



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

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300 Puerto Ricans

Locked-Out by Employer And Their Union

By JUNITA DIAZ

Three hundred Puerto Rican workers and their families had a bleak Christmas this year as a result of being locked out by the Plastic Ware Company, Bronx, N. Y., with the connivance of the leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Sparked by the unjust firing of Pablo Torres and Luis Arraiga, their elected spokesmen, and the continued refusal of the union leadership to fight for their just grievances, these three hundred workers decided to strike against BOTH THE EMPLOYER AND THE UNION!

This took place back in October. When the workers voted to return to the job, the company locked them out and the union leadership has refused to lift a finger in their defense!

Most of these workers have seven to eight years seniority. In the last few years they obtained a mere three cents an hour increase. At the same time they have been forced to pay \$3.75 per month as dues to a union that refused time and time again to conduct any struggle for the improvement of their wages, hours or working conditions.

In addition, the male workers have been forced to pay fifty cents into a fraudulent "maternity fund", from which the wives of the workers were disqualified under the pretext of their (the wives) not being employed by the Plastic Ware Company! Sick workers at the plant were denied benefits from the Unions Welfare Fund.

All sorts of do-gooders and opportunist politicians from Powell to Abrams, Chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination have jumped into the grievance, looking to make political hay out of the suffering of these doubly exploited workers. . . BUT THE WORKERS ARE STILL OUT ON THE STREET, their grievances unanswered, their jobs filled by scabs.

The story of these 300 workers is not new, or an isolated case of abuse against Puerto Ricans. Every time these workers have time and time again reported, makes it a practice not only to ignore the grievances of its Puerto Rican membership, but it also ignores and refuses to organize the hundreds of sweat shops where thousands of Puerto Ricans work.

When they organize a shop with Puerto Rican workers, they do so only WHEN IT IS NO LONGER AVOIDABLE and then proceed to ignore their working conditions and "beefs" against their employers. THEIR SOLE CONCERN IS THE COLLECTION OF DUES.

Thousands upon thousands of Puerto Rican workers in the needle trade industries daily protest against the treatment accorded them by the chauvinistic practices of the ILGWU leadership.

The Puerto Rican workers, members of the ILGWU, have been and are being victimized by both the jobbers and the trade union bureaucrats. Nor is this experience of the Puerto Rican workers limited to the ILGWU and the garment industry.

Only last year, George Meany, was forced to intervene in the Jewelry Workers Union Locals 422 and 222 when the abuses against the Puerto Rican workers in those locals by the local leadership became a notorious scandal.

The trade union movement will never reach its full strength while the corrupt union leadership is permitted to carry out such chauvinistic and abusive practices.

To the extent that the Negro, Puerto Rican workers and members of other minorities are

National Plenum of P. O. C.:

Rally the Working Class for Peace; Six-Hour Day; Negro Liberation

In New York on Thanksgiving week-end, the National Committee of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, gathered in its first plenum.

Basing itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, the plenum addressed itself to the situation facing the working class, and to a review of its progress in laying the groundwork for the reconstitution of a real party of struggle.

Present were representatives of P.O.C. committee in Chicago, Cleveland, Eastern and Central Pennsylvania and six local organizations in N. Y. City. Observers from the Communist Party New Jersey and 2 former members of the now defunct CP of Puerto Rico, were also present, as invited guests.

The political report was delivered by Joe Dougher of Philadelphia who is National Chairman of the P.O.C. The report stressed that in the main the period of inner-party struggle was being concluded, and that as POC committees were consolidated in the various districts, they would have to start tackling the issues before the working class as a whole. The work of our committees would now point in the direction of mass struggle, and the strengthening of our connections and influence with the rank and file membership of the old Communist Party, and ex-Party members who are disgusted with the revisionist line of the leadership.

Comrade Dougher exposed the falsity of bourgeois propaganda that the "recession" is about over and pointed to the continued millions of unemployed, the almost complete failure of resumption of capital goods production, and to the artificial injection of huge increases (more than \$15 billion) in Government spending on armaments and missiles to cover up the disastrous drop of national production. As one delegate remarked, the true test of any program to fight the depression is "whether that program attacks the profits of capital, in order to shift the burden of the crisis from the workers to the capitalists". Another delegate reminded the gathering that under the general crisis of capitalism, there could be no "recovery" from the inevitable cyclical crisis of the system except by a long process of deterioration of capital equipment, many years, or a wholesale destruction of that equipment by the holocaust of War.

The report exposed the failure of the trade-union bureaucracy, and the responsibility of the C.P. leadership in condoning that failure to organize the more than 40 million unorganized workers in our country, including many Negro, Puerto Rican, and foreign-born workers in small shops and fringe industries.

He pointed out that these oppressed minorities also constitute a sizable number of the lower paid sections of workers in the mass production industries, and advocated that, wherever the opportunity presents itself, steps be taken to form rank and file committee of workers to organize

(Continued on page 2)

Notice

A change in date of Publication of the Vanguard becomes effective this issue. Henceforth we shall publish at the beginning of the month. All subscriptions will be extended, accordingly.

Our scheduled issue for December, which would normally appear during the last week of the month — has been dated Jan.

guaranteed their full rights as members of the trade union movement, to that extent is the full strength and cohesiveness of the labor movement guaranteed.

We, of the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, pledge to support them in their fight for the jobs from which they have been locked out. We promise to support them in their struggle for equality in the ranks of labor. We promise to join them in their fight against the bosses and the corrupt misleaders of labor.

ents, with 19 percent of the popular vote, won 23 percent of the seats. The Communists, who had 20.1 percent of the popular vote, elected only 2.1 percent of the Deputies. The Socialists, whose popular vote constituted 15.4 percent of the total, garnered 8.6 percent of the seats."

