

'I TAKE A FRESH LOOK' (6)**AMERICA'S FUTURE**By **ALEXANDER BITTELMAN**

WHEN WE SEEK solutions to the new problems of ideology, policy and organization we are in fact looking for an answer to one big question—the future of America.

The answer to this question should therefore be the key to the solution of our new programmatic and political problems. This means it would also be the key to the way out of the present Party crisis.

To see the future, it is best to begin with the present. The decisive aspect of the present is the birth of the period of peaceful coexistence and competition.

How will the American people live, develop and progress in this new historical period? The answer will be found in the solution of a number of other problems: How can the American people help to usher in this period fully and completely? How can they help insure its stability and prevent backslidings into the "cold war" or into the immeasurable disasters of a new world war? How can they extract from this period all its potentialities for the nation's welfare and progress?

For Communists and socialist-minded Americans in general there is still another big question: How do we reach the stage of history from which the American people will begin the peaceful and constitutional transition to the socialist transformation of society?

THE FULL establishment and consolidation of the emerging period of peaceful coexistence and competition does not call for the abolition of capitalism in the U. S. What it does call for is a

consistent struggle by the American people to keep the monopolies in check. It calls for a struggle that would make it impossible for the American monopolies to sabotage effectively the full maturing of the period of coexistence, to hamper its free development or to cause backslidings and reversals.

To use the scientific terminology of Marxism-Leninism, the social and political nature of this struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist. This means that many classes and groups will be capable of taking part in this struggle, including sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. But it is safe to assume that the backbone and driving force of this struggle will be the American working class and its trade union movement.

It hardly needs to be argued here that the monopolies are the main danger to the full emergence and unfoldment of the period of peaceful coexistence and competition. They represent the economic base of imperialism which continually recreates the danger of war. The monopolies are the chief source and driving force of aggression abroad and reaction and exploitation at home. These findings of Lenin's analysis of imperialism remain incontestably true.

IN THIS emerging new period we shall, of course, meet with innumerable new forms of imperialist expansion and aggression. It has become increasingly more difficult and at times impossible for the monopolies to pursue their imperialist ambitions in the old way. The reasons are well known. The peoples of the so-called underdeveloped countries

will not stand for it; and in this they have the moral and political support of the socialist countries. The peoples of the capitalist countries are growing ever more reluctant to acquiesce, let alone support, the old-style imperialist adventures of their "own" monopolies.

Consequently we must expect the monopolies to develop a whole system of new methods and forms of imperialist expansion and exploitation, especially the resourceful and powerful monopolies of the U.S. The so-called Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East is a good example.

Undoubtedly, the question of new forms and methods of imperialist expansion will continue to cause serious differences and friction within the monopolies in the U. S. and between them and their rivals in other capitalist countries.

The American people will do well to make full use of these differences for the purpose of keeping the monopolies in check. But checked, they will have to be if the American people are to derive the full benefit of the establishment and consolidation of the new period of peaceful coexistence and competition.

It follows that what the American people need most at the present time is a democratic and non-monopoly **PROGRAM AND POLICY FOR THE PERIOD OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE.**

The basic elements for such a program would seem to be a course of non-imperialism and non-aggression abroad and a course of democracy and people's welfare at home.

ONE OF THE basic points of
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such a program must be to reconvert American economy to a full peace-time basis. The expenditure of 40 to 50 billion dollars a year on armaments and war preparations has become a danger not alone to world peace but also to the national economy of the U. S.

This requires cessation of the dangerous arms race and a policy of consistent reduction of armaments.

Here the American people feel themselves faced with a dilemma. They ardently want world peace, friendly intercourse with all nations. They desire a reduction in armaments and taxation. At the same time, they fear some of the possible economic consequences—recession, depression, crisis—which may follow a serious curtailment in armament production.

These fears are not altogether groundless. They may easily become realized if the monopolies are permitted to obstruct the expansion of the home market, which requires drastic and consistent increases in the purchas-

ing power of the masses of the people; and if the monopolies are allowed to thwart the opening of new foreign markets in the underdeveloped countries on the one hand and in the lands building Socialism, on the other.

It is generally recognized, though rarely mentioned with the required frankness, that one of America's fundamental and crucial problems has been for a long time the gaining of adequate and expanding markets—domestic and foreign—for the products of its expanding industries and agriculture. This is a national problem of first magnitude. There are many indications that this problem may become acute in industry and commerce as it already is in agriculture, even with the continuation of the present semi-arms economy. But with a policy of consistent curtailment of armaments production, the problem of expansion assumes unprecedented crucial importance for the national economy and the welfare of the American people.

(Tomorrow: The Problem of Markets)