a Return to Reason\*

The Agenda Committee of this Convention suggested that I might have fifteen minutes to discuss, as it was put, "the relationship of the intellectual to progressive developments and its treatment in the Draft Program."

I appreciate this opportunity and turn to the task.

In the Draft Program, the discussion of this subject commences on page 69 and concludes on page 72. It is good, I think; in the time at my disposal I shall concentrate on criticisms.

Emphasis is given to the numerical increase among students, professionals and intelligentsia especially since World War II. But the growth is greater than indicated; thus, there are now six million students, faculty members and administrators connected with institutions of higher learning in the United States and at the present rate of growth this total will be about 7½ million by 1970.

More important than the quantitative growth, however, is the qualitative change and this is missed by the Draft; it is, however, a decisive element if one is to grasp the meaning of the challenge from this area of our population. Thus, while the number of Negro college students is less than half what it should be in terms of population proportion and the number of Negro faculty members and administrators is proportionately infinitesimal—while the controlling personnel is utterly lily-white—nevertheless there has been a sensational increase in the number of Negro men and women now making up part of the higher education population and professional and intellectual communities in the United States.

Related is the marked growth in the specific gravity of working-class students and faculty members of working-class backgrounds. These qualitative changes play a decisive part in accounting for the maturity, imaginativeness, courage and militancy of considerable segments of the college and professional populations. All this, I further suggest, makes especially ridiculous and inappropriate the persistent

\* Remarks delivered at the 18th National Convention, CPUSA.

remnants of a patronizing attitude towards students and professors and intellectuals; especially have the young people of the present generation earned the right to full and equal participation in social endeavors—particularly those of the Left and most particularly those of our Party. They have earned the right not only of equal participation but of earnest and careful attention; they have earned the right—in combat as it were—to be listened to most diligently.

Even more than appears in the Draft is it proper to emphasize the corrupting influence of militarization upon education, thought and science. Comrade Hall's report added emphasis here; over-emphasis is not possible. What I have in mind is the total picture—the financial dependence of institutions of learning upon the military and the State Department; gross perversion of learning in terms of CIA, FBI, RAND kind of corruption; the employment of most scientists directly in projects of murder and war—which means that they are being turned into technically skilled slaughterers and so lose their character as scientists; and the offensive ideologically which insists that values are altogether subjective and that professing a system of values presents an obstacle to being a scientist or a real scholar.

In the Draft there is an absence of any consideration of the corrosive impact of racism upon thought and science in the United States. This is a serious omission; persistence in this barbarism shames thought in the United States and those suffering from this poison vitiate their capacity for effective reason. Notable progress has been made in the past thirty-five years in the struggle against racism but its defeat in intellectual and professional circles is not complete and in the last four or five years racism has been making something of a comeback even in such circles.

The Draft states that with increasing monopolization, in the United States today, "humanism seems absurd," "human reason seems absurd," "democracy seems absurd," "even beauty seems irrelevant." These adjectives—"absurd" and "irrelevant"—are not well chosen. Comrade Hall in the section of his report on "The Ideological Crisis" is better, I think; he speaks there of the fact that monopoly capitalism "is losing its ability to appeal to reason."

I think that what we see is what was called many years ago—in reference to the rise of fascism in Germany—"the eclipse of reason." It is not so much that reason becomes "absurd" or even that the capacity to reason is lost. It is rather a repudiation of reason; a deliberate effort to develop unreason—if there is such a word; it is an assault upon reason; a hatred for truth; a repudiation of science. Insofar as "beauty is truth and truth is beauty," insofar as the cognition

of beauty is a peculiarly human attribute, beauty becomes dangerous rather than irrelevant. It is an attack upon the Enlightenment, just as fascism attacks first the Communist but then all who value human life. This feature of modern reaction—organic to it—is of the greatest consequence in our own work among students and professors and intellectuals.

The Draft notes the existence of passivity among some intellectuals, but it does not note partiality toward reaction among some of them. This must be faced; there are antagonistic classes and there are antagonistic traditions and concepts, of course. While there is Jefferson, there also is Hamilton; while there is Lincoln, there also is Jefferson Davis; while there was a C. Wright Mills there is a Sidney Hook; while there is a Staughton Lynd, there is also R. P. Oliver—pronounced by that savant, Robert Welch of the Birch Society, to be "very possibly the greatest living scholar"—and Oliver is a Professor of Classics at the University of Illinois! It was a professor—one Stefan Possony—who was the expert witness the other day before Mr. Eastland's Committee (I do not use the title Senator, since of course plantation-owner Eastland has absolutely no legal title to his seat in Congress just as the authorities of the State he misrepresents are in open and treasonous rebellion against the U.S. Constitution and the opinion of mankind) and explained how the magnificent stirrings among hundreds of thousands of American college students during the recent period were the work of this Party and in particular of two delegates to this Convention. It is no accident, at all, that this same Communist-baiting and war-provoking Prof. Possony is the co-author of one of the grossest racist books to appear in the past fifty years—I refer to *Geography of Intellect* (Regnery, Chicago, 1963).

The Draft chides intellectuals for what is called the "illusion of independence" and says correctly that while they may be among the precursors and inspirers they cannot, as such, be the makers; for this it is necessary that they make common cause with basic progressive forces in society. This is true; but it is not complete.