And there we have it. This is how the will of the French people is being circumvented in the new French Parliament. Kindly note, oh wise men of revision, who call yourselves U. S. Communist Party leaders, the peaceful parliamentary transition to Socialism that you advocate is, in the last analysis, dependent upon our American ruling class (and their reactionary allies).

No ruling class in history has ever surrendered political power voluntarily when the state apparatus for suppressing the will of the majority was at their command. (Be it armed forces or rigged parliamentary procedure).

The question of winning state power was, is, and will be the necessary first step in the transition to socialism, in the United States via the dictatorship of the majority of the working class and farm population.

By their political experiences, the American working class and their allies, under the leadership of a truly Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, must and will help move themselves, and all mankind into an era of peace, progress and security.

Free America's Political Prisoners!

"Capitalists are not humane", so wrote Maxim Gorky in his article on capitalist terror in America. This must be kept in mind by all who strive to free G.I. Green and Henry Winston today.

No plea to the better nature of the cold-blooded rogues who murdered Sacco, Vanzetti and Rosenbergs means anything. Many prominent persons "pledged" for Smith Act victims and for other political prisoners — but this was an integral part of their "carrot and club" policy. However, it was only when the capitalist class saw nothing to fear in the CPUSA, when they saw it liquidate itself and set itself on the path of "class collaboration", that the prosecutions ceased; and this is the only reason that they ceased.

Green and Winston are still in jail today, the hostages of the bourgeoisie. Through them, the bourgeoisie keep a club over the heads of the old party leaders, and daily it reminds them of what can happen to them if they stray back onto the road of class struggle.

The well meaning pleas of clergymen will not free these men; the capitalist class cannot be swayed by pleas, tears or by reminders of the fact that they were good fathers and husbands. Only when the working class is made aware of the facts and is mobilized to fight for the freedom of all political prisoners will they go free.

This the old party leaders,

dedicated to a policy of class collaboration will not do, and this is the only way that these men can be liberated.

This must not be allowed to happen! The working class must be made aware of and mobilized to free all political prisoners. Tom Mooney was freed by the actions of the working class — no "hostage" system kept the workers from freeing him when they realized that it was for themselves they fought when they fought for Tom. All through the history of class struggle, political prisoners have been freed only when the working class has risen to their defence.

Bob Minor writing in the "Worker" in 1939, when Mooney was freed, said "They said it couldn't be done. We knew it could. We know that the working class, fusing around itself the great democratic movement of the American people can do all things."

This is the road and the only road to the freeing of Green, Winston and the other political prisoners — Sobel, the Puerto Rican nationalists and the anti-war pacifists.

Craven pleas for mercy and justice from the legal stooges of the capitalist class will not free anyone.

We of the P. O. C. do all we can to mobilize the American working class to defend and free ALL political prisoners of imperialism.

Joe Young

The Gaullist Farce!

By PRUDENCE PORTER

On page 1 of the New York Times, December 1, 1958, we read "France chose" (our emphasis), "an overwhelming Gaullist National Assembly, heavily weighted toward the right, in the election of the First Parliament of the Fifth Republic."

When one reads "France chose" (our emphasis), one would suppose that the French people chose; but a couple of paragraphs further we read "Although the Communists remained the second biggest party in terms of the popular vote" (our emphasis), their parliamentary strength shrank from 149 seats in the last Assembly to 10."

You don't have to be an intellectual giant to understand that "popular vote" represents the will of the people of France, and "France chose" represents the interest of the French ruling class.

In two more paragraphs, continued on page 6 of the Times, we read, "The shape of the new Chamber was determined by the majority electoral system, employed this year for the first time since 1936. In all the post-war elections, the parties have been represented in Parliament approximately in proportion to their shares of the popular vote under a system of proportional representation and multinomial departmental lists."

"The Union of the New Republic, with an indicated 26.3 percent of the popular vote, won 40 percent of the seats. The Independ-

"Lesson-of-the-Month"

Political Economy:

"Capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the laborer, unless under compulsion from society. To the outcry as to the physical and mental degradation, the premature death, the torture of overwork, it answers: Ought these to trouble us since they increase our profits?" (From Section 5, Chapter X, Vol. I, Capital, by Karl Marx.)

A New York Times account of the inquiry made by the State of West Virginia following the recent mine explosion. An explosion which took 2 miners' lives:

"A union member of a joint company-union safety committee hurled serious accusations against the mine's operators from the witness chair.

"What is management's attitude toward suggestions the safety committee makes?" Frank Shelley, miner and committee chairman, was asked.

"They cooperate on the small ones," he declared, "but if the suggestion is going to keep them from getting a car of coal, they usually won't go with us."

In the Struggle

By A. MARINO

Publishing a Communist Newspaper

Many working men and women have welcomed the appearance of "Vanguard". From the cities and towns that make up industrial America we have received words of encouragement.

The story of the effort that goes into publishing "Vanguard" is a courageous one. Here is a group of Communists unrecognized and hard timed by most, with no professional staff, and with no money putting out a newspaper that champions the interests of the working class.

Its editorial board like the Provisional Organizing Committee, is composed of people who all work for a living.

In the small but growing circles of our movement, "Vanguard" is the apple of our eye. Our comrades throughout the nation are putting it to good use as the organizer of the movement. They are distributing it to workers, taking it on visits to rank and file communists and mailing it to hundreds of contacts.

Almost a dozen newstands in New York have begun to sell "Vanguard". Every comrade is urged to check his local newstand as well as to handle a minimum number of papers personally.

In the old Party, many rank and filers are both waiting and hoping: Waiting to see what is going to be our fate; and hoping that this movement will usher in the long awaited "housecleaning". Yet their hopes depend not on waiting, but on getting into the fight to preserve the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the United States.

