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## THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

William L. Patterson

## THE FIGHT FOR LAND IN NEW MEXICO

Patricia Bell

## MARXIST-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

Rev. Peter J. Riga     Herbert Aptheker

## DEVELOPMENTS IN VENEZUELA AND PERU

Jesus Faria                     Jorge Del Prado

## A NEW CITY IS BORN IN GDR

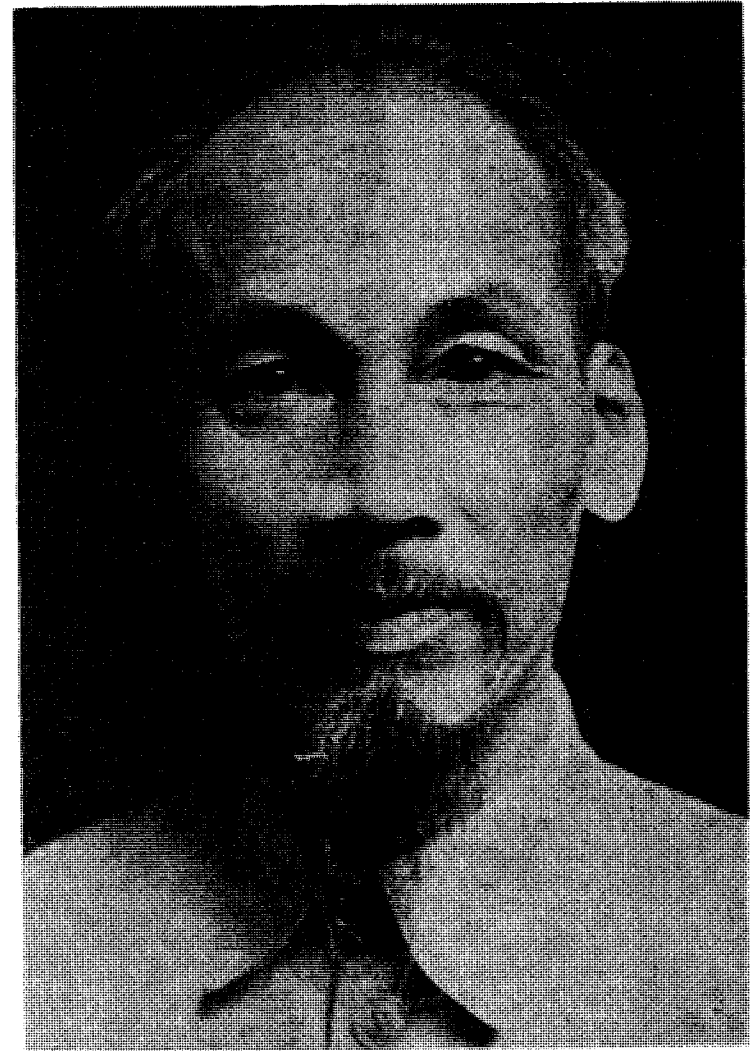
Bettina Aptheker

In Memoriam  
HO CHI MINH

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Ho Chi Minh	1
<i>Editorial Comment</i>	
A World Revolutionary Hero	2
Twenty Years of the GDR	4
<i>William L. Patterson</i>	
The Black Panther Party	7
<i>Patricia Bell</i>	
The Fight for Land in New Mexico	15
<i>Rev. Peter J. Riga</i>	
Marxist-Christian Dialogue	25
<i>Herbert Aptheker</i>	
Comments on Father Riga's "Proposal"	37
<i>Bettina Aptheker</i>	
A New City is Born in the GDR	42
<i>Jesus Faria</i>	
Venezuelan Communists Wage Heroic Struggle	47
<i>Jorge Del Prado</i>	
New Developments in Peru	57
BOOK REVIEWS	
<i>Erik Bert</i>	
Salisbury via Sakharov	

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**Ho Chi Minh**

May 19, 1890 — September 3, 1969

# A World Revolutionary Hero

Ho Chi Minh, one of the most extraordinary world revolutionary heroes, whose single-minded pursuit of independence for his country and its people spanned more than half a century, died on September 3, 1969. To the millions of Vietnamese—both North and South—"Uncle Ho," as he was affectionately called, was the symbol of all their strivings for a life of peace and security, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. For Ho Chi Minh embodied all the finest qualities of his people: indomitable courage, incredible, selfless dedication, an iron will and determination combined with a profound humanism, simplicity and true modesty.

Born May 18, 1890 into a peasant scholar's family in the hamlet of Kimlien in Central Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh was reared to hate the French colonialists. Even before he reached his teens, he got his baptism in the anti-French underground transmitting messages from his father to other compatriots working to free their homeland. At the age of 13 he was expelled from school for activities hostile to the colonial regime.

Eagerly searching for ways to serve his people, Ho took a job as a galley hand on a French ship and worked on ocean-going vessels which took him to many shores—to France, England, Germany, the United States and the French colonies in Africa. In these travels he learned that colonial oppression was an international phenomenon and that the cause of national liberation was bound up with the struggles of the working class against capitalist exploitation. He vowed to free his people from the whiplash of colonialism.

It was understandable, therefore, that the victory of the October Revolution should have a decisive influence on the thoughts and activities of this young Vietnamese patriot. He soon concluded that the path of October pointed to the path of liberation for his own oppressed people. In 1920 he joined the French Socialist Party because, as he explained, its members had expressed sympathy for the cause of national liberation. He quickly identified with the Left Wing which formed the French Communist Party later in the same year. Thus Ho became a founder of the Communist Party of France and the first Vietnamese to become a Communist.

In the decade of the twenties Ho Chi Minh participated in a variety of activities. In 1921 he helped to establish the League of Colonial Peoples and edited the weekly—*Le Paria* (The Outcast). In 1924, he attended the Fifth Congress of the Communist International and for a number of years thereafter he traveled on its behalf to various parts of the world. While in China in the mid-twenties he

organized the Revolutionary Youth League of Vietnam and the Oppressed Asian peoples. He helped to train numerous young Vietnamese who returned to their country as Communists.

By the late twenties Ho Chi Minh was known in Southeast Asia as a courageous fighter for the freedom of all oppressed peoples. It was by no means accidental that the French authorities sentenced him to death in *absentia* in 1929. Two years later he was arrested in Hong Kong by the British authorities. The French colonialists demanded his extradition but he managed to escape before this could be carried out.

On February 3, 1930 Ho Chi Minh presided at the conference which gave birth to the Indochinese Communist Party, the precursor of the Workers' Party of Vietnam.

Throughout the decade of the thirties Ho Chi Minh traveled widely. He also studied and taught Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union. But he always maintained close ties with the Vietnamese Communists.

In 1941, after an absence of 30 years, Ho Chi Minh returned to Vietnam as the Japanese imperialists invaded the Indochina peninsula. Just as the Petain government of France capitulated before the Nazis, so did the Vichy administration capitulate to the Japanese, without firing a shot. It was Ho Chi Minh and the Communists who rallied their people to resist the Japanese invaders. They helped to create the League for Independence of Vietnam—popularly to be known as the Vietminh—and organized a powerful guerrilla force to battle the Japanese. In 1945, the guerrillas liberated Hanoi. A popular uprising swept the country in August, 1945. On September 2, 1945 Ho Chi Minh, as the head of a provisional government, proclaimed the independence of Vietnam.

But this independence was short-lived. The French imperialists sought to reimpose colonial rule. Once again the people rallied to their government, took to the jungles, and for eight long years, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, fought the French to a standstill. The debacle at Dienbienphu brought France to the negotiating table in 1954.

Once again the will of the Vietnamese people was thwarted. This time, the threat came from the most powerful military and industrial nation in the world—the United States. Again it was Ho Chi Minh, whose prestige in the South was no less than in the North, who inspired the heroic resistance of the National Liberation Front and its guerrilla forces. Neither the devastating bombardments, nor the napalm, nor the poisonous defoliants and other barbarous weapons of destruction could bring the people of Vietnam to their knees. They will fight unyieldingly so long as a single American soldier remains on Vietnamese soil.

(Continued on page 14)

# Twenty Years of the GDR

On October 7 of this year, the German Democratic Republic celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the first socialist state on German soil. With this act, the rule of imperialism was ended in one part of Germany—an imperialism which had brought only war, fascism and misery to the German people.

Today there exist, side by side, two German states—states which are polar opposites. The Federal Republic of Germany continues to be ruled by a reactionary imperialist clique which restores former Nazis to power and seeks by force of arms to return to the prewar state of affairs. This regime, with its militarism and revanchism, with its drive once more to dominate Europe, is one of the most serious threats to world peace today.

In the German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, the rule of the working class has been firmly established, and socialist construction is far advanced. This new state has become a major bulwark of peace in Europe and a formidable obstacle to realization of the revanchist, warlike schemes of the Bonn regime. This is a development of tremendous import for the future of mankind.

The economic, social and cultural advances achieved by this, the youngest socialist state in Europe, are truly remarkable, and especially in the light of the enormous roadblocks which it faced from the day of its birth. Fifty per cent of its industrial capacity, 70 per cent of its power plants, 50 per cent of its industrial residential areas and 30 per cent of its agricultural equipment were destroyed or useless. In West Germany there were 120 blast furnaces in working order at the end of the war, some of them very modern; in East Germany, on the other hand, only four outmoded blast furnaces were left intact.

Second, the imperialist occupation powers—the U.S., Britain and France—refused to allow any reparations to go from West Germany to the socialist countries. Hence the burden of reparations fell with undue severity on the working people of East Germany.

Third, basic industry and metallurgy were concentrated in West Germany. The people of East Germany were left with only a fraction of an economy, centered in the manufacture of finished products. They were confronted, therefore, with the difficult task of finding new sources of raw materials and developing basic industry afresh on their own.

Fourth, the new socialist state had to contend with the machinations against it by the Bonn regime and the other imperialist powers. Under the notorious Hallstein Doctrine the West German ruling class has insisted that it alone speaks for all of Germany, and has refused to recognize the existence of the GDR. And to this day the major capitalist countries, without exception, have refused to establish diplomatic relations with her. This, in turn, has resulted in severe limitation of trade relations.

Then there is the anomaly of West Berlin, an enemy enclave situated in the very heart of the GDR and dividing its capital city in two. West German and U.S. imperialism have assiduously used West Berlin as a spearhead in their drive to undermine and destroy the GDR, a campaign which was effectively blocked only with the building of the Berlin wall.

Finally, the construction of socialism had to be undertaken with a people riddled through with the poison of Nazism and demoralized by the massive military destruction inflicted upon it.

In the face of these obstacles the GDR has registered enormous progress. Today 85 per cent of the total national product is produced by socially-owned enterprises and another 7 per cent in enterprises which are partially state-owned. The GDR ranks high among industrial countries; with 0.5 of the world's population, it accounts for 1.7 per cent of total world income. In industrial production it ranks sixth among the nations of Europe and tenth among the nations of the world. Since 1950, national income and industrial production have increased at a rate averaging 7 per cent a year. During the same period retail prices have declined by some 3.6 per cent. (Contrast this with the United States, where consumer prices have risen more than 50 per cent since 1950.)

The GDR has become a prosperous socialist country, as even its enemies have been compelled to recognize. Here is living proof of the validity of the Marxist-Leninist conception of building socialism for advanced industrial countries, contrary to certain self-styled Marxists and others who have sought to deny that validity.

The GDR looks forward to continued independent development as a socialist state, and now sees the question of reunification of Germany as one which will assume immediacy only at that time when West Germany also takes the path to socialism. At the same time she seeks peaceful, friendly relations with all countries, including the German Federal Republic. This was reaffirmed by Walter Ulbricht on the occasion of the 20th anniversary celebration in Berlin, in these words: "We stand by our policy, also toward West

Germany, of peaceful coexistence and the establishment of good-neighborly relations, regulated and certified through treaties valid in international law." (Quoted in the *New York Times*, October 7, 1969.)

The reactionary regime of the German monopolists in Bonn, however, still thinks in terms of the reunification of Germany through the forcible incorporation of the GDR. This is also the outlook of the U.S. monopolists. The policy of both U.S. and German imperialism has been one of seeking to isolate the GDR, to break other socialist countries away from her by offering tempting trade and other economic concessions. To this policy Leonid Brezhnev, in his speech at the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR in 1967, responded as follows:

The socialist countries of Europe stand for effective, honest normalization and development of political, economic and cultural contacts with all states, including the Federal Republic of Germany, for the sake of peace and mutual benefit. But they will never agree to this at the expense of their unity, at the expense of the interests of the socialist community as a whole, or individual countries belonging to it, specifically, at the expense of a fraternal country, the German Democratic Republic.

This effort to isolate and undermine the GDR, as we noted at the time, was a central feature of the machinations of U.S. and West German imperialism in Czechoslovakia last year. Fortunately, these machinations have been defeated. But the efforts continue.

The participation of our government in these efforts and its support of the revanchist aims of the Bonn regime contribute to the threat of war in Europe. Such policies are clearly against the best interests of the American people.

The best way to observe the 20th anniversary of the GDR and to contribute to world peace would be to step up the fight for an end to such policies, for the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with the GDR. This has been a much-neglected aspect of the fight for peace and there is no better occasion than this anniversary, marking the great achievements of the GDR, to end this neglect.

It is in this vein that we join, though unavoidably somewhat belatedly, in saying "Happy Birthday" to the socialist state of the German people—the German Democratic Republic.

## The Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was born in the fall of 1966. It was not a spontaneous eruption of black youth. The white police in the ghetto of West Oakland, California were notorious for their savage racist brutality. Widespread unemployment, poverty, premature death due to malnutrition and inadequate hospital facilities, miserable sanitation, filthy streets, dilapidated and poorly equipped schools and housing were the lot of black citizens and their children. It was a national picture, to be found in every large city in the United States but, in Oakland, it was worse.

A political organization committed to the protection of their lives and their parents' property was a dream of Oakland's black youth. The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense emerged out of the political, economic and cultural hell that black youth were taught was for them the best of all possible worlds. It was a long-considered reaction to indiscriminate police violence. Black youth demanded a change.

### *Early Concepts of the Panthers*

At the time of the creation of the Black Panthers, the social and political outlook of young Huey Newton, and the small coterie of youth gathered around him, did not extend beyond the idea of some kind of self-defense, nor was that concept clearly defined.

Black youth were seeking an end to "white terror." They believed that the time had come to challenge and, if possible, put a stop to terrorization as a way of life in the ghetto. Stress was placed on ending police terror.