How does it happen that such intellectuals as Mills and Lynd cherish this "illusion"? They are among the best produced by any society in the past 25 years and that neither has seen fit to join us, perhaps reflects upon us as much as it does upon them. It is not so much a matter of independence as it is a matter of absolute integrity, of fullest commitment to science, to inquiry; the most daring and bold persistence in ascertaining reality. Science advances through the discovery of error; hence all scientists in the past have been in error *somewhere*, have been less than complete *somewhere*. There is the

problem of ossification, of bureaucracy, of administrative procedures rather than joint persuasive endeavors. To really cherish discussion, to really seek mutual dialogue, to expect dignified treatment and to accord it—sincerely and really—all of us have a long way to go in this most difficult matter. That we have been sinned against does not mean we have never sinned! Besides it is for us to be better, to be more compassionate, to be more interested in genuine inquiry; it is Marxism which fears no truth; it is Marxism which embodies reality and grows with alterations in reality.

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I think I have not yet used up all of my fifteen minutes; if not, I would like to speak briefly about aspects of the war in Vietnam.

The most distinguished senator so far produced by Massachusetts once said that President Johnson's policies reminded him of those of the ancient tyrant, Caligula, and that President Johnson's manners reminded him of Caligula's horse. Of course, you all know that I am referring to Senator Charles Sumner's remarks about President Andrew Johnson!

This Johnson also became President as a result of the assassination of his predecessor. That President Johnson also reversed the most promising policies of the Martyr. As a result the Senate impeached him; unfortunately he was not removed since the vote against him was short of the necessary two-thirds majority. Perhaps the future will improve upon the coincidences of history.

One of the strongest features of Comrade Hall's very powerful report was the slashing and unequivocal language with which he attacked this atrocious war. And he referred correctly to the systematic lying of which the present Administration necessarily has been guilty. In this connection, I wish to call the delegates' attention to the sensational article by Morley Safer appearing in the current issue (June 27) of the distinguished Christian journal of opinion, *Christianity and Crisis*, whose editorial board includes John C. Bennett, Harvey G. Cox and Reinhold Niebuhr. (It was Mr. Safer who filmed the burning of a Vietnamese village by U.S. Marines, the showing of which had such enormous impact.)

Mr. Safer reports that last year the press corps was brought together in Saigon by Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, who told the journalists that he wanted them to report only that which "made the United States look good." When asked if he expected "the American press to be handmaidens of government," Mr. Sylvester replied: "That's exactly what I expect." When

one of the newspaper men objected that there was a crisis in American credibility this Mr. Sylvester—Assistant Secretary of Defense remember—said: "Look, if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid. Did you hear that—*stupid*."

Mr. Safer tells of pressures brought on newsmen which included not only threats to report them to their home offices and editors and publishers, but also this sensational charge—he states that the threat to him took this form: "Unless you get Safer out of there he's liable to end up with a bullet in his back."

P.S.—Mr. Safer now serves CBS in London; but is not this sensational story—published in a magazine of this repute one that cries out for Congressional investigation and should not Assistant Secretary Sylvester be dismissed forthwith?

On the Vietnam war, we must *emphasize* two things at this time: 1) that the Administration presents no vista, no realistic termination; and 2) that opponents of the war are *not*, as President Johnson says, "merely worriers," without an alternative to his vicious and suicidal course.

On the first point, the Administration and Pentagon say the war may last another seven or ten years; the Pentagon estimates one thousand U.S. casualties per week. One thousand multiplied by fifty equals fifty thousand; multiply that by seven and one has 350,000 U.S. casualties. But what then? What is the vista for 1973 after 350,000 casualties and the slaughter of perhaps 10 million Asians—presuming that is large enough for McNamara!

All I can get from the "statesmen" in Washington was indicated recently by Senator Long of Louisiana. He said that if the U.S. is to be defeated, let it be defeated not by a small power—like Vietnam—but by a big power—like China! This is statesmanship!

As for an alternative: there is a practical, honorable and necessary course for the U.S., namely the recognition and implementation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954. The U.S. must do in Vietnam what France did in Vietnam—it must get out!

Geneva 1954 means to the Vietnamese people exactly what the Treaty of Paris of 1783 means to the American people; both are basic documents affirming national existence and sovereignty. The Vietnamese people will give up Geneva 1954 when Americans give up Paris 1783.

The way out is to get out!

Lenin said that the struggle for democracy is the struggle for socialism and that the struggle for socialism is the struggle for democracy. Now we may say—we do say—that in addition, the struggle for

peace is the struggle for socialism and the struggle for socialism is the struggle for peace. And we also now may add: Equality is the struggle for socialism, and the struggle for socialism is the struggle for equality, and that the struggle for reason and beauty is the struggle for socialism and the struggle for socialism is the struggle for reason and beauty. This is our banner then, Comrades—Democracy, Equality, Reason and Beauty, Peace—and altogether Socialism. Marching under this banner, dearest comrades, our victory—that is, the victory of Mankind—is certain!

*Because the war in Vietnam is so far beyond any reasonable justification, it serves as a catalyst for the appeal to backwardness and prejudice. The idea that it is right to burn villages with women and children in Vietnam because they are a colored people is making the rounds in the ideological sewers. This is both an appeal to those who have been raised on the poison of white supremacy, and an effort to spread the ideology of racist white chauvinism in greater degree to others sections of the population.*

*President Johnson's Chicago speech labeling the worried parents and people who disagree with his unjust war of aggression as "nervous Nellies" and "unpatriotic" was the most irresponsible appeal to backward emotions ever made by any President on record. The ultra-Right bases itself on such appeals to backward emotions. The rise of the ultra-Right is itself proof of the crisis of capitalist ideology. It replaces all reasonable dialogue with emotional hysteria. This danger is going to be with us throughout this whole period of social development.*

*The crisis of capitalist ideology and its resort to unreasoning emotional appeals places new and higher priority on the struggle on this front.*

GUS HALL, *For A Radical Change*, pp. 56-57

## JACOB M. BUDISH—1886-1966

A powerful intellect wedded to a profound humanism—these qualities left their indelible imprint on the many-sided labors and contributions of Jacob Budish spanning more than half a century.