From the corner of the middle class progressives one can almost hear a pin drop, as they administer the silent treatment to the Provisional Organizing Committee and its publication "Vanguard". We can well understand their apprehension. In the absence of a vanguard Communist Party, these people have united promiscuously with all sorts of political fakers and anti-working class elements. They have compromised the interests not only of the working class, but of their own strata as well. Soon or later they will have to realize this and radically alter course or go the way of all opportunist flesh.

No small part of our growing pains has been the argument of form versus content. Quite a few sharpshooters who were dead set against us in the first place are

now greatly "concerned" that we should be an "attractive and well written publication". But then of course our membership has undergone such extensive bouts with the "principle - versus - tactics" question that it can't help but note the striking similarity of both arguments.

We shall endeavor to make the Vanguard the most attractive newspaper possible, but we know that our real attraction is going to be what we have to say and how well we defend and propagate Marxist-Leninist principles.

Among certain "left" publications, the slick format has become a gimmick with which to peddle their pseudo-Marxism. But these fancy wrappings cannot hide their lack of working-class orientation — their ideological sell-outs.

To the numerous prophets of gloom who inhabit left progressive circles, and who are always bemoaning the lack of money, talent, and glory — to those who cry about the difficulties of life for the "left" in America and the impossibility of it all — Vanguard replies in clear red tones: "Hell, we are doing it on conviction and enthusiasm!"

P. O. C. National Plenum Rally the Working Class

(Continued from page 1)

these shops. He suggested that similar steps be not overlooked wherever the unemployed, the Negro people, or other groups react against the effects of the economic crisis, discrimination, or the war policies of U. S. imperialism.

He pointed out, where the working people understood an issue clearly, such as in the elections where the "right-to-work" laws were overwhelming defeated, that they were beginning to evolve the elements of independent working class political struggle. It is the job of a vanguard party to bring this understanding to a higher level on many other issues, such as the real causes of the depression, the responsibility of U. S. imperialists for the danger of war and the suppression of the national liberation struggle of the Negro people of the U. S. and those of the Latin-American and other colonial peoples. In this connection, he outlined the role of a developing Marxist-Leninist vanguard helping to organize and initiate rank and file struggles to extended unemployment insurance, really adequate public assistance for the aged and dependent children, for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, and for unrestricted trade relations with all countries, including the socialist countries. He demanded that this struggle include the fight for better housing, reasonable rents, reduction of taxes on incomes less than \$5,000, and par-

ticularly the struggle (now forgotten by the trade union leadership) for the Six-Hour Day without a reduction in weekly pay.

Without a development of this struggle, as the American people face the increased sharpness of the attacks by the monopolist bourgeoisie, the danger of the outbreak of an imperialist war greatly increases. While the road to war and fascism for the U. S. imperialists is made very difficult by the Socialist countries and the peace movement of the world's peoples, we can have no assurance against these catastrophes except through the road of struggle, led by a vanguard party, which only the P.O.C. is seriously moving to build in our country.

In the discussion of this report, delegates and observers reported from Chicago, Cleveland, Central and Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and N. Y. They told of a strike of 300 unorganized Puerto Rican women in a shop in the Bronx, of the two million votes against the right-to-work law in Ohio (as compared with only 600,000 organized workers in the state), of resistance to leadership sell-outs by organized workers in auto shops in Detroit and elsewhere.

It was evident, in the discussion and unanimous vote of approval of the report, that the National Committee will move to combine the struggle for consolidation of the P.O.C. and building a Marxist-Leninist vanguard, with increasing participation in the new opportunities for mass struggle.

Rejecting "advice" that all ideological struggle be resolved in programs of "action" only, the N. C. unanimously approved an organizational report by A. Marino. Goals were projected for a 60 percent increase in membership within three months; 500 new subs for our monthly organ, THE VANGUARD; definite financial goals to ensure the resources for organizing; and the continuation of our intensive educational program, combining the classics of Marxism-Leninism with our own experiences and literature, to ensure the fullest understanding and most effective struggle on the part of all our members for the sharpening class struggle to come.

With sober enthusiasm, without illusions as to the rebirth of a long-dead "New Deal" era, and determined to fight against isolation from the basic struggles of the American workers, the plenum adjourned with a new determination to fight revisionism and build a reconstituted Marxist-Leninist Communist party of the American working class.

Letters to Editor

No Room Left

Editor:

The old tired group of Titoites calling themselves the C.P. U.S.A. has no place in its ranks in the struggle for Marxism-Leninism. We two young people, one a club chairman and one a club press director in an upper west side CP club have had this lesson proven to them.

County commendations for top canvassing in the Flynn campaign, sparkplugs in the local peace org., 37 tickets sold to May Day rally, organizer of Worker routes in area — all this meant nothing when the mad hatters of 26th street (DAVIS, DENNIS, THOMPSON) cried "off with their heads."

Gathering together a motley crew of inactive, aspirant pie cards and ex-Gates followers the official leadership proceeded to give us the business. We two were suspended at a meeting we were not present at given 2 days notice of trial and denied adequate time to speak at this "lynch" session.

Refusing to tolerate this travesty on justice and fully convinced of the class collaborationist line of the old party, we walked out.

When we left we said, "we leave this group dominated by revisionists, opportunists and agents of the bourgeoisie, to join with those who with a correct line of struggle and unwavering devotion to Marxism-Leninism, will build a real C. P. This we are sure the P.O.C. is. Proudly and humbly we join with it now!"

Comradely,
L. & A.