Early in the process of their tremendous growth and development, the Panthers escaped from a dangerous entrapment which American imperialism's ideologists have tried to make a dominant factor in ghetto thinking. They escaped from the illusion that black freedom fighters had to go it alone, that except for a few white intellectuals they had no allies, that the police were an independent political force whose bestiality had its roots in an innate hatred of black people. The Panthers were only momentarily the victims of that line of thinking. Both the subjective and objective reasons why this illusion was accepted at all are easy to understand.

The Panther leadership believed that the police were an inde-

pendent political entity. It was not for them a terroristic arm of the "establishment." In their early days, they lacked practical political experience in the national liberation struggle. They had little or no understanding of the operation and structure of capitalists society. In terms of theoretical development, they were in no position accurately to measure the dimensions of the ideological control the "establishment" exercised over the economic, political and cultural channels of American life; nor were they in a position to formulate an extensive program of political action. Knowledge of the class essence and scope of police brutality, the vast range of the fight against racism due to its capitalist source, had for the Panthers not yet come into focus.

In those days the Black Panthers could not clearly discern the degree to which virulent racism had been made an inseparable part of America's national psychology. The leadership did not recognize the irreconcilable contradictions between the constitutional and inalienable human rights of black Americans and the profit system. They did not see that the liberation struggle transcended the realm of self-defense and that not education alone, but only a program of struggle, based upon the realities of the social system, could guarantee any successes in the struggle against the terror.

### *The Poisonous Influence of Racism*

Racist myths, with skin color determining intelligence, had been made a vital factor in the thinking of the leaders of organized labor, the white church, social, educational and political institutions of the white community. This prostitution of science had warped and distorted white concepts of morality and ethics. It dulled especially any appreciation of the mutual interests of the black people and the majority of white society.

The illusion that separate, single-handed combat could be waged against the police, and that restrictions superimposed on the police from community forces would completely alter the status of black Americans, was the product of narrow nationalistic, ghettoized thinking. Black America was not at fault. This concept was the brain-child of capitalism. It was fashioned and projected by bourgeois ideologists for black consumption. However, the contemptuous attitude with which labor's top leadership met the appeals of black workers for a labor-black alliance in struggle gave what seemed to be validity to the idea. The class collaboration of the majority of the white leaders around the issue of white superiority did terrific damage to the interests of all of labor—white as well as black.

The righteous political demands of black workers and the black community constituted a plank that fit logically into labor's program of struggle. Yet, it must be stated, that labor did not respond.

Not realizing capitalism's vast potentialities to seduce leaders of organized labor, blacks were mystified by the rejection of their unity proposals. They saw that the material interests of the masses, white as well as black, were being sacrificed on the altar of color superiority. All whites began to look alike to blacks when the question of the rights of blacks was raised. Had the white labor leadership acknowledged and accepted its class responsibilities and responded positively to the unity advances of black labor and the black community, the foundation for a broad offensive against the mutual enemy would long ago have been laid down in the U.S.A. Vernal, white labor leadership betrayed its class, the vital interests of the nation and that of peace and freedom-loving mankind.

Back to Africa movements sprung from this situation. In the heavily populated regions of the southern states, the right of self-determination for black people was propagated. The nation was divided. As a result some black leaders were ready to repudiate the legitimate stake of black Americans to an equal share in America. Affected by this reasoning, the Black Panthers Party took the only course it then saw as feasible. It was ready to go into the struggle alone.

The organization of the Panthers testified to the growing radicalization of the ghetto and the rising political temper of the black community. The black liberation movement was broadening and deepening. Black workers were organizing black caucuses in the trade unions. They were seeking to break through the racist entanglement and to achieve a unification with labor along the color line. The black liberation movement was feeling its way to an offensive in all spheres of human relations. This was the general situation into which the Black Panthers emerged and developed their activity.

### *Lessons Learned in Struggle*

In their earliest experiences at mounting an anti-police brutality self-defense movement, the Panthers learned political lessons that brought rapid, if uneven, political development.

The bourgeoisie in the United States had no intention of permitting the Panthers, or any organized, disciplined social group, democratically to defend the lives, property, inalienable and constitutional rights of ghetto dwellers. To permit that was to lend credence to and strengthen the struggle for equality of opportunity. The bour-

geoisie had no intention of permitting any challenge to its own policy of divide and rule. Police brutality was intensified. It became more indiscriminate.

The metropolitan press, tongue in cheek, favorably greeted the criticism of police brutality. It was against brutality and violence—but it piously stressed the necessity to maintain “law and order.” Its conception of law and order, however, did not begin with the enforcement and respect for the human dignity of blacks, or their rights under the Constitution. The position of the metropolitan press stood reality on its head. Under the guise of maintaining law and order, it lent encouragement to police repression against the black community.

The courts, in a frenzy, hurriedly tried the victims of police savagery. They “railroaded” the victims to jail or imposed long-term probationary conditions upon them. The legislative bodies of government passed no effective remedial laws or ordinances. The administrative bodies, from the President down, called for the enforcement of bourgeois “law and order”—the maintenance of the status quo. Racism became a policy of government precisely because it was a source of superprofits for capital.

The lessons of the struggle registered sharply with the black youth. The Panther leadership recognized that a broader political offensive was necessary to realize the self-defense they sought. It took a political and organizational leap forward that carried it beyond the positions occupied by any of the other organizations of the black liberation movement. It began to measure the strength of capitalism in the United States and to analyze the position and weight of the forces aligned against blacks. The Panthers wanted to know positively whether blacks had natural allies or not—who they were, if there were any, and why they had not appeared upon the political horizon to fight the common foe. The illusion that the black people, of historical necessity, had to go it alone was being challenged. The projecting of such ideas by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie was being exposed in the throes of struggle and a study of bourgeois racist ideology.

The Panther leadership acknowledged the need for an internal change. It dropped the term “for Self-Defense” from its name. It began to see that unity of the oppressed was something for which a desperate fight had to be made. Despite the racist attitude of the white labor leadership, that unity had to be won. The ruling class had seduced the white labor leaders; it must not be permitted to dupe black leadership. White labor had been affected by the myths

of white superiority. Its rank and file could be won to black-white unity in struggle.

### *Identify With Maoism*

The Panther leadership recognized that it faced a herculean task. But the task had to be faced. It declared itself a Marxist-Leninist political party, not realizing fully that so far-reaching a declaration did not *ipso facto* bring the objective sought to fruition. The Panther leaders grasped at and embraced the doctrines of Mao Tse-tung and the present leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They failed to realize that Mao and his supporters were all for the go-it-alone idea which experience was forcing the Panthers to repudiate. They did not recognize that Maoism was a denial of the historic role the Panthers were beginning to attribute to the working class.

The Panthers were enraptured with the role Che Guevara was attempting to play in the countries of South America. They did not see that Marxism-Leninism taught that there was a reality far more complex than can be seen through a casual observation of events and historical differences in the development of countries. They did not see that guerrilla tactics widely applied to the United States would mean going it alone under the most adverse conditions.

In their splendid attempt at a political leap forward, the Panther leadership did not see clearly that certain steps in ideological development could not be ignored. There were profound and fundamental reasons why the vast majority of the Communist parties of the world—including the Communist Party, U.S.A.—struggled against the political, economic and ideological stand taken by the Maoists.

The Maoists denied the estimate of the changed world relation of forces. But it was precisely this new situation which helped to prove that blacks in the United States did not have to go it alone; they were part of the world liberation movement. In fact, they had become a vitally significant part of that world movement.

Marxism teaches, Lenin said, that: “Only knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can provide the basis for reckoning with the specific features of one or another country.” (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.)

Despite organizational, political and ideological weaknesses the Black Panthers, in a remarkably short time through struggle, had displayed tremendous political growth, development and flexibility. This has to be noted. It reflects the limitless potentialities of the black liberation movement.

### *Learn Need of Black-White Unity*

The Black Panther Party repudiated the anti-white abstraction. It began to recognize the vital importance of the role of classes in a struggle in which class, race and nationalism were predominant factors. It recognized that the unity within the working class, between workers regardless of the color of their skin, is an imperative and historical necessity in every country and on a world scale. It launched a fight to attain that unity against the racism that permeates most of the leadership of organized labor. It rejected the position that labor is a natural foe of the black people because of "irreconcilable racist differences."

The Panthers are the first black-led organization to understand the menace of anti-Communism and unqualifiedly to express opposition to it.

A feature of the Black Panthers is that they saw emotion and courage as essential attributes of successful struggle. They have, most of all, come to realize that success in the liberation movement demands above all else an understanding of the science of social development. They have emphasized the study of the Marxist-Leninist classics as imperative. Despite grave ideological weaknesses that still remain in their political outlook, they have declared that the Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist party and launched as a major slogan: "Power to the People!"

The Panther Party has shown an awareness that agents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) have penetrated its ranks. It seeks their elimination through a practical program of struggle.

### *Conference Against Fascism*

While only three years in the liberation struggle, the Black Panther Party issued a call for a United Front of Struggle Against Fascism—basing itself on the call made by George Dimitrov in 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the then existing Communist International. It openly called upon the peace forces, the anti-poverty fighters, all progressive forces to fight against racism and for unity of the "New Left" against fascism.

Political appeals by black Americans for a united front against racism are nothing new. They have been a constant in the life of the black people since the Civil War. But the Call for a United Front of Struggle Against Fascism was not based upon the economic, political and ideological demands of black people alone. It was based upon the life-and-death struggle of the American people—of all anti-

imperialists. The July preparatory conference was a huge success. The follow-up, later this year, must be made even more so.

While the call for a united front against fascism undoubtedly was inspired to a great degree by the murderous attacks upon the Panthers by the local and state forces, the conference was more than a device to mobilize forces for protection of the lives of its members.

The conference call was in and of itself a testimonial to the political growth of the Panther leadership. It was based upon a growing recognition that the defeat of American reaction demanded a signal sharpening of the struggle for unity of the country's progressive forces regardless of political affiliation, creed, color, race or nationality. It was a recognition of the grave danger of anti-Communism.

On its part, the conference recognized the imperative necessity for all progressive forces to fight for the constitutional rights of the Panther Party and against the genocidal attack levelled against its organization under the slogan of "law and order." No effort was made to make the conference the exclusive property of the Black Panther Party.

It is necessary that Communists, especially, should recognize the urgency of supporting this effort, regardless of the differences the Communist Party may have with the Panthers on the degree of fascist development in our country. In his report to the 19th Convention of the Communist Party, Gus Hall stated:

U.S. imperialism remains the chief danger to the independence of peoples and nations. It is the most ruthless exploiter of peoples. It has heightened the danger to world peace everywhere. It is the center of the world forces of reaction fighting against socialism. Its aggressive economic policies are a menace to economic standards and to economic independence throughout the non-socialist world. Its escalated ideological offensive, aimed at the softening and infiltration of socialist and liberated countries, has created a new danger to the progressive forces of the world. These efforts at ideological penetration are now at an all-time peak. (*On Course: The Revolutionary Process*, p. 15.)

Had we at that time had a fascist America, that convention could not have been held openly. Had the convention been held "underground" because of the presence of fascism, the defeat and destruction of fascism would have been, of historical necessity, the center of emphasis.

Henry Winston, our National Chairman said at the 19th Convention:

We are, comrades, not going into a period of ease. That is not what is before us. We are entering into a period of sharp class



battles in which the clash between the classes, of the people against monopoly, will reveal itself more and more. The storm signals are presently with us. (*Build the Communist Party*, pp. 8-9.)

While the reactionary signals "are presently with us," that is not yet fascism.

\* \* \*

A great responsibility devolves upon our Party. First and foremost, it is in the United States that the main fight must be waged against racism and the fascist-minded clique who constitute the military-industrial complex. It is here that the deepest roots of racism and nascent fascism are to be found. That fight must be carried into every sphere of American life. Forty millions of black, brown and red Americans are directly affected by racism and the danger of fascism threatens their very existence.

The Panthers now have organized contingents in approximately 33 states. At the present they are in the center of police attacks. J. Edgar Hoover, the fascist-minded head of the FBI, calls the Panthers the most dangerous organization in the New Left. That is some evidence of their importance.

The membership of the Communist Party should stand in the forefront in defense of the Black Panthers. While conducting a dialogue with the Panthers on the differences that exist between us, this must not stand in the way of solidly supporting the efforts of the Panthers to defeat racism and bring about unity of the black and white working class. For we know that racism feeds fascism. The destruction of racism leads to a decisive defeat of fascism.

*(Continued from page 3)*

Ho Chi Minh did not live to see the final victory of his people. However, as the condolence message of the CPUSA stated: "The great example of Ho Chi Minh's life of selfless struggle in the service of his people, the workers of the world and all progressive mankind will always inspire the hearts and guide the thoughts of fighters for peace, for freedom and for Communism."

This is not the time to mourn but to fight. The best monument we Americans can erect for this remarkable revolutionary hero is to redouble our efforts, and widen the scope, of the struggle to bring about the total withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from the soil of Vietnam.

## The Fight for Land in New Mexico

When the news broke of a "raid" on the courthouse at Tierra New Mexico, in June, 1967, worldwide attention was focused on the action by a dozen farmers led by Reies Lopez Tijerina. It was compared to Pancho Villa's 1916 raid on Columbus, New Mexico, some far-away reporters assuming that Tierra Amarilla, like Columbus, is on the Mexican border. Actually it is as far away from the border as Manhattan is from the border of Canada.

What exploded on that summer day, two years ago, was the long-standing grievance of a people who are native-born Americans, of native-born parents, grandparents and even great-grandparents, who were conquered with their land over a century ago and have been oppressed as a national minority ever since.

Involved in the "raid" were heirs to the Tierra Amarilla land grant, victims of fraud and deceit by Anglo speculators for a hundred years, who now see their remaining land being eaten away by the U.S. Forest Service. It was one of a series of confrontations led by Tijerina with state and federal authorities, all aimed at forcing the government into court to prove its ownership of thousands of acres that were formerly communal grazing land.

Tijerina, born in Texas into a poor family of migrant workers, is not himself a land claimant. He became involved in the land question only at the insistence of local grant leaders. In New Mexico, land grant organizations are nothing new. For over a century the people have been banding together to claim their rights. Previously, however, these organizations comprised the heirs to a single grant. Not infrequently their formation was encouraged by some unscrupulous lawyer who ended by taking a portion of the land as his fee, in some instances "losing" the documents entrusted to his care.