A Marxist scholar and educator, author of several important works on economic theory, trade unionism and the Soviet Union, a leader for many years in progressive Jewish American affairs, it is a measure of the widespread influence he exerted that the news of his death on June 4, 1966, at the age of eighty, evoked an unusually moving demonstration of grief on the part of thousands, both here and abroad, who felt his passing as a personal loss.

His published writings go back to 1916 when he authored *The War and the Jews*, popularly known as the "Black Book" on the persecution of Jews in Czarist Russia, issued by the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights and submitted to President Wilson.

In 1920, he co-authored *The New Unionism* with George Soule of the *New Republic*, published by Harcourt Brace. He was, for more than a decade and a half, the editor of the official journal of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, A. F. of L. and his comprehensive history of that union was published in 1928.

Keenly interested in education, he was the first chairman, from 1918 to 1921, of the United Labor Education Committee. He was active in Russian War Relief following World War I and wrote several books on Soviet foreign trade.

Among his more recent works are *People's Capitalism* (1958), *The Changing Structure of the Working Class* (1962), and *Is Communism the Next Stage?* (1965), published by International Publishers.

He was also the editor of the English page of the *Morning Freiheit* from 1956 to 1960. He was a frequent contributor to *Political Affairs* and other authoritative journals.

Two tributes, among many others, were read at the memorial service for Comrade Budish. One, from the Institute of World Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, expressed, "deep grief at the death of the distinguished scholar, Jacob Budish." The other was a poem by his granddaughter, whose opening stanza read:

*At the dawn of a new world  
You came to us  
From your little village  
So long, long ago  
And two generations have sprung to life  
In your footsteps since that day.*

# New Technology and The American Economy

It is generally recognized that the pace of development of new technology has increased in recent decades. Labor productivity, according to the findings of the President's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, has increased from a rate of 2 per cent per year during the 35 years prior to the end of World War II to a trend rate of about 3.2 per cent a year since 1947. Even prior to the recent acceleration, the United States economy has "never been fully successful in dealing with" the problem of technological change. Now that the pace of technological advance is much more rapid and the rate of growth of the labor force has also advanced—from about 1 per cent a year (1947-1953) to 1½ per cent a year (1953-1960)—the ability of the monopolized American economy to cope with its multiplying contradictions has been correspondingly reduced.

## *Ford's View*

We have reached such an impasse that even so stalwart a pillar of monopoly capitalism as Henry Ford II, head of the third mightiest industrial corporation in the United States, in a public statement on May 3, had to recognize that, "The economic and technological triumphs of the past few years have not solved as many problems as we thought they would and, in fact, have brought new problems we did not foresee." Ford is "concerned about the persistence within some elements in our national political life of the idea that business is the enemy of the people."

Ford apparently identifies "business" with monopoly capital which dominates the American economy and consequently all business. In that sense it is true that increasing segments of the American people are coming to recognize that "business," *i.e.*, monopoly, is their enemy. What Ford is even more concerned about is that "the free enterprise system will not gain the respect and the acceptance" of the people. Except for the misleading labeling of the rigid system of monopoly

capitalism as a "free enterprise" system, Ford's statement as to its inability to gain the respect and acceptance of the people does increasingly represent the actual situation.

Because of this, Congress, in August 1964, passed a law authorizing the President to appoint a National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress. It was charged with the task of 1) assessing the past effects and current and prospective role and pace of technological change with regard to such problems as unemployment, manpower and human values in relationship to social structure, etc.; 2) defining areas of unmet community and human needs toward which application of new technologies might most effectively be directed; and 3) recommending specific administrative and legislative steps which should be taken by federal, state and local governments with a view to promoting technological change in the interest of continued economic growth and improved well-being of the people, and to sharing the cost and helping prevent and alleviate the adverse impacts of change and displacement.

## *The Presidential Commission*

The Commission appointed by the President consisted of 14 members under the chairmanship of the President of the University of Iowa, Howard R. Bowen. It included three representatives of labor unions: Walter P. Reuther of the United Auto Workers, Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers of America, and Albert J. Hayes, past president of the International Association of Machinists. Monopoly capital was represented by such heads of giant corporation as Thomas J. Watson of IBM, Philip Sporn of American Electric Power, Edwin H. Land of Polaroid and Patrick E. Haggerty of Texas Instrument. The public representatives included, among others, Whitney M. Young of the National Urban League and various professors and professional arbitrators. This Commission was aided by a special Interagency Advisory Committee under the joint chairmanship of the Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor and it included the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Administrator of National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Secretary of Defense, McNamara.

This National Commission, with the assistance of its Advisory Committee, worked for a full year. It engaged a large staff of experts, mostly from the Departments of Labor and Commerce, who prepared a series of monographs on the various problems involved. In February of this year the Commission published an elaborate 115-page

\* J. M. Budish was in the process of working on this study when his sudden death took him from our midst. We print the first part of the study. The second part was left unfinished.

report "to answer the questions raised and to offer recommendations as requested" by Congress.