Interested Party

Dear Editor:

I have been wanting to write to you for many weeks now. I got copies of the first three issues of your paper on a newsstand on 42nd St. They seemed very interesting. I dropped out shortly before the convention. At about the time that the state committee was so eager to junk the Party. I felt that if almost

everyone on the state committee didn't need the Party neither did I. Now that Gates, Stein, Blake, etc., have left, I was rather hoping that the Party would get back on the stick. But still nothing service to the Party statement, but nothing else. The Chinese comrades have called it a program for the international movement.

I would like to get your paper. I am enclosing \$1.00 for a sub. Would you also please send me the documents listed in issue No. 1. "For A Revolutionary Position On The Negro Question", "Two Roads", "Against Opportunism", and "Convention Reports". I would also like to get any other literature that you have published.

Since leaving the Party, I have continued to conduct a study group with some young people. Two of them were in the L. Y. L. but the other 5 were not. One is infected with a touch of Trotskyism, but I think that we can take care of that. Do you have any literature on Trotskyism and on the Jewish question which is also something of a problem?

Thank you in advance. Your
for peace and Socialism.
Brooklyn, NY

For a Housecleaning

Dear Sir:

Please enroll W. S. for a one-year sub. to VANGUARD. I enclose his dollar. He feels quite strongly about the "alienated" funds, and has much right to feel so. We want to see those charges in print: its time to "clean house." He's an "Old Reliable."

There is something queer about the electrical conditions affecting radio short-wave broadcasting this last week. I have been unable to hear Moscow at all, but Radio Peking, which is much further away, is coming in so strongly (just blasting my ears) that it must be making Dulles et al. acutely unhappy.

Sincere best wishes from C.D.

A Critical Note

The Editors

The VANGUARD

Dear Comrades:

The material in the first issue of the Vanguard, particularly the Declaration, was good. Yet in reading it one gets an uncomfortable feeling of unevenness, of lopsidedness. It isn't so much what is there, but what is not there. The very absence of my discussion of, any reference to, immediate, concrete problems facing the working class gives the paper a certain tone of unreality.

Granted, not everything can be done in a two-way conference, and there are sharp limits to what can be included in a four-page paper—or even a bigger one. Still, what is done and discussed at the conference and what does get published in the paper is probably a pretty good indication of the thinking and activities—or lack of them—of the group as a whole.

How, after all, will the Communist Party be rebuilt? What is the first, the immediate job, both of Party organization and individual Communists? What is the foundation from which we can approach old members, ex-members, expelled members, those just irritated and disgusted, as well as recruit new people? The foundation is activity—doing something on immediate problems. Theory, program, are important, certainly, but first of all as guides to action!...

Signed
B.H. N.Y.

Editors Reply

Thank you for your letter. We can appreciate the necessity for what you call doing something on immediate problems confronting the working class. Our one difference seems to be who is going to do it! Without an organized vanguard motion of itself alone is wasted. Read our main story on the Plenum and let us know what you think of our modest program.

Disengage!

Dear Editor:

So many things lead to disengagement. Following our "Old" Party leadership has adopted, that it is difficult to spell them all out now.

Here is a brief outline that might spell DISENGAGEMENT for some of us

- D direct your fire at the Main enemy (Amer. Imp.)
- I insist on Collective (Socialist World) Leadership
- S support National Liberation and Working Class Movement
- E expose revisionism, dogmatism etc...
- N nurture honest Allies
- G grasp revolutionary Marxist theory
- A attach that theory to practice
- G go forward in the Vanguard enter the World Arena of Struggle For Peace and And Be Disengaged.

From Revisionism—

Fred
Brooklyn

In 1865 Marx's daughters Laura and Jenny asked their father to answer some questions. The Confessions consist of his replies:

CONFESSIONS

Your favorite virtue	Simplicity
Your favourite virtue in man	Strength
Your favourite virtue in woman	Weakness
Your chief characteristic	Singleness of purpose
Your idea of happiness	To fight
Your idea of misery	Submission
The vice you excuse most	Gullibility
The vice you detest most	Servility
Your aversion	Martin Tupper
Favourite occupation	Bookworming
Poet	Shakespeare, Aeschylus, Goethe
Prose writer	Diderot
Hero	Spartacus, Kepler
Heroine	Grethen
Flower	Daphne
Colour	Red
Name	Laura, Jenny
Dish	Fish
Favourite Maxim	Nihil humani a me alienum puto (Nothing human is alien to me)
Favourite Motte	De omnibus dubitandum (Doubt everything)

From Soviet-Literature

New York P. O. C. Holds Open Forum

A crowded meeting hall, a consistent Marxist-Leninist line and an expose of the recent election scenes marked the first public meeting of the New York Provisional Organizing Committee.

Though there had been only scant advertising and it was a bitter cold night — close to 100 people packed a hall at the Central Plaza Annex, Friday, Dec. 12th to hear A. Marino, editor of the Vanguard and H. Penn, Labor Secretary of the P. O. C. give their views of the recent elections.

Both Penn and Marino pointed out that the Democratic and Republican parties were not the parties of working class; and that the Democratic victory did not mean that a new, New Deal era was in the making, as the opportunist leaders of the C. P. here said. Both speakers pointed out that the two parties never raised the vital issues of the day — Peace, Unemployment, Negro rights etc. They pointed out that the American working class was betrayed by both parties and that any slogan of the Democratic party as the least preferred party of capitalism was untrue and was misleading the working class.

The speakers showed that since the elections, the victorious Democratic party has backtracked on even the elemental demands it raised, and though it has an overwhelming majority, speaks of itself as willing but unable to fulfill this mandate. The important battle around Taft-Hartley and the filibuster rule 22 are being betrayed by the Democrats

once more.

The overwhelming defeat of the right-to-work laws was ascribed to the spontaneous action of the working class against their class enemies' desire to cripple them, but Penn pointed out, "without a vanguard party this movement of the workers will be lost."