\* \* \*

Tijerina was the first to unite the claimants to fifty grants in one organization—the Alliance of Free City States, popularly known as the "Alianza." Its significance is described by Dr. Frances Swadesh, social anthropologist, who has made a special study of this movement. "Tijerina . . . linked the fortunes of all grants into one major drive," he points out, "in which property rights and civil and cultural rights were seen as indivisible." He goes on to show that Tijerina developed the tactic of "litigation in which the Alianza would be the defendant and would therefore be spared the high cost of going to court. By

acts of civil disobedience on grant lands which had been taken by the federal government, the Alianza could challenge the government to prove that these lands were, indeed, its rightful property.”\*

The Alianza sees the fight for restoration of land as one aspect of the fight for a decent life for eight million Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. When Tijerina says, “Our people refuse to be silenced with powdered milk on some welfare program,” and demands that “the land that is theirs” be restored to the people, he is at one with the Delano proclamation of César Chávez in California, “We do not want charity at the price of our dignity. We want to be equal with all the working men in the nation.”

Northern New Mexico sends forth, in search of their daily bread, great numbers of native-born Mexican-Americans, who cannot afford to remain in this beautiful, but poverty-gripped region, where half of the families subsist on less than \$1,000 a year, and the Forest Service owns 69 per cent of the land. Many join the migrant armies of farm laborers at back-breaking field work for a dollar an hour. Thousands more find their way to the sweat-shop industries of Los Angeles or to Denver to become part of the pool of low-paid workers.

But many remain to struggle for a living on the small acreages left them. They refuse to be driven from the area where the collective ownership of land was the basis of their economy, the cradle of their culture and their language. Herein lies the explanation for the support given Tijerina by the five thousand families who are members of the Alianza. The fight to regain their lands is an integral part of the struggle of this national minority to rid themselves of oppression. To understand this, it is well to take a look at their history.

Sociologist Dr. George I. Sánchez of the University of Texas, points out:

Spanish-speaking people have been in the Southwest for three hundred and seventy years. The villages north of Santa Fe, New Mexico, founded in 1598, take second place only to St. Augustine, Florida, as the oldest settlements of Europeans on the mainland of what is now the United States. The New Mexico settlements, followed a century later by those in Texas, and two centuries later by California, represent a colonial effort by Spain which left an indelible imprint on the history and culture of the Southwest, and of the United States as a whole.\*\*

\* *Politics and Minorities*, edited by Tobias and Woodhouse, University of New Mexico Press, 1969.

\*\* Monograph: *Spanish in The Southwest*.

Spain, and later Mexico, encouraged settlement of the Northern provinces. The most common form of land ownership stemmed from the grant of a deed by the government of Spain or Mexico to a group of no less than twelve families, but more often twenty. In some cases grants were made to an individual emprasario, but only “those who introduce at least 200 families.”\*

All grazing land was held in common, usually 92 per cent of the grant. Each family received a piece of land, drawn by lot, on which to farm and build a house. Absentee ownership was strictly forbidden and no individual could dispose of any common land. Following the revolution of 1821, Mexico confirmed the grants made by Spain, and continued the same collective pattern of land tenure.

Dr. Clark S. Knowlton, sociologist and specialist in land-grant questions, writes:

The establishment of the National Forest system in New Mexico alienated millions of acres from the . . . Spanish-Americans without compensation. Their traditional use of these lands was ignored by both state and federal governments in the setting up of the National Forests. As a result, cold war has come into existence between the villagers and the Forest Service. The Spanish-Americans strongly resent having to pay grazing fees for the right to use land that once belonged to their villages. They believe that they are being deliberately squeezed out of the National Forests to make room for larger Anglo-American commercial cattle and sheep outfits. They also feel strongly about having their hunting and timber-cutting rights subject to restrictions in areas where their people have freely carried on such activities for many generations.\*\*

The “cold war” of which Dr. Knowlton speaks is not one-sided. Farmers known to sympathize with the Alianza have had their cattle poisoned and their hay burned. The Alianza headquarters in Albuquerque has been shaken with bombs four times in the last year. Bullets were fired through the windows of the headquarters on December 5, 1968, just missing members who had stayed overnight for a victory celebration of Tijerina’s acquittal on a “kidnapping” charge that day. A station wagon belonging to the Alianza was destroyed and a car owned by the Alianza attorney was saturated with a form of tear gas.

\* Laws and Decrees of the Republic of Mexico in Relation to Colonization and Grants of Land, More Particularly in New Mexico and California, from 1823 to 1846, New York Printing Company, 1871.

\*\* *Land Grant Problems Among the State’s Spanish-Americans*, New Mexico Business Research, June, 1967.

An attempt by the State Police to frame a brother of Reies Tijerina on a murder charge failed when the accused man proved he had been at a McCarthy meeting a hundred miles away the night of the killing. A building donated to the Alianza for an Indo-Hispanic cultural center was burned down the day the gift was announced. A clinic the Alianza was inaugurating to service the people of Tierra Amarilla was "torched" with gasoline in September. No one has been arrested for any of these crimes, with the exception of the first bombing. Captured by police was ex-sheriff's deputy William Fellion, who had blown off his own hand in the bombing. But Fellion has never been punished. The people of the area believe that these crimes have been perpetrated by Minute-Men-type ranchers, protected by the State Police.

Special investigator James Evans of the Forest Service has publicly declared, "I'd like to kill that bastard," referring to Tijerina. And, indeed, in a frenzy of rage, he did point a rifle at the Alianza leader's head in the presence of a crowd in June of this year. At Evans' request, Tijerina's appeal bond, set in an earlier case, was revoked at that time, and he is still in prison at this writing.

\* \* \*

The land struggle started with the war against Mexico, when on August 8, 1846, General Kearney took possession of New Mexico and the United States held it by force of arms until February, 1848. The war ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. By this pact, and the payment of \$15 million, the United States acquired the territory that now forms New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and parts of Utah, Colorado and Wyoming. Texas had already been lost by Mexico in the annexation of 1845. This Treaty confirmed it.

"The lands which Mexico ceded to the United States were greater in extent than Germany and France combined, and represented one-half the territory which Mexico possessed in 1821," Carey McWilliams has pointed out.\* The situation in which the Republic of Mexico found itself only twenty-five years after it had won independence, can be judged by Article II of the Treaty with the United States (May 30, 1848):

Immediately upon ratification of this Treaty, blockade of the Mexican ports to cease. Troops of the United States to be withdrawn, custom houses to be delivered up to the Mexican authorities. An account to be made of the amount of all duties collected by the U.S. after ratification of this Treaty by Mexico. Evacuation of the

\* *North from Mexico*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1968, p. 51.

Capital of Mexico to be completed in one month. All forts, etc., occupied by the U.S. within the limits of Mexico to be restored immediately. Final evacuation of Mexican territory to be completed in three months. The boundary line of New Mexico to be reset. . . .

The Treaty provided specific guarantees for the property and political rights of the conquered population, and attempted to safeguard their cultural autonomy, that is, they were given the right to retain their language, religion and culture. Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo stipulated: "*The property of Mexicans remaining in the territory is to be inviolably respected.*"

"If the treaty is good," says Tijerina, "then the United States has violated it entirely. If it is no good, then the United States has no title to the Southwest."

In 1868, arguing the case of the Mexican landholder before the Committee on Private Land Claims, appointed by the 40th Congress, General Charles P. Clever, delegate (without vote) from New Mexico, stated:

In these articles of the Treaty (Articles VIII and IX), fullest protection is pledged. These articles were intended to protect the titles of the people of New Mexico, against any interference with them by the new sovereign.

It was not intended that their titles to land should be protected where found to cover small and worthless tracts, and curtailed or partially confiscated if large and valuable. When the banner of a nation is planted on foreign soil, let it be to protect, and not to plunder it.\*

Although many of the Mexican settlers could prove that their family holdings had been continuously occupied for a full century, few of them possess title abstracts. Moreover, Congress reserved the right to pass upon each land grant and land claim in New Mexico by direct legislative enactments. No provisions were made for appealing from Congressional decisions.

On this question Dr. Knowlton, quoting from Ralph E. Twitchell, states:

No claimant could secure congressional affirmation of his title unless he was able to spend a long period of time in Washington, and was abundantly equipped with funds to organize a lobby to smooth the passage of a private act confirming his land claim.\*\*

\* Acts of Congress for Ascertaining and Confirming Mexican Claims to Lands in New Mexico and California.

\*\* Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Cedar Rapids, 1912, p. 467.

Bad though the situation was in New Mexico, it was disastrous in California. In the previously cited work, Carey McWilliams states:

Unlike New Mexico, California was engulfed by a tidal wave of Anglo-American immigration after 1848. Forty per cent of the land held in Mexican grants had to be sold to meet the costs and expenses involved in confirming land titles in that state. "Death and emigration are removing them [the Mexican people] from the land . . . their broad acres now, with few exceptions belong to the acquisitive Americans," wrote J. P. Widney in 1886. . . .

This process of change had a simply crushing effect upon the Mexicans. One after another the economic functions for which they had been trained were taken from them. . . . By the end of the decade, the Mexican element was almost eclipsed.\*

\* \* \*

How can we explain the difference between the speed with which the Californian was divested of his heritage, and the battle in New Mexico which continues to this day? Why was California admitted as a state in 1850, two years after the war, while New Mexico's demands for statehood were refused for sixty-six years?

Carey McWilliams points out that the difference was explained by the fact that after 1848, "Anglo Americans infiltrated New Mexico; they engulfed California. . . . The difference in impact was also a function of the size of the Spanish-speaking element in the two states: 60,000 in New Mexico, 7,500 in California." Moreover, says McWilliams, the Spanish-speaking people did not have the support of ten thousand well-settled Pueblo Indians, such as stood between Anglos and Hispanos in New Mexico.

Indeed, the first uprising against U.S. domination—the Taos rebellion in 1847—was a product of the joint action of Indians and Mexicans. During the revolt, the first U.S. governor of the territory, Charles Bent, a Southerner, was killed. His attitude toward the people in his charge was expressed a year before his death when he wrote: "The Mexican character is made up of stupidity, obstinacy, ignorance, duplicity and vanity."\*\*

For many years, the Mexican people carried on a struggle for statehood. Ruled by an authority two thousand miles away, they had little power to halt the plunder of their lands. Governor Miguel Otero, who

\* *North From Mexico* pp. 92-93.

\*\* Lamar, *The Far Southwest 1846-1912*, Yale University Press, 1966, p. 55.

had been appointed by President McKinley, expressed their demands in 1902:

For more than half a century, we have been of, yet not one of, the United States. . . . As early as June, 1850, a constitution was adopted by our people for the formation of a state which prohibited slavery. . . . Under this constitution, two United States Senators and a member of Congress were elected, who were not recognized by Congress. . . . the effort has been renewed at the next and each succeeding Congress. With every renewed effort . . . for our admission the opposition has grown stronger, until the conclusion is irresistible that some strong personal and financial interests are arrayed against us. . . . One evidence of this is . . . *the segregation of large areas of public domain for so-called forest reserves*. . . . As a territory, we cannot combat these schemes; we have no voice in the disposition of that land that we have struggled so long to maintain as part of our territory, while, as a state, we would be able to assert and retain our rights. (Emphasis mine—P.B.)\*

Governor Otero had good reason to believe that powerful interests were arrayed against the people of New Mexico. They included among others President Theodore Roosevelt himself.

Lamar points out that, "The final struggle to gain statehood for Arizona and New Mexico lasted from 1901 to 1912 and was the longest sustained admission fight in American territorial history." He indicates that the movement became entangled in a great national debate:

The first of these concerned the continuing argument growing out of the Spanish-American war: whether America should be an imperial nation with colonies or should accept the new possessions of Puerto Rico and the Philippines as an eventual part of the American Union. When Theodore Roosevelt became president after McKinley's assassination in 1901, the imperial approach to "backward or underdeveloped" areas now had, as it were, administration approval. More important for the Southwest was the fact that the war had been with Spain. Thus the "backward and underdeveloped colonies" that the United States had acquired possessed a Spanish colonial culture, possessed also by Arizona and New Mexico. . . .

Roosevelt and his close friend, Senator Albert Beveridge, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, appear to have viewed Arizona and New Mexico somewhat as they did the new "empire." They, too, were "backward" areas which had been stifled by their Spanish heritage. Senator Beveridge's own conviction was so strong,

\* Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor of the Territory of New Mexico 1897-1906*, University of New Mexico Press, 1940, p. 390.

in fact, that he held up the admission of these two states for nearly ten years. His argument was that they were not equal in intellect, resources, or population to the other states in the Union, nor, said he, were they sufficiently "American," [read "Anglo-Saxon"] in their habits and customs.\*

President Roosevelt, founder of the Stockmen's Association of Montana and the Dakotas, favored the cattle barons who profited by getting leasing privileges on Forest Service land. Ray H. Mattison in an article entitled "Roosevelt's Dakota Ranches," describes how Roosevelt got his start:

The relentless campaigns by the Army, following the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876, forced Indians off the land. As a result, thousands of acres were opened to cattlemen. Theodore Roosevelt ran cattle on two large tracts of land in the Dakotas, both of which were on government property, and Roosevelt never acquired title to either of them.\*\*

Roosevelt profited by the boom in the cattle industry of the early 1880's, and gave up cattle ranching only to lead his Rough Riders in the invasion of Cuba.

The term of his Rough Rider appointee, George Curry, was filled with protests over withdrawal of lands from the public domain for forest reserves. From the very beginning, therefore, the Southwest was opposed to the Roosevelt-Pinchot forestry policies.

Dr. Swadesh presented the following figures at the August, 1969 trial of Baltazar Martinez, one of the Tierra Amarilla "raid" defendants: "In 1832, more than 580,000 acres belonged to the heirs of the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant. In 1969, the heirs have only 10,000 acres. Under the San Joaquin Grant, the heirs had between 472,000 and 600,000 acres in 1806. In 1969, they have only 1,411 acres."

It must be kept in mind, of course, that these acreages are shared by large numbers of people, and in some cases include entire villages.

The land loss is continuing. Each year the Forest Service moves its fences further onto the land of the small Mexican-American farmer. Today, of nearly nine million acres of National Forest land in New Mexico, 627 thousand acres is on grant lands *which were confirmed by Congress*. These lands, in 18 different grants, have been grabbed over the past 31 years.

Much of the National Forest came from the village common lands,

\* *The Far Southwest*, pp. 486.

\*\* *North Dakota History*, Vol. 22 No. 4, October, 1955.

that had always been used free of charge for grazing, firewood and hunting. Today the villagers must pay a fee to the federal government for each cow or sheep grazed, and in case an animal should stray onto federal land, it can be impounded, sold at auction, and the proceeds taken by the Forest Service. To the poor farmer, who depends on his little herd to feed his family, such an event can be an economic catastrophe. Great resentment is also caused by the favoritism of the Forest Service toward the big Texas cattlemen, timber corporations and mining companies that are given preferential leasing rights.