### *Technological Change and Unemployment*

The first part of the report deals with the pace of technological change and its effect on unemployment. It takes note of the fact that the lag between the discovery of a new invention or technology and its commercial application has shortened. The typical time between a technical discovery and recognition of its commercial potential had fallen from about 30 years before World War I to 16 years between the wars and 9 years after World War II. The additional time necessary to convert these basic discoveries to initial commercial application decreased from about seven to about five years.

"There is certainly evidence," says the Commission, "of a faster rate of technological development." With all that, the Commission still insists that, "Our studies suggest that major technological discoveries may wait as long as 14 years before they reach commercial application even on a small scale, and perhaps another 5 years before their impact on the economy becomes large." This somewhat tortuous reasoning is used by the Commission in order to reach the "broad conclusion . . . that the base of technological change has increased in recent decades and may increase in the future, but a sharp break in the continuity of technical progress has not occurred, nor is it likely to occur in the next decade." There is therefore no reason for the Commission to recommend far-reaching remedial measures.

This plea for the status quo is somewhat mitigated, perhaps as a concession to the labor representatives, by the statement that there is "evidence of enough increase in the pace of technological and economic change that there is no ground for complacency. Our society has not met the challenge of technical progress with complete success." The adjective "complete" is mere apologetics. The evidence quoted by the Commission, as we shall see, does not indicate *any* degree of success in meeting that challenge.

### *Labor Dissents*

It is for this reason that the labor representatives, joined by Mr. Young of the National Urban League and Mrs. Rosenberg-Hoffman, found it necessary to attach a dissenting footnote saying that "we feel obliged to state . . . that in our opinion the report lacks the tone of urgency which we believe the subject matter requires. . . . The more

than 50 per cent increase in the trend rate of productivity advance in the post-World War II period compared to the prewar period, and a similar increase in the rate of labor force growth in the years ahead . . . give new dimensions to the two major challenges that face us," that of providing "productive employment and adequate incomes for all who are able and willing to work" and that of insuring "the full utilization of our productive potential." (*Report*, p. 6.)

The same dissenting members emphasize that "the obstacles" to the solution of the problems flowering from technological change "are essentially political." But when it comes to specifics, they again fall back on "the lack of a sense of urgency in many quarters in dealing with human problems." They do not define these quarters, though the fact that not a single giant corporation spokesman sitting on the Commission supported the dissenting opinion clearly points to monopoly capital as the quarter responsible for the political obstacles to the solution of the challenging problems. Strange as it may seem, the labor leaders seem to take no cognizance of their collective bargaining and strike experience. There is evidence enough in that experience to show that both the sense of urgency and the lack of it in dealing with human problems are determined by class interests. Corporate big business is organized to make profits on a large scale; management is selected and oriented to center its policies on maximizing profits; all else, including human interests, is secondary. More than that: measures in behalf of human interests involve some costs which may affect the balance sheet; such measures are therefore anathema to monopoly capital.

It is also the conviction of the dissenting members of the Commission that "American Negroes, who have already waited 300 years, must not be made to wait any longer for the full equality that can be theirs only under full employment." But again this group of labor leaders and their associates depend on the "conscience and compassion" of the Establishment, rather than on the unequivocal recognition of the rights of Negroes to full equality, including full employment—rights to be effectively supported by mass organization and mass action for adequate legislation and its unrelenting enforcement by the Executive.

### *Limited Scope*

The report of the Commission is clearly limited to the short-run problems of technological change. It does realize that: "Human resources will be released [by the new technology] and available for new

activities beyond those that are required for mere subsistence. The great need is to discover the nature of this new kind of work, to plan it, and to do it. In the longer run significant changes may be needed in our society." But the only significant change suggested by the Commission is "in education, for instance, to help find constructive and rewarding ways to use increasing leisure." (P. xiii.) The Commission refrains from considering who is to take charge of discovering the new kinds of work, and it is especially shy in its approach to the problem of national planning, as well as in the consideration of any really significant structural changes in our economy.

Because of that strict limitation of the scope of the Commission's report, which seems to be based on the implicit assumption of the sacrosanct nature of the status quo of our socio-economic structure and its predicated preservation at all costs, the Commission inevitably limits both its investigation and recommendations to half-measures which can, at best, only slightly mitigate some of the secondary effects of the "serious social and economic problems related to the impact of technological change." (P. 1.) But the Report does contain a great deal of verified useful factual information, and its recommendations, as far as they go, are not without merit.

Basing itself on the enormous statistical material submitted to the Commission by special staffs of experts, it reached the conclusion that: "Together, education, skill, technology, along with other factors, determine the structure of employment and unemployment. They do not determine the level of either." (P. 26; emphasis added.) All the ado about the various training and educational programs, whatever value they may have in the area of education, or in improving the chances of individuals in competition for available jobs, are valueless insofar as the *level* of either employment or unemployment is concerned.

These conclusions are, of course, not new to Marxist students of the subject. See, for instance, Hyman Lumer's essay on *Poverty: Its Roots and Its Future* (International Publishers, New York, 1965): ". . . it is clear that no amount of improvement in education will in itself eliminate unemployment. . . . While better education may ease the shortage of certain types of skilled and technical workers, it will not create new jobs or counter the elimination of jobs through automation." (P. 62.) But it is of no little importance to have a Presidential Commission of chief executives of great corporations, leaders of orthodox labor unions and public representatives acceptable to the Administration, confirm and substantiate the thesis that rejects the propa-

ganda attributing unemployment to the personal deficiencies or lack of education of the unemployed themselves.