The Independent-Socialist ticket in New York was characterized as a Trotskyite-petit-bourgeois grouping for independent political action, and non-reliance on the Democratic Party was termed of vital necessity. The effect of the Soviet Union and World Socialism on the American scene was constantly stressed by the speakers.

After the speeches a question period ensued, at which time many in the audience, unaware up until this period of the existence of the P. O. C., stressed their great hopes for the success of the organization. After the question period several new recruits were obtained. Contributions totaling \$30 were made towards the work of the P.O.C. in its efforts to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party and \$20 worth of our literature was sold.

This was a small but auspicious beginning of public activity by the P. O. C.

Jim Bary

World Marxist Review — Journal for Peace and Socialism

From Communist International to For a Lasting Peace, to this new World Marxist Review: — How long has it been — 20, 30, 40 years? What a triumphant road these magazines have charted. A road with signposts saying — 5 year plans — Dimitroff at Leipzig — Spain and La Passolonia — Stalingrand and Yenan — the people standing guard in the streets of Czechoslovakia, backward Russia building into a land of Sputniks, and soon surpassing the U.S. (as is now true in many fields). A road marked with the blood and hearts of many who labored and died, but also the many who lived and breathed for the first time the clear fresh air of a country really of, by, and for the people — A country of Socialism. A road which has had its defeats and its world-shattering results — but who but the Marxist-Leninists, (and only the most correct amongst them) could have foreseen such a world as we have today.

This new journal is in itself a sign of growth, open the pages and see — see Li Fu-Chun write of the Main Problems of Socialist Construction in China. Read that that great nation which only 20 short years ago was a vassal of Imperialism, and when all those who snorted and laughed at the idea of a Socialist China, no less a Socialist Czechoslova-

kia, a Socialist Bulgaria, or of any of the other once backward and down-trodden peoples who are now building a new world. A world without capitalists, crime, corruption or exploitation of man by man.

This important journal marks the new paths being beaten by these and by the others; These who have not succeeded but who, as the Chinese and Soviets before them, surely will.

Living here in this country of Imperialism, some become cynical and lose hope, become biased and nihilistic; but read these issues and see the growth of the great world Communist movements and you see what a distorted mirror we have been gazing in.

This journal encompasses the best of World Marxist thought besides detailed analysis of the world C.P.'s, there are here tremendous articles dealing with both the problems of building Socialism and building for Socialism.

From Novotny of Czechoslovakia and his 'For the Triumph of Peace and Socialism (is not one part of the other?) to Khalid Mohy Ed-Din 'No More Colonialism for the Arab Lands, we have Socialism standing like a strong oak and growing, growing, growing — (as it will grow here too).

World Marxist Review is also

a magazine that dedicates itself to propagating the ideas of the 12 Party declaration, and will also deal with the new problems that confront Marxist-Leninist thought and will as its paramount duty fight Revisionism, the main danger to the Communist movement today. I am sure no effort by all the party hacks of the U.S. to confuse the international movement on their lack of endorsement of the 12 Party declaration and the true nature of the revisionist line that dominates the old party, will long confuse this journal or the international movement, and all Marxist-Leninists will see the factual truth of the matter.

Contrary to the revisionist distortion of reality the face of the world is changing today — changing as Lenin, Marx, and Engels foresaw it.

No symphonies of nonsense by any parties can change this — neither Dulles nor Dennis the mad Hatters of our American scene can understand this. Marxist-Leninists alone have done so, (poor Jimmy Forrestal saw this and it drove him mad) — this publication will mark the victories and struggles of all of mankind led by the Communists, Best fighters today for Peace and Socialism.

The spectre that Marx and Engels and their heroic band

(Continued on page 4)

In Refutation of Modern Revisionism's Reactionary Theory of the State

(Continued from November issue)

By WANG CHIA-HSIANG

The following article appeared in the June 16 issue of "Hongqi" (Red Flag). This article concludes our series.

The Yugoslav revisionists fanatically reject Lenin's doctrine on Party building and do their utmost to attack the Communist Parties of the socialist countries; yet they still call themselves communists to parade before and deceive people. What impudence!

Externally, the leading group in Yugoslavia follows a foreign policy of praising the United States and slandering the Soviet Union which suits the needs of the imperialists; internally, it follows a policy of dispensing with the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, undermining the economic foundations of socialism and allowing capitalist relations and the American way of life to overrun the country freely. These are clear indications of the degeneration and betrayal on the part of the leading group in Yugoslavia. In this way, an irreconcilable contradiction arises between this leading group and the Yugoslav people. The leading group in Yugoslavia has neither the desire nor the courage to take down their signboard of "socialists" and "communists" altogether; for if they did, they would encounter strong opposition from the Yugoslav people, their usefulness as saboteurs of the socialist camp would come to an end and they would no longer receive rewards from the U.S. imperialists. This is why they go on, as the Chinese saying puts it, selling dog's meat under a sheep's head, trying to get rewards from the imperialists while endeavouring to hoodwink the people at home and smooth away their degeneration and betrayal. This is also why they have patched up many Marxist phrases into their hocus-focus theory of the "withering away of the state."

This out-and-out revisionist

theory of the withering away of the state argues that it is necessary for the role of the state

under proletarian dictatorship to wither away in all fields of social life; but in actual fact, it aims to "wither away" the function of the socialist state in the exercise of dictatorship over the class enemy, the system of democratic centralism among the people, the role of the state in managing the socialist economy, and the leading role of the Communist Party in the state. In short, what they hope to wither away is socialism and communism. In their opinion, if the socialist countries fail to do this, it means "pragmatic revision" in the theory of the withering away of the state, and will give rise to "manifestations of bureaucratic-statist tendencies" and "fetter the development of social and economic factors." But, if the socialist countries really do as they suggest, it will simply facilitate the imperialist sabotage and subversive activities against the socialist countries, it will simply lead to a repetition of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary and the restoration of capitalism. This indeed is the real motive behind the efforts by the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia to sell abroad the theory of the "withering away of the state."