Some opponents of the Alianza have argued that Tijerina claims land belonging to the Indians. But the land involved in these grants is not being claimed by Indians. On the contrary, such struggles as the Taos Indians are carrying on to regain possession of their sacred Blue Lake Area, now taken over by the Forest Service, and the demand for the return of over 27,000 acres belonging to the Santa Clara Indians, which Congress recently also turned over to the Forest Service, are supported by the Alianza.

Tijerina has always stressed his own "80 per cent Indian, 20 per cent Spanish" heritage. Although born in Texas he is at one with the population of Northern New Mexico, where the Indian strain is very pronounced.

It must be kept in mind that, in the three colonial centuries, less than one million Spaniards came to the Americas—one million Spanish-speaking people among ten or more million native peoples. The first civil rights law in the Americas came from Spain in 1573, setting forth absolute equality under the law of the offspring of Spaniards and Indians. The results were observed by Josiah Gregg, who traveled through New Mexico some three hundreds years later—in 1846—who estimated the number of "Spaniards" at a mere one thousand by comparison with sixty thousand "mixed" population. In recognition of their heritage, the term "Indo-Hispano" has found favor among both old and young Alianzistas.

Those who struggle for land have been further encouraged by the success of some Indians who received cast settlements for their claims. The Seminoles have recently won compensation of \$40 million for most of Florida at land values of 80 to 100 years ago. Similarly, the Indian Claims Commission awarded \$29 million to California tribes in 1964. Cheyenne-Arappo tribes won \$14 million for a fraction of the value of their holdings in the West, and eight Sioux organizations were awarded \$12.2 million for 29 million acres, including nearly half of Minnesota. In 1946, the Jicarilla Apaches of New Mexico were "compensated for 14 million acres. The Alianza, how-

ever, is not seeking cash settlement. "Where grant lands are now held by private persons, Congress should use its power of eminent domain to restore them to the descendants of the original grantees now residing on or near the grant by the payment of adequate compensation," the Alianza demands.

\* \* \*

The Supreme Court has repeatedly said that the title to lands granted prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is a political question for Congress to decide. At present the Alianza is attempting to get Congress to conduct a federal investigation into the legal status of these land grants. Such a bill—H.R. 318—was introduced by Congressman Henry Gonzalez (D.-Texas) in March, 1969, but it never got out of the Rules Committee. The Alianza plans to make the reintroduction of such a measure, with proper support for its passage, an issue in the 1970 election campaign.

In the meantime, a petition has been filed with the Supreme Court seeking review of the conviction of Reies Lopez Tijerina and two associates on charges stemming from a confrontation with Forest Rangers in 1966. The Alianza charges the government officials "artificially created" the confrontation and that the "Forest Service officers indicated their purpose was to frustrate the Alianza aims of getting a case into a U.S. court to receive a judicial determination of their land claims."

It must be stated that far too little is known of this struggle throughout the land. Without the support of people's organizations everywhere, the cause of the Mexican-Americans in New Mexico will be crushed. It is, therefore, important to acquaint progressive-minded people of this struggle so that support will come in the pursuit of legislation and for the freedom of Tijerina and his associates.

## Marxist-Christian Dialogue: A Proposal

The reality of the Marxist-Christian dialogue has been with us now for some years but, for a multiplicity of reasons, it has not taken hold in the U.S. The reason, fundamentally, is the sort of anti-Communist propaganda which we in the American Catholic community have received ever since the encyclical on Communism (*Divini Redemptoris*) of Pius XI in 1937. The cold war (and the hot ones too) have exacerbated the problem which is coupled with a form of identification of Christianity with the American socio-economic system in the U.S. This notion has been translated into the much vaunted "Judeo-Christian culture" of the West pitted against the incarnate atheistic-materialistic Marxist thrust from the East.

Such caricatures of Christianity as the basis of Western culture continue to exercise strong influence on many Christians in the U.S. to the degree that it is extremely difficult to even bring up the subject of the Marxist-Christian dialogue. The reality of the matter is that both East and West are predicated on the same factor: economic materialism exercised in variant ways.

The reality is also that at no one time in human history can Christianity be totally identified with any one culture or economic system. This is to commit idolatry for, in the Christian conception, man's future is the absolute who is God and He alone. Therefore, as we progress toward this future, any culture or ideology which attempts to define man in terms short of this absolute future must come under severe Christian criticism. This ideology can come from the "Right" in establishing the *status quo* as the primary referential point of man or from the "Left" that posits the future unalienated state of human existence wherein man will be totally free. Both of these are ideologies because they encompass man as a whole, economically as well as philosophically, within a particular and limiting definition. This is why the Christian must oppose *Marxism*, conceived as a philosophical conception of man, as well as all forms of ideological fascism for the same reasons. Therefore, protest and criticism are an essential attribute of Christianity both with regard the Left and the Right precisely

because man cannot be defined by any ideology but must be left open to his absolute future who is God.

This does not imply, of course, that the Christian can be indifferent to the state and well-being of man in history. Indeed, it is within history that the beginnings of eternity are commenced in the development of human justice, love and compassion. The Christian is open to his absolute future but whose effects must be felt and seen in the area of space and time. Otherwise, this absolute future of man is seen as an escape from man, not a commitment to him. The only criteria which the Christian has for judging the passing forms of cultural, political and economic well-being of man is the following: whether it promotes or retards (or even destroys) man's development in function of its total view of man and humanity. The forms of implementation of this ideal is left completely to the freedom and ingenuity of man during different periods of his historical existence. It is on this basis, I think, that some form of fruitful dialogue between Christianity and Marxism can be brought about.

The essence of the problem of Marxist-Christian dialogue resides precisely in the theoretical impasse created by two divergent theoretical systems based on the various philosophical presuppositions of both sides. The dialogue must begin with an evaluation of these philosophical presuppositions in order to see whether they can be separated from the properly economic and scientific basis of these presuppositions. The fact of the matter is that today for the majority of men (who live in the "underdeveloped world" of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Near East), the great problem is economic liberation from the domination of the rich nations, particularly the U.S. In order to accomplish this goal, for the most part, the third world uses the theoretical economic analysis derived from the theories of Marxism-Leninism. The Christian may well ask himself whether such economic-political theory is acceptable from the point of view of the Christian faith and, if it is, how much scientific theory can be separated from the philosophical presuppositions in which such a theory is encased. This is a very difficult task indeed but not an impossible one. Is there perhaps a third way which can make its way between liberal capitalism and the Marxist materialistic dialectic? Many Christians are thinking on precisely this problem.

The reality for the immediate future seems to be—at least in the poor nations of the world—that Christians are headed into a totally socialistic concept of their societies as the only way for the present toward economic development. The motives behind this movement seem to be dedicated by Christian faith, that is, an endeavor to find

the technical means of realizing human development on all levels which numerous Popes have said are a moral obligation: economic dignity and liberation, human and civil rights, full employment and social justice, etc. But in order to avoid the dangers inherent in every socialistic system, an intensified effort must be made by Christians and Marxists alike, to examine the economic and social theories of each. These theories today are precisely the reasons why Marxists and Christians are not able to dialogue with each other in order to profit from each other's valid views on the social and economic order. It would be a profoundly false type of ecumenical dialogue between these two groups for them to proceed to communal action on present problems without first examining their philosophical presuppositions which are at the basis of their conceptualization of the present economic order.

For the Christian, there can be no such thing as a "perfect" society or a "Christian" society; there are only the means and ways to best promote man's dignity and welfare from the slavery of economic and social alienation and the forces of unfreedom. There can be no such thing as "Christian" policies for "Christian" economics. There is only man as supreme value here below and it is man himself who is the middle and essential term in the dialogue between believer and unbeliever. The Christian cannot dislocate man and his faith outside the world; he must be engaged within the world of concrete man with concrete problems. He cannot escape into a false mysticism or an illusory transcendentalism where the affairs and need of men are left "here below." Man's future is God but the first fruits of the kingdom must be able to be seen by men in the world "so that they may glorify your Heavenly Father who is in heaven."

In working toward this end the Christian fulfills the great commandment of Christ to devote oneself to the brother out of love. If there is in the development of culture, for example, at the level of the exact sciences, a danger of expecting from them the only criterion of the true, there are also in the same scientific research done in common, with patience, objectivity, and forgetfulness of self, values which can be seen as "an evangelical preparation," and which can be informed, enlightened and transfigured by the love of God working through the Christian in the world.

The Marxists must recognize this evolution in Christian thinking if they are to enter into dialogue with what, to date, they have persecuted in the name of "alienation." But Christians must also realize that there is the other side of the dialogue: understanding the goals of Marxism, and recognizing that the values at stake today are truly

their own, rooted in the Christian heritage. We should not be misled by the fact that these values are not expressed in scholastic terminology, nor even by the fact that the struggle for true values in the social order has often divorced itself from personal values which have become discredited by making religion a private affair. Christians are embarrassed by the self-centered values of some Christians. From the point of view of the Christian, who has created a religion in his own image and likeness, the entire struggle for peace, freedom and universal brotherhood, as it is being lived and suffered by mankind today, must seem utterly foreign. However, it is incumbent on the Christian to examine and evaluate these values in the light of Christian faith as well as the teeming desire of modern man for revolutionary change.

This is above all true of Communist theory which stands philosophically opposed to Christian faith. For the present day theoreticians of Marxist doctrine, the perfect society of the future will be essentially atheistic, since the transition to a communist society will be the result not only of a certain program established by the organization and distribution of goods, but it will also flow from the constitutive (ontological) structure of reality itself.

This Marxist ontology—or description of things as they are—is not a crass materialism. In understanding such a theory, we must not think of an opposition between materialism and spiritualism as a dichotomy, but rather we must speak of a materialistic monism; of the unity and autonomy of the empirical world by which and in which man arises as its supreme conscience and manifestation.

Marxist man thus perfects himself by working on the world in the ambit of its economic and social relations, according to the laws of dialectic evolution according to which the future will absorb the anterior stages. The perfection of this future is compared by the Marxists to the light of a true intuition, that is, perfection and happiness will consist in the spontaneous and full development and integration of the human person—by means of necessary relations—by which he inserts himself into total reality. Such an integration is, in reality, a communism, not an atomization or division. Submission to this order of reality is a liberation. The objective order brings about the maturity of the subject. Society signifies the free expansion of each individual within the expansion of all the others within that society.

This ideal perfection of man will be the humanistic reduction to reality of every potential possibility of man, which can be attained only by a historical society, to which we must refer all those values

which are called spiritual values.

The result, in this Marxist analysis, is that man today is neither fully conscious of his power nor can he reduce all his possibilities to practice. Either by ignorance or by the deficiency of technical and social evolution and organization—by virtue of which some usurp that which belongs to all—man is not fully realized as yet: he remains alienated from himself and from reality. He must realize himself more fully in the plenitude of social life by freeing himself from the pressures and dominion of these alienations. The state of alienation is expressed in ideologies (philosophical, moral or sociological) which proceed to elevate to an absolute what is only a relative, transferring that which in reality is in the hands of man, to some supernatural category. Every ideology is an abstract system superimposed on man which intends to hold back the liberating revolution and which certainly attempts to retard it (by class division, by private and public divisions, by divisions between time and eternity). Against a truly human evolution, ideologies subordinate man to nature, or to other men, or to God.

This essential negation of religion and its aspirations to the trans-historical or transcendental and the consequent reduction of man to the socio-temporal life, is not, properly speaking, for the Marxists, an act of denial or renunciation; they neither believe that man does not know what he must hope for or do (as among the agnostics) nor do they deny that these religious aspirations have real content in themselves (as among pessimistic existentialists). According to Marxist theory, these aspirations of man are projected on God in an illusory manner, but are not in themselves illusory. They can be moreover reduced to reality in the future ideal society, which will make man “unalienated,” by absorbing into itself these “divine values.” Thus this new form of Marxist society has dedicated itself to a united effort towards a new humanism.

Moreover, this Marxist atheism has within itself its own eschatology, i.e., the final and orientational significations of man and his creation. We must judge this atheism in this light since the validity of this atheistic interpretation of history and man depends on its eschatology. It is for this reason that the Marxist atheistic interpretation can say that religion is an alienation to the degree that man can do for himself that which religion formerly did by prayer and other means. In the perfect communist state where man is totally identified with himself in his created spacio-temporal ambitus, religion would be quite superfluous. There every aspiration of man will be satisfied and if desire or hope still remain, they will be entirely



circumscribed within the sphere of the possibilities of the economic and social world. Not that religion and what it hoped for will be realized materially, but rather that tension will cease, or better, that the disparity between the objective possibilities of man and his subjective tendencies will cease.

Christians must not approach this whole explanation in a polemic or apologetic. They must use it as a way to dialogue. The anti-agnostic bent and realistic spirit of Marxism can lead to a positive dialogue which, up till now, because of lack of sincere and open love of truth, has been impossible—as the Pope notes in his encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam*. Precisely because Marxists tend to recognize the fullness of human reality, Christians must invite them to consider this tendency to God not as an alienation but rather as a dynamic perfection of man, as we have explained it above.

Christians sometimes see in the concept of atheism the negation of all moral and religious values. An atheist is for them a conglomerate of everything negative. In short, he is a degenerate. It is true—and an honest and sensitive atheist is able to admit it—that people have often resorted to atheism to get rid of all moral values and norms. Even today we can see such cases. But such an atheism is not the subject of our present analysis. We must distinguish even among the various forms of atheism. It is a gross simplification to identify atheism as a whole with its most negative form. The sweeping declaration that atheists are “beyond good and evil” is an effort to relieve us of the obligation in truth to penetrate more deeply into the precise nature of atheism and to ask if it is not Christians who, through their poor example as Christians, helped give rise to it. Their daily contact with various kinds of atheists forces Christians to recognize that Marxist atheism is not merely a biased denial of religion, from a trifling encounter with some shallow-souled believer (which kind of encounter incidentally gives little witness to Christian faith), but that such an atheism represents instead a struggle from a new starting point toward a solution of moral problems and in fact toward the most basic questions of life. Marxist atheism appears as a humanistic view of life, claiming the whole man and seeking to solve all his problems, thus giving him a certitude and moral norm for living, much like that found through Christian faith.

Marxist atheism is more than simply an anti-church or anti-religious campaign. If we were to judge Marxist atheism solely on the basis of its propaganda, the picture would be just as poor as would be a judgment on religious consciousness based on attendance figures at religious services. Marxist atheism is striving for a revolutionary world

view which is not dependent on its formal rejection of religion. It is trying, in the spirit of our times, to restore to people a purpose in life and to give the whole struggle of mankind a higher meaning. Christians cannot ignore this effort, to the extent that it is directed at human and moral progress.