### *Labor Market a "Shapeup"*

The Commission found no definite relationship between the level of education or training of the workers and the availability of employment. According to the Commission the labor market may be considered as a gigantic "shapeup," with members of the labor force queued up in the order of their relative attractiveness to employers. "Their choice may be based on objective standards related to ability, or on dubious standards of race, sex, or age; wage differentials may also be important; and formal education may be used as a rough screening device." But "the total number employed depends on the general state of economic activity. The employed tend to be those near the beginning and the unemployed those near the end of the line."

In other words, while particular workers may improve their position on the line by better training and education, they will merely shove others down the line. The total number of employed and unemployed will not be affected. "If the available [manpower] resources are of high quality, the [labor] market will adjust to the use of high quality resources; if the quality is low, methods will be developed to use such resources . . . the choice between low-skill and high-skill manpower . . . is made on the basis of relative costs." Clearly, the choice is determined not by human interests but by relative costs with a view to the maximization of profits. "Only as demand rises will employers reach further down the line in their search for employees." (P. 23.)

Another finding of the Commission with regard to the level of unemployment should be noted: "The average of unemployed during the year [as reported by the Department of Labor] understates the actual volume of involuntary displacement that actually occurred." For instance, in 1964, the officially reported number of unemployed was 3.9 million, or 5.2 per cent of the total civilian labor force of 77 million. Actually, however, some 85 million different people held jobs for some time during 1964, and some 14.1 million different people experienced some unemployment during the year, so that *more than 16½ per cent of all the different people who worked for some time during that year, suffered some unemployment*. What is more, according to the Commission, between "one-third and one-half of those unemployed were permanently or indefinitely severed from their jobs; they were forced to find new employment, remain among the unem-

ployed, or withdraw from the labor force." (P. 17.) The social waste and suffering resulting from unemployment that is inherent in capitalism at the monopoly stage of its development, even in a year of business prosperity, such as 1964, is much greater than the official figures suggest.

### *Unemployment in Post-Korean Decade*

"The persistence of a general level of unemployment in the years following the Korean war," says the Commission, "was not the result of accelerated technological progress. Its cause was interaction between rising productivity, labor force growth, and an *inadequate growth of aggregate demand*." (P. 9; emphasis added.) This is a Keynesian thesis which, except for a relatively small group of arch-conservative economists, is now generally accepted. But the Commission, contrary to Keynes, makes no attempt to determine why total effective demand has in peacetime always been inadequate to provide full employment for the available labor force or full utilization of available materials, plant and equipment.

It should be noted, though the Report fails to refer to it, that during World War II the economy worked at full capacity. Moreover, a great number of people—women, youth, aged, who had not been in the labor force formerly—were brought into paid employment. But not long after the war ended, average unemployment in 1949 again reached nearly 6 per cent. Again, during the Korean War, beginning in 1950, unemployment declined. Before the armistice at the end of July 1953, the rate of unemployment dropped to 2.6 per cent, and the average for the entire year of 1953 was slightly below 3 per cent.

This time, too, after the hot war ended, though the cold war was intensified and the United States continued to keep an occupation army in South Korea and an armed force of over 200,000 in the Pacific, demand again fell short of industrial capacity. Unemployment increased to serious proportions. During the entire decade of 1954-1963 the average annual rate of unemployment has always exceeded 4 per cent. Even in the highly prosperous year of 1956, 4.2 per cent of the total civilian labor force were fully unemployed. The average annual rate of unemployment for the entire decade amounted to 5½ per cent, a higher level than during 1950, prior to the beginning of the Korean War.

The Report does refer to the fact that when Congress, in August 1964, passed the law authorizing the formation of the Commission, the national unemployment rate was 5.1 per cent. As the Commission

finished its report in January 1966, the rate declined to 4 per cent. Let us note that since then it declined to 3.7 per cent in April 1966. This experience is considered by the Commission as "the best evidence that economic growth can continue to offset the growth of productivity and labor force and reduce unemployment further." (P. 15.)

The Report takes no explicit notice of the fact that the improvement in the pace of economic growth and the decline in the rate of unemployment coincided with the drastic escalation of the war in Vietnam. The Commission seems, however, to be aware that the recent improvement was generated by the Vietnam war. This is evidenced by the insistence of the Report that "Positive fiscal, monetary, and manpower facilities will be needed in the future as in the past," and by the warning it sounds that "The nation should not be lulled into forgetfulness, by a short-run need for increased defense expenditures." (P. 16.) Says the Report (p. 35):

For the longer run, we believe it to be of the highest importance to the future of democracy in the world that this country never present to its neighbors the spectacle of wartime prosperity yielding to peacetime unemployment.

### *Anarchy and Wastefulness of Capitalist Production*

The real problem, of course, lies in the spectacle this economy presents to the American people, rather than to its neighbors. The working class of this country cannot help wondering why it cannot accomplish in peacetime what it did in wartime. If we could have full utilization of all productive forces and no unemployment during World Wars I and II, why can't we have it all the time? In the United States the accelerated economic growth, prosperity and full employment of war years always yields to the retarded economic growth and unemployment of peace time, while in the USSR and the other socialist countries the hard times and retarded economic growth of war years yield to the accelerated growth and greater prosperity of peace time.