It is reasonable to ask how this out-and-out anti-Marxist theory of the "withering away of the state" is applied inside Yugoslavia. There, the main apparatus of the state — the police, the law courts, the armed forces and the other punitive organs — so far from being weakened and withered away, are being greatly strengthened. As the Yugoslav leading group wants to maintain and consolidate its dictatorial rule it is using the state apparatus to oppress those in opposition. Last year, more than thirty thousand Yugoslav workers (constituting 4.3 percent of all the workers in the country) were victimized and expelled for criticizing the leadership. Reuter reported recently that mass arrests are being made in Yugoslavia of people opposed to the reaction-

ary policies of the leading group. At the same time the leading group is trying to induce the

people with such stuff as "social self-government" and "workers' self-government," falsely claiming that the state is in the course of "withering away." In fact, its perverted measures have driven the socialist cause of the Yugoslav people to the dangerous brink of "withering away." For home consumption, the modern revisionists' theory of the "withering away of the state" is nothing but a fig-leaf to cover up their degeneration and betrayal.

We Chinese Communists, like other Marxists throughout the world, genuinely advocate the theory of the withering away of the state. Basing himself on Marxist-Leninist theory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said that the conditions for the withering away of the state are, internally, the elimination of classes and class influence and, externally, the elimination of the imperialist system. As the internal class struggle grows gradually weaker until it finally dies out, the suppressive function of the state will naturally diminish and move in the direction of withering away. This is a long-term, natural course of development. At the same time, the external conditions should not be overlooked; moreover, external and internal conditions act on each other. Lenin said:

"The economic basis for the complete withering away of the state is such a high stage of development of communism that the antithesis between mental and physical labour disappears when there, consequently, disappears one of the principal sources of modern social inequality — a source, moreover, which cannot on any account be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists." (Lenin: The State and Revolution) Therefore, the duration of the process during which the state withers away "depends upon the rapidity of development of the higher phase of commun-

ism." (Ibid.) There is nothing in common between the Marxist theory of the withering away of the state and the reactionary fallacy of the Yugoslav revisionists concerning the withering away of the state.

While harping on their so-called theory of the "withering away of the state," the Yugoslav revisionists centre their attack on Stalin by means of every venomous invective at their disposal. They vilify Stalin for making a "pragmatic revision" in the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and turning the Marxist-Leninist theory of the withering away of the state into the thesis that the state "does not wither away, but keeps strengthening in all fields of social life." The rich experience of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party in proletarian dictatorship and in building the socialist state is of world significance. Stalin was entirely correct in setting forth the functions of the state in regard to suppression, economic management and the education of the small producers, and also in saying that the withering away of the state will begin with the natural and gradual withering away of the function of suppression, while the economic function will go on as a social function. As the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has pointed out, he was mistaken on some particular aspects of the question of the state, yet Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, a staunch, indomitable fighter in the struggles against the enemy. The modern revisionists of Yugoslavia, who have become traitors to the working class, are utterly incapable of making a fair and just appraisal of Stalin. They make the calumny that a so-called "rule of one man" was practised in the Soviet Union. To this we may answer in Lenin's words: "To contrast, in general, dictatorship of the masses to dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculously absurd and stupid. What is particularly curious is that the slogan: 'Down with the leaders!' who talk unnatural stuff and nonsense." (Lenin: "Left-Wing" Communism, An

Infantile Disorder) The new revisionist theory of the state is no more than a new Bernstein who has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and capitulated to U.S. imperialism.

From what has been said above, it is clear that the fallacies of the Yugoslav revisionists concerning the nature of the bourgeois state, the transition from capitalism to socialism, the nature and functions of the socialist state and the "withering away" of the state are out-and-out reactionary. We must resolutely smash this revisionism in order to defend the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

* Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932).

BOOK REVIEW

Khrushchev speaks. Foreign Languages Publishing House — 335 pp. \$1.50.

Here are N. K. Khrushchev's thoughts on many world questions in 39 interviews and speeches during 1957. Included are the famous letters to Bertrand Russell and the interview with Hearst.

In the interview with Turner Catledge of the N.Y. Times, he speaks of the "fabricated" 20th Congress text put out by Allen Dulles, of an evaluation of Stalin and of pseudo-communists.

One of the main faults of the American left has been that too often they have been willing to accept the views of World Marxist leaders such as Khrushchev from such tainted sources as the Times (which prints all the news it sees fit to print). This book of Khrushchev's speeches and statements will do much to clear up the misconceptions many have, and it would do good for all to read it.

L. B.

Editor's Note:

The above mentioned book is available through the Publishers agents in the USA. Four Centuries Bookshop on Broadway and 12th St. in N.Y. or Imported Publications, 4 West 16th St., NYC.

The National Guardians' "New Look"

By IZZIE FARBBER

The history of the left-wing in the United States is replete with new, "original", "native-born" theories on the problem of how to bring about socialism. Every new moon brings forth another "American" plan of how to bring about a transference of political power: to the hands of "honest" and "decent" citizens who will thereupon mete out "justice" and create for ALL the people those high standards of living which the country's resources could provide under a system other than capitalism.

Characteristically, these new prophets inevitably come to the conclusion that Marxism-Leninism and its scientific methods are "unsuitable" for American conditions. Living in the age of Marx and Engels, their brilliant scientific work fully affirmed in life by the events of 1848 and 1871, our Populists and Single-Taxers went off into the political swamps of "free silver" and land tax schemes, and ended up in the hands of racist demagogues such as Tom Watson.