Even more to the point, Marxist atheism makes a crushing indictment of Christians. If they examine its criticism, Christians can recognize that its most important argument is the fact that Christianity, during its almost two thousand years of existence, has failed to do away with poverty, slavery, wars and social disorder. Christians have betrayed their mission in the world. They have allowed their faith to be used to support the powerful against the weak, to become a weapon against the small, contributing to their bondage. Christians cannot erase these facts from the history of Christianity, but they can learn from them, and in a spirit of deep humility before God and His Son, Jesus Christ, acknowledge the guilt of past generations which clings to us who strive today to bear the message of Christ. Since atheism does confront us with these facts, however, it is justified in standing against us.

This exposition of Marxist theory now leads us to the important problem of its relationship to Christian faith. We have seen that between these two humanisms, as presently constituted, there is an insurmountable impasse. How is it possible, then, to have any dialogue at the profoundest level of understanding? There are some points which can be mutually examined and which might lead us out of our present impasse.

From the Christian point of view, what can Marxism mean for Christians themselves? It could be seen purely in its completely philosophical dimension—as we have done above—or it can be seen as a science which attempts to discover the hidden structures of our economic system, thereby permitting us to detect the economic causes of dehumanization in modern industrial society, both domestically as well as internationally. After analyzing these causes, scientific Marxism then attempts to propose remedies for these abuses. Thus Marx, in order to radically transform present economic society, proposed the collective ownership of the means of production. This, of course, has since come to mean “socialism” pure and simple.

It is therefore quite possible for Christians to have recourse to Marxist scientific analyses of the economic situation (and its critique of the present structure) without the necessity of having to accept the atheistic-philosophical final interpretation of the historical process. It would, in such a case, be Marxism as a science which would indi-

cate what would have to be done to assure the Christian ideal of justice, fraternity and love—which are all moral demands of the Christian faith. It is the economy (whatever shade) which must serve this ideal, not man serving the economy as is now the case with both modern capitalism and communism.

It is perfectly reconcilable with Christian faith that a Christian see the Marxist economic cadres as the best organization of the economy to accomplish the above mentioned Christian aims. Thus in this form of economic critique, Marxism would be only one particular (possible) solution to the general problem of the relationship of science to faith—a hurdle which mainline Christianity has long since overcome. The faith of a Christian is never dependent upon science even if his faith gives science an orientation. Is it not possible to hope that from their side, Marxists will come to clearly disengage and separate their science and its critique from their ultimate philosophical *interpretation* of this science? Is it not possible for them to see—as we have explained above—that the Christian can be a scientific Marxist which need not and, indeed, of itself, cannot dictate the validity or non-validity of a religious possibility or ideology? Is religion really simply an alienation of man away from historic dialectical materialism or can it be conceived of as having its own positive value? In any case, if scientific Marxism can be separated from philosophical Marxism, there can be no question concerning the freedom of the Christian to accept the former as his own critique of present day economic society.

On the other hand, the Marxists must see that, like Marx himself, religion was not only the result of real spiritual longing and aspirations but that it was also an authentic protest against this spiritual distress of man and gave it the response of “God” in another world to come. Hence religion presents us with both a positive and a negative aspect as is seen in the historical evolution of Christianity in both its Constantinian as well as its apocalyptic tradition. The former tradition is one which opts for the *status quo* in a form of symbiosis with societal reality as it exists; while the apocalyptic tradition is one of protest against this established order in the name of a future which is to come since “man has no abiding city here below.” It is from this latter tradition that we have had the various historical revolutions and messianic communities of the *millenium* which certainly exaggerated this expectation of the future in the *now* but which, nevertheless, kept this authentic protesting tradition alive in the Church.

Thus, according to the Marxists, religion takes its origin from legiti-

mate aspirations and criticism but which are, in reality, due to the failure of technology and science to eliminate man's basic insecurity, fear of death and impotency before nature. It is from these fears—which have now been or are becoming ever more, overcome by historical dialectical materialism—which were responsible for the origins of religion. Therefore religion is a passing phenomenon of man's existence until such time as science and technology can overcome the manifold alienations of man. Many Marxist theoreticians think that a nation can speed up this process by making religion outlawed or at least by an intensified atheistic propaganda by the state and by education. This would seem to be illogical, for if religion will disappear the more scientific and technologically advanced a people become, then there would seem to be no special need to bother about religion and so to let it go its own way. Indeed to persecute religion from simply a pragmatic point of view, is only to make a martyr out of it, and so prolong its influence among people that much longer.

This phenomenon of separation (science—theory of philosophical explanation) can perhaps offer us a solution for mutual dialogue and respect between Marxists and Christians. It is evident that Christian and Marxist humanism are mutually exclusive for the reasons we have given above: the one is predicated on an absolute future beyond history and yet also present in history; the other is predicated within the strict circumference of history so that any reference to a “beyond” is totally illusory and alienating for man. Yet Marxism attempts to impose historical materialism and atheism in the *name of science*—something which science, of itself, simply cannot do. The fact of the matter is that both Marxists and Christians want the same thing: that is, a fully realized human person and society within history, totally unalienated from the slaveries of unfreedom. Yet, the Marxists wish to accomplish this in such a way that religious aspirations *qua religious* will be no longer needed and will consequently disappear from the human scene. The whole question which Christians and Marxists must answer is the following: is it possible to disassociate the atheistic humanism of Marx from the science and critique of the economy which he also developed?

This Marxist humanism is not, first of all, a search for a sort of “terrestrial messianism.” This humanism is not and cannot be “anonymously Christian” or “true Christianity.” This is simply and purely false. Marx started from the notion of work and with other allied concepts such as production relationships and productive forces, and by their use, attempted to treat scientifically the human social reality and existence *insofar* as it is productive (*homo faber*). in the very

same movement (and it is here that we meet the great difficulty of dialogue) he elaborated a general conception of human existence itself which did away with religion. Marx uses the term "ideology" (religion) in this context and attributes total autonomy to the forces of dialectical historical materialism. It is this conception or interpretation of human existence that we call Marxist (philosophical) humanism which is built upon historical materialism.

Christians rightly ask whether such a conception of human existence can fully explain all that is in man. Indeed they ask whether such a humanism can even answer such a question, since this humanistic conception is predicated on such a limited basis, namely, upon work and productive relationships. This philosophical extrapolation of Marx can rightly be criticized by the Christian, as indeed it can be by any other form of humanism, as being too poverty stricken to encompass or take in the total human reality and its phenomena. How do Marxists explain the continuation—in certain cases, the increase—of the religious and ethical *elan* even in countries which have long since been socialistic, and in which the official propaganda of the state was and is atheistic, as well as persecutorious of all forms of religion or ethical concern, outside the boundaries of official Marxism? Marxism claims to make a great effort to achieve maximum human dignity, in both liberty and cultural enrichment for all men without distinction of nationality, race, sex, or religion. The fact of the matter remains that even in so socialistic a country as the Soviet Union we have seen and continue to see elements of racism and racial discrimination, for example, the episode of the discrimination in Moscow against black African students in 1966. And what shall we say concerning the persecution of religion and religious leaders both in the Soviet Union and in socialistic countries, a fact which is buttressed by official atheistic propaganda of the mass media in those countries?

Some Marxist theoreticians (v.g. Althusser, Garaudy), faced with this fact of reality, have tried to explain the permanence of religious, ethical and aesthetical superstructures, by saying that such structures are in themselves autonomous and are only determined by the economic factor in the last instance.

Yet, this explanation explains nothing, and does nothing except to remove the problem one step backward instead of facing the problem itself. What criteria do these theoreticians use to determine what is a *relative* superstructure and what is that *absolute* superstructure in function of which all the rest are finally reduced? If we say that it is simply from the science of economy as influencing the total human

reality, we have here not a fact of science but a presupposition of philosophical interpretation of total human reality.

In order to avoid this unwarranted confusion, it must be clearly stated that science has its absolute autonomy vis-a-vis any and every ideology (Christian, Marxist, etc.) and that therefore we must disassociate scientific materialism and philosophical materialism (or, if one prefers, atheistic humanism). Science is materialistic of and by its very nature, and by its method, and one cannot impose a philosophical materialism—which is an ideology, not a science—in the name of science. Therefore, our conclusion here is clear: neither Christian nor Marxist humanism can be imposed in the name of science and that, consequently, science is thereby set free to follow its own autonomous course without reference to any ideology, Left, Right or middle. Every ideological pretension which attempts to mask or propose itself in the name of "science" must be seen to be false. The tragedy is that when this is done—as is the case in Marxism—the legitimate Marxist criticism and scientific analyses of the economic order are seen by many to have to be rejected. If this disassociation between Marxism as a science and Marxism as a philosophical interpretation can be brought about, it can easily be seen how much the Christian can profit by this Marxist scientific analysis and criticism of present economic structures. The Christian can actually use and apply them in his own construction and elaboration of the economic order.

To a certain extent, this has already happened in some Catholic circles. The encyclical *Populorum Progressio* of Paul VI does propose a global vision of man and a very general idea of what human progress actually is (i.e., the integral development of every man and all men), and is satisfied with some very general observations of what would go against this Christian conception of progress and development. Yet, outside these very general observations, the field is left wide open to variant forms of scientific analyses of the hidden mechanisms which control the national and international economic order and those things within it that are responsible for underdevelopment and the moral degradation of almost two-thirds of the human race. Scientific Marxist analysis of this economic structure can be, within this context, fully accepted by the Christian in his own endeavors in this regard. In other words, the Christian is perfectly free with regard to scientific Marxism but not with regard to philosophical Marxism.

For instance, with regard to the right to private property, the Marxist analysis would say that much of our economic ills are due to pri-

vate ownership of the means of production; therefore, these must be nationalized and publicly owned for the common good of all. Such an analysis would be fully acceptable to the Christian if he actually was convinced that such an analysis were economically correct. In such a case, the subtraction of the means of production from private to public ownership would be done not by reason of the Marxist philosophical interpretation of work, production, etc., but by reason of the fact that such an economic analysis makes economic good sense. There really is no "Christian" economics; only an economy which assures dignity, development and subsistence to each and every man—which can be accomplished in a multiplicity of means and ways. Christianity cannot superimpose any one or another economy in the name of science for the reason that science is not ideology and that the economic dimension is far too complex to be solved once and for all by any one or several "solutions." The only criteria for a Christian in participating in the economic order is: will this economy or form of economy truly advance each and every man within its circumference of effectiveness.

It must be hoped that Marxist ideology can also separate itself from Marxist scientific economics much as Christianity has done and is today doing. It is only in this way that the greatness of Marxist economic theory can reach the apogee it truly deserves.

## Comments on Father Riga's "Proposal"

Father Riga's forthrightness is well known—and not only to the hierarchy in his own Church! It shines forth again in the freshness and vigor of his "proposal." The following comments are offered in the spirit of his own contribution.

Deeply appreciated is the frankness with which Fr. Riga notes the existence and persistence of an anti-Communist obsession in certain Roman Catholic circles, especially in the United States. I would add, however, that its malignancy has markedly declined and that Fr. Riga seems to underestimate the degree to which a Christian-Marxist dialogue has been going forward—certainly for the past five years—in the United States. His own contribution—offered to the theoretical organ of the Communist Party—marks a further development of that dialogue.

Fr. Riga sees the possibility of fruitful dialogue for he rejects the notion that atheism in general, and Marxism in particular, represent some kind of degeneration. On the contrary, he emphasizes the humanist essence of Marxism; he sees it "dedicated . . . to a united effort towards a new humanism" and striving "to restore to people a purpose in life." Particular aspects of its analysis—especially in economics—he thinks have merit; if only these "scientific" aspects of Marxism could be separated from the "philosophical," he urges, dialogue could really go forward.

Since Fr. Riga is offering his essay in the hope of enhancing dialogue, he surely will welcome the expression by this Communist of some doubts and objections; without these the very need for dialogue would disappear.

Fr. Riga tends to make what he calls the "scientific" aspects of Marxism entirely economic; in this sense he reduces Marxism to economic determinism. On the other hand, he makes what he calls Marxism's "philosophical" aspects Utopian. Above all, his whole plea is based on separating the "scientific" from the "philosophical"; no Marxist could ever agree to this—and remain a Marxist. On the other hand, it is not clear to me why one who finds it impossible to embrace the totality of Marxism but is attracted to certain features of it could not, *on that basis*, engage in dialogue theoretically and in common action practically.

Marxists do not seek to "impose" historical materialism and atheism upon science, as Fr. Riga says; Marxists think that a scientific view is one that eventuates in atheism and that no generalization, in the area of history, is so effective as is historical materialism. This position is certainly subject to argument and there has been no lack of such argument; but the Marxian position per se is not antiscientific in the sense of *imposing* upon science. I sense here in Fr. Riga the idea that science is and must be "neutral"; this is widely held but, all the same, deeply false. If the humanistic source and assumption and purpose of science is stripped from it, one may have antiquarianism or expertise, but he does not have science.

Fr. Riga frequently affirms that Marxism projects a "perfect society of the future," a society that would be free of tensions and in which "every aspiration of man will be satisfied." I do not find that in Marxism and to project perfection and absence of tension would surely be incongruous for one whose whole system of thought was basically dialectical! Marxism nowhere projects a termination to the process of history; hence, Marxism insists upon the persistence of tension and contradiction and unfulfilled aspirations. It also insists that the *nature* of such tensions and contradictions and frustrations may be altogether altered by transformations in the social order (and therefore in those making up that order) and that these need not always be of an anti-human and exploitative and destructive character.

The central importance of this becomes clear when one notes that Fr. Riga on the basis of this misconception of Marxism is able to pose Christianity against both Left and Right, and in doing that he does not hesitate to equate Marxism even with fascism. I do *not* mean for a moment that Fr. Riga puts Marxism on a level with fascism; of course he does not. But I do mean, that in calling Marxism an "ideology" in the pejorative sense, he finds Christianity compelled to reject it "as well as all forms of ideological fascism."

Actually here the distinction is not only basic between Marxism and fascism, but also between Marxism and all Right outlooks because such are wedded to the status quo and are therefore closed in a philosophical sense. Marxism is the opposite; it is always and under all conditions dynamic.

I find Fr. Riga rather too rigid and too sweeping in his own approaches to Christianity; this flows largely from his non-class method. He writes of what Christianity "cannot do"; that it cannot escape into a "false mysticism" or "an illusory transcendentalism." But, of course, Fr. Riga means to write that Christianity *should* not do these things; he certainly knows that many who affirm they are Christians

insist that it is the mysticism and the transcendentalism which *are* Christianity. In that sense, Fr. Riga's exuberance misleads him when he writes that Christians "must be engaged" in social action. He means that in his opinion as Christians they ought to be, but surely he knows, that many (perhaps most) refuse to be so engaged, and some base this refusal exactly on their understanding of Christianity. Those who think this way are by no means confined to the Right of the Christian spectrum; consider, for example, the writings of Jacques Ellul.\* This also is of importance because the strain in Christianity (and in religion in general) which induces passivity is fundamental if one is to present fully the Marxian critique thereof.