In its approach to these questions the Commission appears to regress from that of Keynes. Both are aware that: "It is certain that the world will not much longer tolerate unemployment, which apart from brief intervals of excitement, is associated and in my opinion, inevitably associated—with present day capitalistic individualism." (J. M. Keynes, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, p. 391.) Both resort to euphemism—to such labels as

“democracy” and “capitalistic individualism”—rather than calling a spade a spade. If they did face reality they would refer to all this as capitalism in the monopoly stage of its development—the economic system we are living in.

Keynes does probe the reasons for “the inadequate growth of demand.” True, he, too, carefully avoids any reference to the exploitation of the blue-collar and white-collar workers—the underlying cause of the inadequacy of demand and unemployment. But Keynes does not shrink from establishing that: “The outstanding fault of the economic society in which we live are its failure to provide for full employment.” (*Ibid.*, p. 372.) The Keynesian “arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and income” as an “outstanding fault of our society” is a somewhat vulgarized formulation of the actual cause of the systematic disease of capitalism, especially in its present monopoly stage. That cause is the private appropriation of the fruits of the socialized process of production by the owners of the means of production. In the present-day monopoly stage of capitalism the socialization of the process of production has reached unprecedented proportions, involving many thousands of workers in the production of every type of goods for the market. The number of private monopolistic owners who appropriate the fruits of this socialized production have been reduced to insignificant proportions.

Still, however vulgarized his interpretation, Keynes did recognize this “outstanding fault” or basic contradiction of our economy. The present-day neo-Keynesians of the Commission, however, simply ignore the entire problem. Their Report makes no reference to any outstanding faults, let alone to basic causes. The Report deals only with symptoms, rather than with the systematic disease or disorder of the economic system revealed by these symptoms.

The “imperfect” competition of “big business” combined with intensified rivalry between giant corporations impairs the effectiveness of “the market” as the regulator of the allocation and reallocation of labor and productive resources to various industries and services. The power relationship among existing accumulations of capital by various monopolies and their respective capacity to develop, maintain and artificially inflate consumer demand for the particular goods and services or “brands” they produce, determines the proportions of the various goods and services produced, without consideration for the vital needs of the people.

The anarchy of capitalist production is consequently greatly aggravated in the monopoly stage of its development. The wastefulness of monopoly capitalism with regard to the under-utilization of productive

forces and underemployment of the available labor force has reached fabulous proportions.

### *Workers' Share Declines*

Competition in the area of prices has virtually been eliminated. In case of a decline in aggregate demand monopoly capital, as a rule, finds it more profitable to reduce output rather than cut prices. The resulting displacement of workers and the glut of the labor market keep real wages from rising in proportion to increased labor productivity. The fruits of the new technology, increased labor productivity, and declining labor cost per unit of output are appropriated by monopoly capital. This is reflected in another decisive consequence. The share of the total new product paid in real wages to the workers who produce it has been markedly declining. In the last decade, 1953-1963, the share of the net value of the output of manufacturing industries paid to the workers who produced it shrank by nearly one-fourth, as can be seen from the following figures:

Year	Total Amount of Wages Paid to All Production Workers Billions of 1953 Dollars	Total Value Added by Manufacture Billions of 1953 Dollars	Share Paid to Workers in Real Wages
	(1)	(2)	(3): [(1) (2)]
1953	49.0	121.7	40.3%
1958	45.8	131.1	35.0%
1963	54.4	176.3	30.8%

Note: Source—Statistical Abstract, 1965, p. 773, Table 1122. Original figures given in current dollars, recalculated into constant 1953 dollars, on basis of index of purchasing power of dollar, (*ibid.*, p. 356, Table 489), measured by consumer prices for wages and by wholesale prices for value added by manufacture. Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

The inadequacy of effective demand is a direct result of the increasing exploitation of labor shown by the above figures. The overwhelming proportion of the people consist of wage and salary workers. When the share of the total net product of their labor, paid to them in wages, declines, their purchasing power in relationship to the total output is correspondingly reduced. That explains why even in years when employment and payrolls grow, as in 1963, the pur-

chasing power of the people still increasingly lags behind the total net output. The inevitable effect is to cut short the duration of good times, bringing about the ever more frequent recurrence of recessions and periodic outbreaks of grave depressions.

The inherent inadequacy of demand, which assumes the most serious proportions in the monopoly stage of capitalism, is also reflected in the changing structure of the labor force. The Commission's projections of these structural changes also predicate that by 1975 the national unemployment rate will still be 3 per cent of the total labor force. The occupational structure of the employed labor force is expected to change in the direction of a further marked reduction of the relative importance of the goods-producing industries. The number of farmers, farm managers, laborers and foremen is expected to drop by 21 per cent, from 4.4 million in 1964 to 3.5 million in 1975, when they will make up less than 4 per cent of the total employed labor force, which should reach 88.7 million in 1975 (including the self-employed).

Employment of wage and salary workers in non-agricultural occupations is projected to increase by 30 per cent, from 58.2 million in 1964 to 75.9 million in 1975. The occupational distribution of these wage and salary workers is expected to change as follows:

#### Wage and Salary Workers in Non-Agricultural Employment

	1964 Actual		1975 Projection	
	Millions	%	Millions	%
Goods-Producing Industries	24.9	42.8	29.0	38.3
Service-Producing Industries	23.7	40.7	32.1	42.3
Government	9.6	16.5	14.8	19.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The above figures show that the development trend of monopoly capitalism, according to the projection of the Commission, is in the direction of a substantial decline in the relative importance of the goods-producing industries. In 1975 they will employ only 38.3 per cent of all wage and salary workers as against 42.8 per cent employed in 1964. The greatest gain will be made by government, which will employ nearly 15 million people in 1975 against less than 10 million in 1964.