In the days of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, of Mao Tse-tung and the nine-year "miracle" of socialist growth in China, our present-day "theorists" continuously find themselves up the blind alleys of "exceptionalism", "progressive capitalism", and (revisionist) "reevaluations of Marxist "theory" (see Eugene Dennis' theses of April, 1956). One can understand historically, how some people of the last two decades of the 1800's could slip into these utopian schemes. This being the "Gilded Age" of the wild growth of capitalism in our country, as each petty-bourgeois

scrambled out of the pit of the last crisis, he could again set his eye on the star of a new "future" of gold, a new vision of fortune from railroads, mines or other speculation, examples of which surrounded him in the lurid tales of the times.

As each crisis came, as each new disaster fell upon him however; as more and more he came into contact with the socialist exiles from Europe's struggles, quite a few of our American intellectuals and petty-bourgeois began to look to socialism as a way out. (For example, William Dean Howells, editor of the New York Tribune, who published articles and correspondence from Karl Marx for a number of years prior to Marx's death in 1883.) The turn of the century saw the establishment of first the Socialist Labor Party and then the Socialist Party. Though these Socialists were far removed from a real understanding of scientific Marxist theory, nevertheless socialism became a real force among the crisis-ridden workers of the United States. Only the revisionist reformism of Eduard Bernstein and the Second International, led by the Hilquits and Cahans in the U. S., afforded the capitalists of our country the shield which prevented a basic Marxist advance in the

struggles of the American workers. Playing a secondary role of diversion from this struggle (and still playing the same if much diminished role to-day) was the iron-bound sectarianism and "pure" socialism of Daniel DeLeon and his followers.

The October revolution of 1917, and the emergence of socialism as a world-wide force under the leadership of Lenin and his successors, knelled the death of all pseudo-socialist gropings in the United States — the De-Leonites (Socialist Labor Party), the Love stonites, the Socialists and Social-Democratic Parties, the numerous Trotskyite splinters, etc. Their bodies remain only as reservoirs of poison from which periodic injections are prepared to kill or maim new aspiring movements of the American working-class. They linger on (encouraged, and often secretly financed by the bourgeoisie) for this purpose alone. The task of building a Marxist-Leninist vanguard, armed with Marxist-Leninist science, based on the working class and sharply involved in its struggle and carrying forward the banners of the dictatorship of the proletariat and international proletarian solidarity, remained to be completed.

Thirty-nine years ago, the Communist Party of the U. S. was founded for this purpose. Today, its leadership rests in the hands of a group of more or less open Titoite revisionists, as the Chinese Communist call them, the "new" revisionists. Instead of being based on the working class, it consists primarily of a group of petty-bourgeois intellectuals; instead of performing the function of a vanguard, it persistently

tails behind other bourgeois intellectuals, the leaders of the NAACP, the capitalist labor lieutenants of the AFL-CIO, and the politicians of the Democratic Party. The lowest paid of the 17,000,000 organized workers, the almost 50,000,000 unorganized workers, among whom will be found the great majority of the Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and other Latin-American and foreign-born workers, the millions of Negro and white sharecroppers and agricultural workers in the South and on the factory-farms of the Mid-west and Far-West these attract no activity or even attention from the CP bureaucrats.

However many times Ben Davis calls for "independent labor political action" and a "Negro-Labor alliance", neither an independent labor party nor socialism lies at the end of this road of neglect and demagoguery. No matter how often the claim is made to be the "true" bearer of Marxism-Leninism, to be the officially recognized Communist Party abroad, the failure to enter this arena of struggle, the collaboration instead with open or concealed revisionists, the Dennises, the Winters, the Morris Schappes, the Al Richmonds and Mickey Limas, unmistakably places the stamp of political bankruptcy on the present leadership of the CPUSA. And so does Ben Davis' ill-concealed efforts to promote a "deal" with the Soviet haters of the so-called "independent" Liberal Party, and his all but total capitulation to Adam Clayton Powell's anticolonial-liberalist politics in the last election.

Said Dav's (The Worker June 1, 1958) "The most effective arena for independent political action . . . is the struggle around Adam Powell in all its enormous significance . . ." Powell's prompt compromise with imperialists Tammany Hall after election is sufficient comment on Davis' prognostication. Only slightly less shameful were the cheers

and celebrations by the Communists who participated in this "victory".

Dimitroff made it clear at the VII World Congress: neither independent labor parties (the United Front) nor anti-imperialist struggle (the Peoples Front) can be built on the basis of anti-Communism nor anti-Sovietism. Today, it becomes a truism that the national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples (and this includes those of the Negro people in the U. S.) can attain success only in alliance with the socialist countries. The defeat of Hitler fascism, the victory of socialism of a billion people on a third of the world's surface, the hundreds of millions more who are riding themselves of the incubus of imperialism to the extent that they rely on the Socialist countries and on an alliance with the Communists, truly testify to the basic validity of Dimitroff's thesis.

However, there are other places in our country where the Dimitroff lesson has yet to sink home. The latest instance is in the grouping of "liberal and democratic socialists" around the weekly paper, THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Rejecting the CP opportunism of tailing behind the Democratic Party and Liberals, they promptly fell into the other trap, of letting themselves be tarred with the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist stick of the Trotskyites.