Fr. Riga's rigidity appears, too, in his nobly frank but excessively sweeping condemnation, as "Christians have betrayed their mission in the world." In this same passage, he writes that Marxism "makes a crushing indictment of Christians." I don't think so, and I think Fr. Riga's indictment is crushing and therefore excessive. Marxists have indicted and do indict institutionalized religions and hierarchies, which have made of their instruments and their persons tools of reaction and suppression, but Marxists do not and should not simply indict Christians. No Marxist ever indicted John Brown or Nat Turner; this has been left to eminent non-Marxist historians and best-selling novelists. A Marxist takes an historical materialist, a class approach and distinguishes sharply between a Brown and a Metternich, a Nat Turner and a Francisco Franco, although all four called themselves Christians.

Fr. Riga's absence of any class approach leads to a certain naiveté in his splendid appeals, as when he writes that Christians may "have recourse to Marxist scientific analyses of the economic situation." Again, such Christians as Nixon and Eastland are not likely to take such recourse and it will not be Christianity that determines this failure. This same deficiency appears in Fr. Riga's concept of socialism, for if this is presented as simply a question of economics and nothing is said of power and class then he is not writing of socialism. All this has its philosophical bearings, for Marxism as a whole and its program, including its economic program, cannot be divorced from its total view of society and especially from its concept of the nature of revolution and the character and role of the working class.

I sensed, too, a certain provincialism in Fr. Riga's approach. Thus, when he writes of "the poor nations of the world" he not only ignores

\* They have been voluminous; but on the point being made above see especially his *Violence: Reflections from a Christian Perspective* (New York, 1969, Seabury Press).

the class divisions among Christians—for example, in Latin America; he ignores also the fact that among most of the people in such nations where religion is present, it is not Christianity, as in the Arab world and in Asia and in much of Africa.

At some points, Fr. Riga speaks of Marxists as among those who persecute the religious; he writes of Marxist theoreticians who in their effort to overcome religiosity would hasten the process “by making religion outlawed.” He names no such theoreticians and I know none such. Certainly Marx and Engels and Lenin not only did not suggest such a course but all repeatedly denounced as wrong and as self-defeating any persecution of religion, let alone its outlawry.

There are certain quarrels I have with details, too, which, though details, have larger implications. Thus, Fr. Riga writes of racial discrimination in socialist nations and cites one—highly dubious—report of this affecting Africans in Moscow some years ago. The fact is, whatever the details may have been about the particular incident, that tens of thousands of Africans have *chosen* to be educated in the USSR, and in other socialist states, and have lived there freely and that this has existed for years and exists today. Indeed, when one considers the whole phenomenon of racism and remembers how widespread and vicious it was in many of the socialist lands, prior to their revolutions, the thing which, I suggest, should attract Fr. Riga—as one devoted to Socialist Christianity—is the remarkable successes achieved from the Soviet Union to Cuba in cleansing their societies of that poison.

Again, Mr. Riga writes that there are socialist lands where “the religious and ethical *elan*” have been maintained and even increased. This is the nearest to unfairness Fr. Riga comes, for he seems to be identifying religion with ethics which would leave those of us who are irreligious as moral idiots—a caricature he himself argues against earlier in his essay. Further, I know of no socialist land in which religiosity has been shown to have increased; on the contrary, all the evidence is the other way. As for its being still in existence this in no way contradicts Marxism for Marx held that religious feeling was *necessary* so long as the mysteries of Nature were not fully mastered and so long as injustice or inequities persisted in social arrangements. I know no land in which both—or either—of these two conditions set forth by Marx himself for the *elimination* of religion have arrived.

Fr. Riga concludes his stimulating paper by stating that a Christian “is perfectly free with regard to scientific Marxism but not with regard to philosophical Marxism.” I have already argued that such

separation destroys Marxism; but let us accept Fr. Riga’s position and affirm that on its basis dialogue is certainly possible. For to have dialogue one must have differences; surely Fr. Riga is not seeking convergence? One conducts the dialogue not to convert one or the other partner but rather for mutual enlightenment.

On the basis of the respect needed for effective dialogue, and on the basis of the mutual enlightenment that flows from effective dialogue, we may both—Marxist and Christian—retain our philosophical views and work together, as Fr. Riga says, building “a united effort towards a new humanism”—especially in our own nation, so sorely in need of it.

### CORRECTION

Inadvertently several lines were left out in the article “The Road to Peace in the Middle East,” by Wolf Ehrlich, in the August, 1969 issue. On p. 43 the second, third and fourth paragraphs below sub-head should read:

The occupation is now in its third year. Two years after the June, 1967 aggression, none of the genuine problems facing the people of Israel has been solved. Aggression and occupation have only aggravated them. The people of Israel need peace. There is no peace for us. The people of Israel need security. The security situation was never as bad as now. The people of Israel need understanding with the Arab peoples. But hatred is mounting.

As long as the occupation goes on, aggression goes on. This is the decisive fact of the present situation.

It increases the dependence of the Israeli government on imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism, economically, politically, militarily. In their June aggression, the Israeli rulers relied on, and were backed by, the United States. The Israeli rulers tried to serve the imperialist aims of liquidating the anti-imperialist regimes in neighboring countries. In this they failed. They also tried to advance their own Zionist aims of territorial expansion. In this, they were temporarily and partly successful. Now, they want to gather the fruits of aggression. They can do so only with the backing of the United States. To retain this backing remains the main object of their political tactics.

## A New City is Born in the GDR

On October 7, 1969, the German Democratic Republic celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its birth. Its seventeen million people, occupying an area the approximate size of New York state, enjoy the highest standards of living of any of the socialist nations. Moreover, the GDR ranks today as the seventh largest industrial nation in the world.\* Its economic growth is complemented by significant efforts toward stimulating a social, cultural and intellectual life commensurate with developing the principles of socialist humanism.

In the southwest region of the GDR, about 15 miles south of the ancient city of Halle, a new, and truly remarkable community is being built. It is the city of Halle Neustadt. At the 6th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party in 1963, the creation of this city was first proposed. Now, about one quarter of it is completed. Only a few years ago there was nothing but open fields. Today, there are pleasing and colorful apartment houses, brand new supermarkets, nurseries, kindergartens, schools, libraries and polyclinics. And everywhere still, evidence of the work yet to be completed—huge cranes, piles of lumber and brick, still unpaved streets. When it is completed in 1976, Halle Neustadt will be a community of 130,000 people. Most of its residents will be the workers from the huge Buna and Leuna chemical factories nearby, and their families. In addition, other workers who service the city, as well as local teachers and doctors will live here.

Halle Neustadt should be of general interest to city planners anywhere in the world. It is also worth attention from the point of view of the "urban crisis" and how it is solved under socialism. But Halle Neustadt represents even more than that. It is an effort, to plan and build a city which, by its architectural design, ecological setting, and functional apparatus promotes human interaction, integrates the life of the city with the purposes of the whole society, and stimulates socialist relations between people.

The initial impetus to build Halle Neustadt came because the thousands of chemical workers lived in a total of 283 different villages and towns around Halle, and for some, it took six hours a day travel-

\* This extraordinary economic growth is attested to even by non-Communist scholars. Of particular interest is *East Germany*, by David Childs, published by Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, England, 1969.

ling time to get to and from work. With new economic plans to expand the chemical industry, it was clear that something had to be done to reckon with such an absurdity. Likewise, a new city should promote new values in a new society.

The architectural engineers who designed Halle Neustadt explained that they had three primary considerations in determining its location: 1) an area close to the chemical works; 2) an area that was free from air pollution; 3) an area that was near centers of physical relaxation, such as forests, lakes and parks. Once the site had been decided, the city was designed with several major goals in mind: that private automobiles would not be necessary in the downtown area, and all through-traffic could be routed around the city; that any apartment-house complex would be a maximum of an eight-minute walk to the central train station; that a fast, underground subway could reach the chemical works within ten minutes, and reach the old city of Halle in fifteen minutes; that kindergartens and elementary schools would be located in a way to enable young children to get to them without having to cross heavily-trafficked streets.

Most of the city is already under construction and portions of it have been completed. It is divided into four housing complexes, plus a downtown area. Each complex will house between 20,000 and 30,000 people. The apartments vary in size from one to six rooms (they do not count the bathroom or the kitchen as a room). Rent will not exceed 10 per cent of a family's monthly income. In our terms a three-room apartment will be about \$25 a month, four rooms for \$30 month. The apartments are fully equipped with all kitchen accessories including stoves and refrigerators, and all bathroom facilities. The rooms are of reasonable size, with numerous windows to afford plenty of light and fresh air. Each apartment also is designed to have a balcony large enough for a few chairs. Many are already adorned with flowers. By any European standards these apartments are extremely comfortable.

The apartment houses serve as the center for each complex. They are surrounded by dozens of necessary urban facilities: a large supermarket (including a frozen-food section—something just being introduced in the GDR), retail shops, bookstores, a post office, a bank, beauty parlor, library, nursery (for children from birth to three years), a kindergarten (for children from three to six years), an elementary school (for children from six to sixteen), a polyclinic, etc. In addition, each complex has abundant areas of grass, flowers, trees and recreational facilities.

Large expanses of land are being left aside for the creative inspirations of the residents—sort of like People's Park in Berkeley, but in this instance with the active encouragement of the city planners. This land, divided into plots for families that desire one, will be available for the development of private gardens, growing vegetables, or what-have-you. Throughout the city other areas have been set aside for exhibitions, ice-skating indoors, swimming pools, gymnasiums, athletic fields. On the outskirts of the city is a natural forest and lake, to be preserved for camping, swimming, walking. Between the old city of Halle, and Halle Neustadt, a new track for horse-racing is under construction.

The downtown area is another center of innovation. It will of course, serve as the center for office buildings, the administrative needs of the city, the main post office and bank, and additional shops, and so forth. In addition, eighteen-story apartment houses will be built, with one or two rooms. These are for young people over 16 years of age who are working or continuing their studies, and no longer wish to live with their parents. The designers, young themselves, reported this with much enthusiasm. They want the downtown area to be alive and lit up at night. Offices close by late afternoon. They decided that there was no better way to keep things lively than to put the young people in the center.

In addition, the downtown area will have a large theater, several movie-houses, and a symphony orchestra. A new opera house is being built in the old city of Halle, 15 minutes away by public transportation. The main library will be downtown, with 100,000 volumes. Specialized libraries are already available in nearby universities. All medical care is free. Downtown there will be more specialized medical facilities to augment the local-complex polyclinics. In the old city of Halle there are fully-equipped hospitals for non-ambulatory cases.

The downtown area will also serve as the educational center of Halle Neustadt. There will be high schools (for young people up to the age of 18), and various trade schools and polytechnical institutes. Plans are also underway for the building of "People's High Schools," to be operated in the evenings for full-time workers. All of this is part of the Third Educational Reform recently adopted in the GDR.

The national goal is that by 1980, 70 per cent of all workers will have the educational equivalent of a bachelor's degree. The educational proposals encompass a curriculum to guarantee not only technical expertise, but ideological development as well. The latter pro-

gram is designed to equip people with a working knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Within the educational reform great priority is being given to developing a high level of ideological consciousness among all the people, most especially the workers. Efforts are being made to ensure that all people have substantial knowledge of the problems and goals of economic and social planning under socialism.

There is a tendency, given the scientific-technological revolution, that only a small number of people become expert in the area of social planning—a tendency toward the formation of a "technocracy." The purpose of the educational reform is to consciously fight this to prevent the fragmentation of workers away from the productive processes, and to insure mass participation in social planning. And central to this, is that people be not only technically expert, but attain a high level of political and socialist consciousness.

It was unclear to me to what extent the educational program has been developed so as to guarantee a balanced and well-rounded curriculum. The emphasis, obviously flowing from pressing need, is for technically competent and skilled workers, with a developed knowledge of science—physics, mathematics, chemistry, etc. In addition, what will be very important, is the development of curricula in the trade schools and technical institutes designed to stimulate curiosity and an appreciation of the humanities.

Given the urban insanity prevalent in the United States, the successful completion of Halle Neustadt should demonstrate that it is possible, once having abolished the capitalist socio-economic structure, to re-order a society's priorities. It is possible to create communities which foster humanist values, and are simultaneously integrated into the mainstream of the scientific-technological revolution.

The inter-human relations in U.S. society, so often reflecting greed, corruption, individualism, ruthlessness, cannot be wished away, and they cannot be solved through utopian conceptions of withdrawal from society. The fundamental social tensions of our cities—racism, poverty, disease, taxes, totally inadequate housing, recreation, education, sanitation, public transportation, can only be basically tackled when capitalist relations are abolished. It is the material availability of life's necessities, and the elimination of the private appropriation of wealth, which makes *possible*, a new basis for society, and for the expression of humanist values. This goes to the very heart of what Marx and Engels saw as the central antagonism of capitalist society: the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation.

As a result of our urban crisis many bourgeois sociologists have



insisted that its source is the scientific-technological revolution. The structure of capitalist society, they argue, is functionally stable. They suggest that there is an irreversible contradiction between the scientific-technological revolution's necessity for rational planning and humanist values. From this thesis they argue that as socialist society is industrialized it *converges* with capitalism, and develops an organization and structure indistinguishable from capitalism. Through such argumentation the central fact of capitalist society—its exploitative and oppressive character—is obscured and/or denied.

There is no doubt that the scientific-technological revolution has a dynamic of its own, and creates conditions and problems apart from the social system. But fundamentally it is true to say that, "Science and technology, rationality and effectiveness never exist 'in themselves' and never in themselves exert a humane or inhumane influence. They acquire their functions and purposes from the social system to which they belong. . . ."\*

It is this central theoretical premise which socialist society must now demonstrate to be true. For as socialist society industrializes, as its science and technology matures, and as it equals or surpasses the scientific and industrial achievements of the advanced capitalist countries, moral, ethical, humanist and aesthetic values propel themselves into the public consciousness with a new force and a new quality.

It is from this vantage point, that the successful completion, and future vitality of Halle Neustadt assumes new and decisive dimensions.

Without the cold and desolation of  
winter  
There could not be the warmth and  
splendor of spring.  
Calamity has tempered and hardened  
me,  
And turned my mind into steel.

Ho Chi Minh, *Prison Diary*.

\* Speech by Walter Ulbricht, *The Significance and Vital Force of the Teachings of Karl Marx for Our Era*, May, 1968, Berlin, p. 34.