Two more trend projections by the Commission must be mentioned. It found that: "If nonwhites continue to hold the same proportion of jobs in each occupation as in 1964, the nonwhite unemployment rate in 1975 will be more than five times that of the labor force as a whole," that is, about 15 per cent. Moreover, even if the trends of upgrading the jobs of nonwhites continues at the same rate as in recent years, "the nonwhite unemployment rate in 1975 would still be about 2½ times that for the labor force as a whole." The same trend is predicated for the younger workers (age 14-24). If all occupations have the same composition by age in 1975 as in 1964, "the unsatisfactory current relation of youth unemployment to total unemployment will worsen unless utilization patterns change." (P. 31.)

So much for the findings of fact and indicated trends. What then is to be done? The Commission groups its recommendations (all based on the continuation without change of the present socio-economic structure of the economy), under three headings: a) the management of total demand; b) public service employment; and c) guarantee of a floor of income on some acceptable level.

The recommendations of the Commission merit careful discussion, which will have to be postponed to another opportunity.

# BOOK REVIEWS

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON

## Intellectuals and the Establishment

*The New Radicalism in America*\* treats the history of this century very narrowly, but intensively, through a study of a section of a subdivision of the middle class. This is done by means of an examination of the lives of selected intellectuals and reformers, summarizing, analyzing and criticizing their political and social views.

The careers and ideas of some eight or more individuals—persons who are both typical and outstanding—are thus scrutinized. Tied in with the World War I era are Jane Addams, Randolph Bourne, Mabel Lodge Luhan, and Lincoln Steffens; associated more or less with World War II are Reinhold Niebuhr, Sidney Hook, Dwight MacDonal and Norman Mailer.

Besides the leading examples, there is much of interest about other "radicals" of the last half-century: Walter Lippmann, Mar-

garet Sanger, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Amos Pinchot, Colonel E. M. House, and others.

This method gives possibilities for insights into periods and personalities that are usually lacking in a broader treatment. Liberal quotations from these people give a fair amount of authenticity to the presentation, and the careful critique each receives (sometimes over-minute, in this reviewer's opinion) shows the author's effort at objectivity and fairness. The re-creating of Randolph Bourne, for example, and the newer picturing of Norman Mailer are fascinating.

"The main argument of this book," says Christopher Lasch in his introduction, "is that modern radicalism or liberalism can best be understood as a phase of the social history of the intellectuals" (p. ix). He treats the modern radical intellectual as a new and distinctive social type.

The reader need not therefore look in this book for any discussion of trade union leaders, or of Socialist or Communist personalities. In fact, in carrying out his plan, the author permits rather

curious omissions. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Margaret Sanger and Ellen Gates Starr are spoken of several times, but not identified as socialists. One would expect mention of Florence Kelley, a socialist, who was closely associated with Jane Addams, but her name is not to be found in this book.

Also curious is the use of the term "bourgeoisie" as a synonym for "middle class" (p. xiii), almost as though the current meaning of this term were the same as in France two hundred years ago, when the rising *bourgeoisie* was the class *between* the peasants and the nobility. In such a use there is of course no reference (or only indirect or accidental reference) to the *big bourgeoisie* or monopoly capitalists of our times. *The New Radicalism* is concerned only with those ideologists of the upper middle class who are "radical" and who write books.

The chief value of *The New Radicalism* for this reviewer—aside from the intrinsic interest of the selected personalities—is its demonstration, whether intended or not, of Marx's description of the middle class (*petty bourgeoisie*) as wavering and on the whole unreliable. Mr. Lasch correctly groups the intellectuals as within this class.

The examples he selects have in each case a wider interest than the persons themselves. Jane Addams tries to find a genuine reason for her existence in *religion*, and to do so is forced into radical-liberal activities. Randolph Bourne rebels against the war, and asserts both a determined *pacifism*

and a rudimentary socialism. Mabel Dodge Luhan protests against *sex* restrictions, especially as they bear on women, and through this finds her way to a kind of radicalism, including a friendship with John Reed and D. H. Lawrence. In the sex-based chapters Lasch takes up such novelists as Robert Herrick and such notable women as Olive Schreiner and, as already indicated, Margaret Sanger and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

The pacifist or anti-war theme is given much attention in the brilliant essays on "Politics as Social Control," and those on the *New Republic* and Colonel Edward M. House. Professor Edward A. Ross and Fremont Older are revealed as intriguing personalities that we are glad to know more about. The *New Republic's* zig-zag of ideas and quickly reversed policies are displayed for inspection, along with its editors and contributors: Walter Lippmann, Alvin Johnson, John Dewey, Walter Weyl, Herbert Croly.

Col. Edward M. House, who was President Woodrow Wilson's advisor, emerges in these pages as not at all the shadowy behind-the-scenes man we used to think. And the break between him and one of his favorite journalists, Lincoln Colchord, shows us finally the real unlovely character of House.

The chapter on Lincoln Steffens is also admirable, although Lasch's own underlying anti-Soviet prejudices tend sometimes to get in the way of a genuinely objective

\* Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type*. Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1965. 349 pp. plus Introduction and Index. \$6.05.

judgment. He refers to the "dogmatic and intolerant ideology" of the Communists, embraced by Steffens, at the same time, and on the same page (280) that he speaks disapprovingly of the "all-encompassing hatred of the Soviet Union" on the part of the "anti-Communist liberals." Sometimes a historian can be too lofty and protest too much!