Undoubtedly, among the aggregation of Lamonts, McManuses, Aaronsons and Abrams', there are many honest people, genuinely interested in the "welfare" of the workers and oppressed masses. This concern has expressed itself many times in notable contributions towards exposing the ruthlessness and greed of American capitalism and imperialism. One recalls such vividly descriptive articles exposing the shame of U. S. imperialism for the conditions in El Fanquito in San Juan, P. R., for the unmentionable slums of Baghdad, Iraq, for the expose' of conditions in Harlem in New York. One recalls the energy and sincerity of the struggles waged for the Trenton Six, and the courageous initiative, where others remained silent, of the struggles for the lives of the Rosenbergs.

Such groupings constitute nothing new in the history of the working class movement. Some excerpts from the Manifesto of Marx and Engels in 1848 may be of interest:

"In the formation of their (the utopian petty-bourgeois "socialists") plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from (this) . . . point of view does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favored. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large . . . nay, by preference, they reject . . . all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means . . .

The significance of (such) critical utopian socialism . . . bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape . . . this phantastic standing apart from the contest, these phantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and theoretic justification. . . ."

If our readers do not at once recognize all the features of the portrait above as magically depictive of The Guardian, they might once again reread the call for "An Independent-Socialist Conference" published in The Guardian of June 2, 1958, and the editorial comments on it in the same issue. Suffice it to quote the beginning of the last paragraph of "The Call":

" . . . we call upon all independent, progressive and socialist-minded forces in our State to attend a conference . . ."

As you will see, the revolutionary struggle of the working-class is relegated to the far background among these liberals, if not completely submerged.

Of the historical role of the class, of the endless struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda which stultifies and holds back their revolutionary development, of the inevitably growing political and economic crisis which will give enormous impetus to that struggle these liberals know nothing. Being far removed from the workers, this process is slow, very slow, and distorted entirely by glasses through which the Trotskyite and revisionist CP leadership present their view. The vision they see most of all is a "brought up to date" ghost of a never to be resurrected "New Deal Era". The general crisis of the capitalist imperialist system has doomed such visions to remain only hallucinations.

Impatient of history, and faced with the years of failure of the CPUSA in the ideological struggle, these liberals have fallen into the trap of the "revolutionary" phrasemongering of the Trotskyites. Without stopping to study the label, clearly marked "poison" by history, they have swallowed some of the nostrums of bourgeois liberalism, and world socialism. The results are already becoming manifest.

Week by week, The Guardian opens its pages to more and more "critical" material on the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. It contributes to the miasma of suspicion and hatred peddled by Trotskyites and Titoites — on the Soviet's Middle-East policy, its alleged anti-Semitism, etc. It publishes more and more ads for Trotskyite meetings and classes and books — it even offers Isaac Deutscher's "scholarly" slanderous "Russia in Transition" as a premium for subs. As yet this poisonous element has not entirely overwhelmed its columns, but surges further and further to the heart of the paper. If occasionally interspersed with some good (if inadequate) reporting by Petran, Goshall, Burchett, etc., the "balance" is made worse by some snide or sneaky piece by Bendiner. With respect to news and interpretation in the United States, however, the pattern is clearer. The outlook here is definitely in an anti-Marxist-Leninist direction, colored either by the "new" revisionism or by the Trotskyite wrecking technique.

In the political arena, the trend is definite. Embracing the demagoguery of the "direct" and "revolutionary" electoral struggle for socialism in company with everybody but the working class, the aim is for "unity" of all "socialists", as the indispensable sine que non for "peaceful" transition. This achieved, they say, there will be no need for a wearing struggle for the ideology of the working people. No need to convince the masses of the sinister role of imperialism in their daily lives, of their necessity for international solidarity with the workers of the socialist countries and those of the colonial peoples. No need to advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat, of militant struggle against not only the shifting of the burden of crisis to the backs

of the workers, but also to teach them that the capitalist crisis can only be finally done away with by abolishing capitalism. No need to expose the wrecking role of the Trotskyites, the revisionism of the CP leadership and their model, Tito. No need to help build a real Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard party.

Instead of these back-breaking tasks, fit only for working people, our liberals of the Guardian, along with various assorted Trotskyites, Dr. Annette Rubenstein, Arnold Johnson of the CPUSA and others to a total of 110 persons, met in Cleveland during the Thanksgiving week-end. To no one's surprise, they failed to achieve the goal "unity" they even could not agree on the formulation of their anti-Soviet plank. According to the New York Post of Dec. 1st, the stumbling block occurred over a denunciation of " . . . the infringement of civil rights behind the Iron Curtain and outside of it". No doubt there were those who deplore the fact that the Hungarian Communists and the Army gave the fascists no chance to re-establish their regime of super-exploitation and terror over the Hungarian people in 1956, and granted these enemies of mankind no "rights" to propagate their reaction by either word or deed. For that future humanistic historians will vigorously applaud, as does every class-conscious worker today.

Embarked on a course of "humanism and freedom" that is separated from the class struggle and that takes a "live and let live" attitude our allies around the National Guardian are headed for a sad political awakening.

Our concern here is for the many honest and sincere class progressives who have been — who are — and who will continue to be invaluable allies of the working class. We know that the main culprit for the ideological and political confusion in the ranks of these forces is the bankrupt and revisionist leadership of the old Communist Party.

In the absence of a Vanguard of the working class, such political mistakes as have been made by the Guardian are almost inevitable, but certainly not impossible to correct. So to the many thousands of militant and progressive middle class allies around the Guardian we say: Cast out the political termites that the diverting your effort! No Unity w/ Trotskyites!

Unity of all progressive on the immediate issues of Peace-Economic Security-Democracy!

Vanguard

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Journal

(Continued from page 3)

spoke of as haunting all Europe now lights up the world. The World Marxist Review is one of the lamps of this great light, one of the lamps that especially in this time of darkness in our country is needed — For from it we shall learn and understand. We shall get hope and most of all the strong fibre of Marxism-Leninism, the science of society shall be passed along for all to grow from.

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