## Venezuelan Communists Wage Heroic Struggle

I take great pleasure in conveying to you revolutionary greetings on behalf of the Communists and Communist youth of Venezuela.

The political situation in our country in the sixties is a historical process rich in important events. The working class and people of Venezuela are fighting staunchly and courageously against their internal enemies and U.S. imperialism.

Our people's fight against the pro-imperialist governments of Betancourt and Leoni has added brilliant chapters in the history of our revolution.

You know that world imperialism, especially the U.S. monopolies, has made deep inroads into the Venezuelan economy. The imperialists exploit our world-renowned oil resources and our rich deposits of iron ore. Foreign investment in our country is enormous and the U.S. monopolies derive an annual 40 per cent in profit from the capital invested in the oil industry. This scandalous plunder of Venezuela's oil resources explains in a way the sharp social and political struggles in our country, as well as the marked degradation of parties and rulers who forget about their political programs and promises as soon as they find themselves in power.

The ruthless exploitation of Venezuela by the U.S. and other monopolies angers its patriots. The submission of the country's rulers to the foreign exploiters objectively helps to unite the most diverse revolutionary and progressive-minded people, as is evident, in particular, from the failure of Rockefeller's attempt to visit Caracas. Whenever patriotic sentiment leads to joint action against foreign domination, it does not take the people long to win the upper hand.

Rockefeller, the most privileged exploiter of the working class and the riches of Venezuela, a man sent by Nixon to impose new onerous terms on our people, was unable to visit Lima and La Paz. Nor could he go to Caracas. The reason for all this was that the peoples of Latin America united to keep him out. Rockefeller's personal fiasco was also a fiasco for President Nixon and his predatory policy in Latin America, whose peoples are going through a period

\* Jesus Faria is the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela. We present here excerpts from his talk at the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.—*Editors*.

of powerful upsurge in their fight for independence and freedom.

The youth of Venezuela—over 70 per cent of the population are under thirty years—are firmly opposed to the imperialists and strongly insist on a progressive policy on the part of the state.

We Venezuelan Communists, operating in difficult conditions, have been waging big battles in every sector.

Thanks to resolute and staunch resistance to the dictators, we have secured the release of thousands of our imprisoned comrades and the legalization of the Communist Party. In this struggle we have made mistakes and scored gains, as is usually the case in fighting a powerful enemy. However, we must tell the spokesmen of the Communist Parties present here that the CPV as a political force carries considerable weight with the working class and other classes and progressive social strata of the country. Our enemies announced the abolition of the CPV more than once, but our Party proved indestructible because it is closely linked with the people.

Today the CPV is fighting to regain lost positions and reorganize on a national scale. We are concentrating on the task of winning more members among the working class, on the Marxist-Leninist training of our comrades, on the application of the principles of internationalism, on the class struggle. We are doing all this on the basis of sustained struggle against imperialism, for national independence, against the national oligarchy. . . .

The Central Committee of the CPV is aware of the difficulties which the world Communist movement is passing through. After the Second World War, as a result of the historic victory of the Soviet armed forces over German fascism, the working class triumphed in a number of countries standing at the most diverse levels of material and cultural development. In each of them the approach to age-old problems had to be different in one way or another. Thus our Communist movement came up against complications arising from considerable growing pains. Its growth has substantially changed the balance of world forces in favor of socialism.

Lastly, and regrettably, some contingents of our movement were faced with problems that have yet to be solved in a satisfactory manner. An indication of this is the absence of some of the invited brother parties from this important Communist conference.

Nevertheless . . . the fact that so many Marxist-Leninist parties have agreed to meet for a discussion of the most urgent problems agitating the working people all over the world, and that we have come here to seek and find ways and means of reaching agreement and extending our joint struggle against our common enemy, is

highly important for Communists and the international working class. For this Meeting is paving the way for a future world conference that will be attended by both us and those who are absent today. The quest for ways of establishing closer links and achieving unity should become a necessary objective of the world Communist movement.

A frank, comradely discussion of ideological matters, like the one we are beginning today, will be very useful for both Communists and the entire national liberation movement, for both the brother parties in power and those operating in the conditions of brutal capitalist oppression.

The world Communist movement needs a platform for fighting against imperialism. The basis of this platform is united action by Communists fighting in different latitudes and different conditions against one and the same chief enemy. . . .

It is necessary to fight unrelentingly, demanding respect for human rights in every corner of the globe, win guaranteed civil rights, secure the release of, and freedom for, political prisoners.

Great importance attaches from this point of view to the effective and permanent solidarity of all Communist parties and popular movements of the world with the peoples of Spain and Brazil, Portugal and Haiti, Greece and Paraguay, Indonesia, Guatemala and Panama, with all peoples living under frightful political oppression.

A task of tremendous importance today is militant support for the Peruvian people, who are resisting the brazen policy of the U.S. government. It is also as necessary as ever for all the peoples of the world to continue their fraternal support of socialist Cuba.

The armed struggle of African peoples against Portuguese colonialism—in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique—the struggle against the infamy of racial oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia, against neo-colonialism in any form, as well as the Arab peoples' resistance to imperialist aggression deserve our warm sympathy.

Besides, we must remember that while one and a half centuries have passed since most Latin American countries won freedom from Spanish rule, the sores of colonialism are still visible on the American continent. Not long ago the people of Curacao, who have close geographical, economic and historical ties with Venezuela, set an example of courageous resistance to colonial rule.

What is needed first and foremost, however, is to extend all-out assistance on a world scale to the Vietnamese people's victorious fight—a fight unexampled in history—against the wanton aggression launched by the U.S. government. In Vietnam, imperialism is digging

its own grave. The freedom-loving peoples of the world must not slacken their solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. . . .

The Central Committee of the CPV subscribes to the thesis that the militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries and all contingents of the working class and national liberation movements with every people fighting for independence and freedom, against imperialism must be strengthened. . . .

We agree that relations between the Communist parties should be based on proletarian internationalism. Strict adherence to this fundamental principle promotes unity, increases the strength of Communists and makes for more harmonious development of their relations and mutual assistance.

We agree that the effect of the political activity of each Communist party depends on that party's achievements in its own country, the achievements of brother parties and the extent of cooperation between the various contingents.

We regard the national and international responsibility of every Communist party as an indivisible whole. Marxist-Leninists never separate patriotism from proletarian internationalism. At the same time they reject both national narrow-mindedness and underestimation of national peculiarities.

Naturally, the Central Committee of the CPV deplors the existence of ideological and political contradictions in the world Communist movement. But we are not pessimists.

We think true Communists will always find a way of working together. We are faced with the very serious fact that imperialism profits by our disputes. This is what really worries us, just as it worries, to the best of our knowledge, our brothers in other countries. We trust that the debate begun here will help us chart the course of the struggle for the independence of the oppressed countries, for the freedom of the peoples enslaved by capitalism.

The Preparatory Committee of this Meeting has worked out a draft that has already won the support of numerous parties. We can say that some differences have been overcome while others persist and may not be fully settled at this Meeting. Be that as it may, they have been specified and reduced which will make it easier to discuss them in the future. Besides, developments usually come to our aid in situations of this kind. Much depends on proper application of the principles of internationalism, which guide our activity. The working class of the world expects of us sincere efforts for unity. This hope of the working class is fully justified as far as the Com-

*(Continued on page 56)*

## New Developments in Peru

We representatives of the Peruvian Communist Party have come to this important Meeting from a most crucial front of the present-day anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America. This alone speaks of our profound conviction that coordinated action by all forces, above all active steps to cement the world Communist movement, is necessary more than ever before. That is why, with revolutionary enthusiasm, we look forward to the success of our Meeting. . . .

After the military coup last October, Peru entered a special, crucial and difficult phase. Its most significant feature is the opposition to U.S. imperialism displayed not only by our people, but also, for the first time, by our government.

Nationalization of oil, Peru's main power source, expropriation of the stocks and shares of the oil refineries, the industrial complex and the commercial agencies of International Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil branch, coupled with the exaction of \$690 million which International Petroleum owed Peru—all this signified the end to imperialist oil monopoly and its conversion into a state monopoly, which was followed by the establishment of diplomatic and trading relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and by firm action in defense of our maritime sovereignty against piratic imperialist fisheries.

Recently, two important political actions took place: a) Nelson Rockefeller, President Nixon's emissary, was officially refused entry into our country, this contributing greatly to the failure of the provocative tour on a continental scale, and b) the U.S. military missions, which tied Peru's armed forces to the Pentagon and were actually a support base for imperialist armed intervention against the liberation struggle in our country, were expelled. . . .

The roots of these events should be sought in the structural crisis in Peru and other countries of the continent, or, in other words, in the country's dependent condition and the survival of pre-capitalist relations of production that impede the growth of the productive forces.

In the past two decades the country witnessed an extremely rapid economic growth, highlighted by increasing production of various

\* Jorge Del Prado is General Secretary of the Communist Party of Peru. Excerpts from talk at the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

export goods and a considerable expansion of industry. This has brought about far-reaching changes in the balance of class forces—a numerical and organizational growth of the working people, a marked reduction of the rural population, a growth of the national bourgeoisie and the emergence of a new oligarchy. However, in the conditions of foreign domination this growth, with its distorted forms, only added to our country's dependence, deepened the chronic agrarian crisis and caused an appalling impoverishment of the masses, entailing all the usual terrible consequences.

. . . Although our country is extremely rich, particularly in minerals and fish, the increased exports and the brighter economic situation benefited none but the foreign trusts, big landowners and big capitalists. When the drain of foreign exchange and the monstrous speculation reached the culmination point, while the state debt grew enormously, credits were considerably restricted, causing an acute deficit in the balance of payments and precipitating a financial crisis. At that point, the government shifted the burden of the crisis to the people by raising taxes and devaluating our currency. It also betrayed national interests by renewing agreements that robbed us of our oil on terms inferior to the previous. The economic crisis and the rampant corruption brought on a political crisis, the government's complete isolation and inevitable downfall.

In the course of this process, all strata of the people became aware of the burning need for changes, which impelled mass actions, the participants of which demanded improvements and formulated anti-imperialist slogans. There was also an upswing of national sentiment, which gripped broad strata of the small and national bourgeoisie, representative organizations of the technical intelligentsia and a large section of the priesthood and the armed forces. . . .

We cannot ignore the fact, comrades, that the current events in Peru vividly reflect the character, content and main trends of our era, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of which the world socialist system is the leading force. These events are impelled by the disintegration of the imperialist system, the cause of its desperate aggressiveness, on the one hand, and the growing influence of the socialist camp, above all the Soviet Union, its foremost contingent, on the other. The latest and for us the closest example of this influence is the Cuban revolution. None will deny that the events in our country are part of the continent-wide process that began with the victory of the Cuban revolution and its winning battle against the imperialist blockade. The Cuban example has brought home to broad national circles that Latin Americans are now

able to defeat the common enemy. . . .

The socio-economic development of our country and that of the international situation did not occur spontaneously. Our Party has always played a worthy role as the organizing and directing factor in the fight waged by the anti-imperialist, national and democratic forces. Not only have we always, since our Party was formed, fought for the nationalization of International Petroleum and other big U. S. enterprises holding key positions in our economy; it is also to our credit that we were the first to advance these slogans in the stage ushered in by the Cuban revolution. What was still more important than advancing these slogans, however, was that we secured mass support for them.

Jointly with other anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces, we organized the National Oil Defense Front, later converted into the National Liberation Front. These movements, which advocated unity, subsequently exercised a strong influence on public opinion and helped mobilize the people in the early sixties. After we overcame the strong reactionary counter-offensive in and outside the Party, we reorganized and improved the leadership of the movement on a new basis, making the most of two factors: the class unity of the working class, which we delivered from the clutches of the yellow Apraist unions, and the unity of the revolutionary political forces in the Left Unity Front. This was accomplished by revising Party policy along Leninist lines and by reorganizing the Party organizations, enlivening the Party press, by Party building and many other measures. In the battles that followed in recent years against the treacherous policy of the former government, for the expulsion of International Petroleum, we became the most influential force among the people. During the last election campaign, on the eve of the military coup, the Left Unity Front acquired new possibilities, acting in concert, for the same aims, with the Christian-Democratic Party and the People's Action Party, which by then turned against President Belaunde and the Right circles.

Accumulating forces had not been easy. Throughout its long history, the Party was exposed to brutal repressions by a succession of military and oligarchic dictatorships. During the past decade we were subjected time and again to cruel police round-ups and persecuted by the disgraceful politico-military tribunals. However, the enemy's subversive activity, affected through Left-opportunist splitters, prompted, organized and led by Maoists, had a particularly debilitating effect on our fighting capacity. This retarded the development process by diverting it from its natural course.

The splinter group appeared at the time of an upswing in the class organization of the working people, during broad peasant actions for land, the student movement for the initiation and extension of a university reform and in the initial stage of the popular fight for oil. The group set itself but one task: to split the Party and destroy the contingents called upon to unite in a great anti-imperialist, nationalist and democratic front. It acted, in effect, in collusion with the police, since to begin its work it took advantage of a far-flung police round-up of thousands of Communist leaders, Party members and other Left groups during the 1963 military dictatorship. The subversive elements were soon released, while we were kept in prison for a long time.

There was yet another fact: at the time of the guerrilla actions of 1965, though not involved because it thought them premature, our Party did not evade coming to grips with the common enemy and gave what support it could to the fighters and members of their families. The subversive elements, on the other hand, were busy saving their own skins and publicly denounced these actions. In other words, they were ultra-revolutionaries in words only, and base reactionaries in deed, acting like their teachers, the miracle-makers, are acting on the international arena, scorning the specific features of the country concerned and the changes caused by time. In order to reorganize our ranks and conduct a successful policy of alliances and work with the masses, we had first of all to unite the Party firmly on a basis of principle, purging it of these elements. . . . By now, Maoism has been fragmented and politically defeated in Peru. . . .

It should be noted that neo-Trotskyism is becoming more dangerous than the old Trotskyism, primarily because it operates on the international scene, exploiting the prestige of the victorious socialist revolution, indoctrinating a vast nation whose hopes of a better life has been disappointed, in a spirit of superstitious fanaticism and, secondly, because it has gone over from anti-Leninist theoretical concepts to anti-Soviet armed action. We must address ourselves constantly to the internationalist spirit of the sound part of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese nation in order that they should rectify the incorrect line. But that is one thing. It is an entirely different thing to let Maoism undermine this Meeting as well, while we wait in vain for this rectification. . . .