Lasch reserves the final chapter for a treatment of Reinhold Niebuhr, Sidney Hook, Dwight MacDonald and Norman Mailer, and it must be admitted that he does on the whole a rather creditable job. All four of them reveal the same middle class attributes that are so evident in the earlier ones. "The ranks of liberalism," Lasch writes, "were refreshed by defectors from the revolutionary camp, ex-liberals turned ex-Communist" (p. 289). Niebuhr, Hook and MacDonald (not Norman Mailer) are the types he means here.

Niebuhr is described as at first "a full-fledged Marxist," who flipped. From then on, to Niebuhr, "Soviet totalitarianism was a greater menace than American capitalism" (p. 300). Still later, he developed the idea that the United States was "a new type of imperialism, an imperialism of democratic idealism." Commenting dryly on Niebuhr's arguments, Lasch observes: "Even during the Stalinist period the distinction between 'despotism' and the 'open society' was hardly an accurate description of the difference between Russia and America; by the fifties and sixties it had become

completely unreal" (pp. 301-2).

Sidney Hook, described similarly as at first an "impassioned disciple" of Marx, quickly becomes convinced that the Soviet Union is "a system of total evil" (p. 306, also p. 332). He thereupon decided to support the American system but to criticize its imperfections. However, says Lasch, "Hook's critical 'support' of American culture was hard to distinguish from unconditional acceptance." Hook, Lasch states, made a religion out of defense of the "free world" (p. 307).

Dwight MacDonald, says Lasch, was "originally an admirer of the Soviet Union," but he "abandoned Stalinism after the Moscow trials," went over to Trotskyism, and ultimately "abandoned Marxism altogether" (p. 324).

There is a kind of pathos in Mac Donald's later career. According to Lasch, "The atomic bombing of Hiroshima swept away whatever suspicions of benevolence still clung to the Allied cause," and for this reason MacDonald gave up politics entirely and wrote thereafter on less controversial subjects (pp. 325-329).

(It was the *United States*, not the Soviet Union, that bombed Hiroshima, but for some reason Lasch refers only to the "Allied cause.")

Norman Mailer, with whom *The New Radicalism* ends, is distinguished from the three other contemporaries by refusing to support either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. In his debate with Dwight MacDonald in 1952, in which MacDonald said, "I Choose

the West," Mailer declared, "I Cannot Chose" (p. 354). Lasch begins a lengthy psychological discussion of Mailer's ideas and actions with the words, "Norman Mailer had the bad luck to achieve success with his very first book [*The Naked and the Dead*]" (p. 337). This section will interest Mailer fans, but seems to me not strictly relevant to the book's central theme.

One of the "radical-liberals" discussed by Lasch in the last chapter is John F. Kennedy, and it is odd that the publishers failed to make a point of it in their jacket blurb. In an eight-page discussion of Kennedy and his New Frontier, Lasch makes some acute and perceptive judgments. "The cult of the Kennedys showed that culture had become practically synonymous with chic" (p. 311), Lasch writes. But while saying so he admits that "There was much to be said in praise of Kennedy," including the test-ban treaty, the speech at American University, the civil rights legislation. But American liberals went overboard in admiration of his

"style," his concert-going, and so on.

Finally, getting down to factual deductions about American culture and intellectuality, over which President Kennedy presided so gracefully, Lasch arrives at the conclusion that our technological revolution and our prolonged cold war had made both business and government "increasingly dependent on a vast apparatus of systemized data intelligible only to trained specialists; and the universities, accordingly, became themselves industries for the mass-production of experts" (p. 316).

Here, then, in a nutshell, was the final situation of the majority of "new radicals": they became "academic entrepreneurs" working for a cold-war government, quite indistinguishable from their counterparts in big business. "If the universities tended to function as a national resource, merging imperceptibly with industry and government, journalism tended to degenerate into public relations, advertising, and propaganda" (p. 317).

## Second Annual Socialist Scholars Conference

We have received an announcement of the Second Annual Socialist Scholars Conference, to be held on September 9-11 at the Hotel Commodore in New York. Starting on Friday evening and running through Sunday afternoon, the Conference offers a highly varied program including the following subjects: On Socialist Man; Components of Contemporary Revolutionary Movements; Libermanism and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; Realism and Literature; Poverty and Powerlessness; Critique of Baran and Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital*; Political Ideology of American Corporate Liberalism; The Crisis of the Comintern: Fascism and the Popular Front; Contemporary Imperialism; The Legacy of Negro Slavery: Rebellion or Accommodation?

The participants include a considerable number of well-known scholars of the most varied viewpoints, among them such individuals as Dr. Hubert Marcuse, Isaac Deutscher, C. Van Woodward, Eugene D. Genovese and Dr. Richard Cloward. Among the participants are also such contributors to *Political Affairs* as Herbert Aptheker, Victor Perlo and Philip Foner.

A regrettable weakness in the program is the absence of Negro scholars. We believe the program would be greatly enriched by the participation of such a Communist theoretician as James E. Jackson, or of such academic figures as Professor Eugene C. Holmes of Howard University or Oliver C. Cox of Lincoln University, or of a writer such as John O. Killens, to name but a few.

Nevertheless, we regard the Conference as a most important event. We are sure that like the first, it will prove to be a stimulating experience, and that our readers will find it well worth attending. Those interested are asked to write to Socialist Scholars Conference, Box 462, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

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