What we said earlier does not mean that the military junta is, or can be, a revolutionary government. The 5th Congress of our Party described the military junta by reason of its social composition, maxi-

imum program and dominant influences as a bourgeois national-reformist government which, though consisting of military people only, is not at all homogeneous. Elements distinctly nationalist and progressive share power in it with conservative or vacillating elements saturated with the military authoritarian spirit. We see this from the attempts to prevent a radical agrarian reform, to prevent the modification of the basic aspects of the previous government's economic policy and from the fact that an anti-labor and anti-student policy is being followed. Willy-nilly, this policy conflicts indirectly with the national course and with the actions so energetically begun, thereby it is losing the necessary devoted support of the masses. In these circumstances, it was impossible to avert the continuously sharpening economic crisis. Taking advantage of the popular discontent caused by this crisis, home reaction and U. S. imperialism are assiduously hatching conspiracies aimed at overthrowing the government or at altering radically its present nationalist policy.

Naturally, our Party takes a clear-cut stand against the anti-popular aspects of the present government, while backing with mass action that aspect which is historically most significant: the government's determined struggle against imperialist aggression. All this is closely associated with the struggle to change government policy in the sphere of labor and education, and to extend the measures aimed against the landowners and oligarchy. The program of immediate action adopted by the 5th Congress contains demands consistent with the degree of maturity attained in resolving the national problems and, at once, envisaging ways of coping with the economic crisis and improving the living conditions of the people. These demands are: radical agrarian reform, development of copper deposits by the state, restrictions on remittance of dividends by Peru-based U.S. enterprises to their mother enterprises in the United States, currency control, an indefinite moratorium on foreign debts, and credit and technical aid agreements with the socialist countries in order to stimulate independent growth of the state economy and a general rise in wages. The purpose of all this is to pave the way for a truly popular government that would embark on building socialism and communism in a way made practicable by the general conditions. . . .

We have never been prey to illusions and have never shed our class independence. We have kept up and made more militant the General Confederation of Labor, which has grown since its establishment a year ago into a trade union center embracing the majority of the organized proletariat, because it never ceases to fight for the economic and political demands of the working class and peasants.

The united anti-imperialist front is growing and expanding politically on the "Left Unity" basis, advancing towards a broad national and democratic front. We are also making headway in organizing the broad peasant masses and in reviving the leading and unifying role of the student federations. All this is complemented by the effort to turn our Party as quickly as possible into a well-organized mass party with deep roots in the people.

We reaffirm our internationalist attitude. We are fighting for socialism and Communism on the world front. We are waging a frontal struggle against imperialism. We need your solidarity. That is why, in the interest of the whole movement, we need the cohesion and unity of our great world detachment more than ever before. That is our contribution and, at the same time, it is our appeal. . . .

(Continued from page 50)

munists are concerned. This is proved by the revolutionary road we Communists have travelled in our respective sectors of the fight against imperialism.

Comrades, the Central Committee of the CPV has approved of an international political line aimed at maintaining and fostering friendship and solidarity with all Communist and Workers' Parties on the principle of Marxism-Leninism, equality and mutual respect and finds it necessary to strive continuously for greater cohesion of all contingents of the world Communist movement.

The CPV does not make friendship and solidarity with its brothers in other countries conditional on whether they approve of its activity in its own country. On the contrary, we are willing to listen carefully to constructive criticism of our mistakes by brother parties in the course of bilateral or multilateral meetings. We are ready to work in this spirit, along these political lines. . . .

## BOOK REVIEWS

ERIK BERT

### Salisbury via Sakharov

U.S. imperialism's single most important conduit for ideological warfare against the socialist world is the *New York Times*. During the past year the *Times* was a major inspirer and prop for the Right-wing, anti-socialist forces of Czechoslovakia.

Harrison Salisbury, one of its assistant managing editors and formerly its Moscow correspondent, has fabricated a platform for anti-socialist subversion from the planks which are now in mass production. These are contained in Salisbury's "Introduction," "Notes," and "Afterword" to Andrei D. Sakharov's *Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*, published by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Sakharov's work, dated June, 1968, was originally published in the *New York Times* on July 11, 1968. Salisbury's contributions to Sakharov's book, as "annotator," occupy about half again as much space, by rough count, as does Sakharov's original.

To gain a hearing for anti-Soviet views, Salisbury provides Sakharov, a Soviet physicist, with spurious political credentials. "Sakharov makes clear from the outset to any reader with Marxist training that his criticism comes from 'within,' that is, from within a general Marxist orientation

of society, rather than from the outside" (pp. 96, 99). This is false on two counts. First, there is not the slightest affiliation, in any area, between Sakharov's views and Marxism. Secondly, Sakharov does not claim, as Salisbury says he does, to be arguing from a Marxist point of view. Sakharov describes his own views only as "profoundly socialist" (54). Salisbury, to repair the inadequacy, presents Sakharov as a Marxist by identifying his "scientific method" with Marxism (96). Sakharov describes his "scientific method" as "a method based on deep analysis of facts, theories, and views, presupposing unprejudiced, unfearing open discussion and conclusions" (25).

Salisbury says Sakharov's "thoughts" contain no criticism of the classic hypotheses of Marxism as such" (96-97). That is not true, either. Sakharov rejects Marxism in respect to: the role of the working class and of the intellectuals, the nature of capitalism and imperialism, "peaceful coexistence," internationalism, "convergence," world government, and with respect to the nature of Marxism itself.

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The immediate target of imperialism's ideological offensive is

the Communist movement and, particularly, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The fundamental enemy is socialism, in the first place socialism in the Soviet Union where mankind first broke out of the shackles of exploitation. That has been imperialism's main line during the more than half a century that has elapsed since the October Revolution.

In his attack on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Salisbury focuses on "proletarian dictatorship and 'democratic centralism,'" which were "foisted on the Bolshevik party in its struggling conspiratorial days by Lenin" (119).

Salisbury would have preferred that the Bolshevik revolution had been strangled at birth, as Churchill hoped; he naturally hates the proletarian dictatorship which protected the historic breakthrough. He, therefore, describes as "dictatorship by an oligarchy" the leadership of the Soviet people by the Communist Party—in defense of the revolution, in constructing a new society, in crushing the Nazi onslaught, in inspiring the socialist breakthrough in Eastern Europe and Asia, in standing up to U.S. imperialism's program for world domination and, thus, in giving confidence of victory to the liberation forces throughout the world.

Salisbury's anti-Soviet view has the support of Sakharov who sees the history of the Soviet Union as "fifty years of complete domination over the minds of an entire nation" by "our leaders" (63), by "the bosses" (55).

Salisbury makes a flank attack on the theory of the vanguard role of the working class in capitalist society. He allots the vanguard role to the intellectuals. He asserts that in the Soviet Union today "the intelligentsia . . . [is] the mainspring of reform and liberal ideas within Russian society" (94). This contention has three purposes: 1) to encourage elitist illusions in the ranks of the capitalist intelligentsia, 2) to pit the intellectuals against the Communist movement, and 3) to subvert intellectuals in the socialist countries into opposition to the Communist parties as obstacles to new ideas.

To provide an historical background for the intelligentsia-mainspring notion, Salisbury recalls, in describing the "evolution of modern Russian society," that "in the 19th century Russia was made up of an enormous mass of peasants . . . a comparatively small but growing class of entrepreneur industrialists . . . and a thin layer of intelligentsia . . ." (93). Brecht might have asked: but who worked so that there could be "entrepreneur industrialists"? One need not be a Marxist to know that there were wage workers in Czarist Russia in the 19th century.

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Salisbury, understandably, prefers the course of events that emerged in Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1968 to the path which led to the Bolshevik revolution. On the night of August 20, he says, the Warsaw Pact nations intervened to stifle "freedom of speech" and "freedom of press."

He sees these not as ends in themselves but as means to achieve "freedom for competing political parties, and ultimately free elections" (142).

What Salisbury and other such "freedom" advocates have in mind is not freedom for other socialist parties, but freedom for anti-socialist parties. However, the people of the socialist countries did not overthrow capitalism in order to insure freedom for parties which had sought to maintain capitalist exploitation by force and violence, and would seek to restore it by the same means.

The corrosion of socialism would be accomplished in Sakharov's plan, and in Salisbury's words, by the "evolution of a new socio-political system in the Communist world—the rise of a multi-party system of competing programs and viewpoints, freely manifest within Communist parties" (152). The "democratization of the Communist regimes would not wipe away the economic basis of these countries." "The Communist economic system, government ownership of the means of production, government direction of national economy, the ban on private ownership of the means of production would continue" (152-153).

"But"—there would be one alteration:

The "political basis of the Communist states would change." The "single party" system would be dissolved by "the flourishing of divergent and competing opinions" (153). Sakharov is more explicit. He supports the "multiparty sys-

tem" in opposition to the "ruling Communist party" (82).

The dismantling of socialism would in fact begin with the elimination of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class and of the entire socialist society—even while the sappers were vowing their eternal allegiance to socialism.

That is, in fact, the program of demolition pursued in Czechoslovakia last year. The anti-socialist and Right-wing forces vowed that socialism would be preserved. They pledged allegiance, again and again, to the post-January, 1968 reforms and to the April Action Program. They challenged only—covertly or openly—the leading role of the Communist Party. The "bold initiative" of the Right-wing of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which Sakharov saw as "so valuable for the future of socialism and of all mankind" (67), almost led to the victory of the anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary forces. Had they succeeded, a revisionist regime would have been imposed on Czechoslovakia, and the road opened to the "freedom" of capitalism.

The alternatives are not, as Salisbury would have the reader believe, single-party domination, or multi-party freedom. He hates the multi-party system of the German Democratic Republic as much as he does the single-party system of the Soviet Union. The decisive alternatives are: a party system, single or multi, leading the people in socialist construction, or a party system, single or

multi, supporting the restoration of capitalism.

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One of Salisbury's major contributions to the tactics of capitalism's ideological warfare is the proposition that imperialism's ideologues should not feel inhibited by its obvious evils. He advises that if, instead of being embarrassed by these evils, they are publicly recognized, the admission can provide protective coloration for anti-socialist activities. He shows, by the example of Sakharov, how an anti-Soviet ideological campaign can be pursued even while opposing the U.S. war in Vietnam. He explains that Sakharov's "convergence" with "official Soviet doctrine" on the Vietnam war, provides him with a "principled" position from which to attack other Soviet policies (99), specifically, Soviet policy in the Middle East (100).

Salisbury shows, again using Sakharov as an example, how one can carry through an anti-Soviet policy in the context of the Middle East events, even while condemning Israeli actions. He cites Sakharov's support of Israel's war of independence in 1948, and his unequivocal condemnation of "Israel's participation with England and France in the abortive 1956 attack on Egypt." These items constitute planks for a platform from which Sakharov "condones" Israel's 1967 war against the Arab states, and "puts full blame upon the Soviet Union for 'irresponsible encouragement' of the Arab states" (99). Then, Sakharov "contends, the Israeli

cause lost its just basis by cruel treatment of refugee populations and by seeking a military resolution of territorial questions" (100).

One should not assume, in Salisbury's view, that these apparently contradictory positions cancel each other. He concludes that "the balance of [Sakharov's] criticism clearly lies against his own government" (100). That is what counts in the anti-Soviet ideological campaign.

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Salisbury makes two distinct efforts to conceal the fact that the fundamental trouble with the world is capitalism. He argues that 1) control of nuclear power has replaced the character of the social system as the decisive factor determining man's future and that, in any event, 2) capitalism is becoming less capitalistic and more socialistic. He contends that, whatever capitalism's evils were, they don't count for much since Hiroshima, for there is now an evil that puts capitalism's in the deep shade. After Hiroshima, "No longer did we live in a Communist world, a Capitalist world, a Socialist world, a Feudal world. We lived in a Nuclear world" (10).

The peril to the world, he holds, arises because the nuclear bomb exists; the bomb is inherently malignant, a self-contained evil. He would like the world to forget that the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima by the capitalist U.S.A., in a capitalist-incited war. He seeks, also, to obscure the fact that capitalism is now, as

it ever was, a system of private ownership of means of production and of exploitation. To this end he relays the "reasonable" suggestion of Sakharov that the "Western economies . . . have incorporated socialist principles into their systems" (143). Sakharov puts it thus: "in the United States and other capitalist countries . . . the capitalists are actually using the social principles of socialism" (74).

Salisbury is non-communicative about the nature of capitalism's "socialist" pregnancy. The whole thing is a new twist to an old routine. Today, after more than half a century of socialist power in the Soviet Union, the more flexible bourgeois spokesmen cite capitalism's alleged "socialist" attributes in its defense. Two types of development are usually noted as representing "socialist" advances within capitalism. The first is the welfare measures which the capitalist class has invoked, ranging from the poorhouses of early English industrialism, to the "socialist" measures which Bismarck enacted, to medic-aid. Every such measure, however pitiful, has been excoriated by the most hard-nosed capitalist spokesmen as "socialist" and has been hailed by the smoothies as proving the perfectability of capitalism.

The second development which some try to palm off as "socialist" is the expanding role of the state in the capitalist economy. This expanding role is simply the increasing utilization of the state power for the profit goals of mo-

nopoly capital. The alleged gestation of "socialist principles" in capitalism is, in fact, an ideological camouflage to conceal the growth of state monopoly capitalism.

The "socialist principles" gambit is also an expression of the "convergence" doctrine which holds that since, under modern capitalism as under socialism, the state plays an important role in the economy, therefore the gap between the paths along which the two systems are now advancing is gradually, but inevitably, becoming narrower. The alleged evolution of "socialist principles" within capitalism is offered as a proof that "convergence" is a reality.

\* \* \*

Salisbury says that "peaceful coexistence" of the capitalist and socialist worlds, of the United States and the Soviet Union, is the prerequisite for saving the world from nuclear catastrophe. The worldwide support won by the doctrine of "peaceful existence" is a tribute to the single-minded and determined advocacy in which the Soviet Union has persevered since World War II.

Salisbury's literal acceptance of "peaceful coexistence" is less substantial than it seems. He advocates it as a stratagem to win support for the preservation of capitalism and the blighting of socialism. To this end he argues that the world can be saved from nuclear disaster only if capitalism is preserved and Communism is revised. He, therefore, welcomes Sakharov's advice to the workers



"of the United States and other developed capitalist countries" that they should not seek to replace capitalism by socialism. Sakharov assures the workers that "revolution"—that is, the overthrow of capitalist rule—is not "the only way out" (75, 143-144).

He recommends instead what he calls the "peaceful transition to socialism" which, he says, is "reflected in the programs of the Communist parties of the developed countries." This is a hoax.

What Sakharov has in mind is poles apart from the "peaceful transition" which the Communist parties see as a possible course of development, and which they favor. His "peaceful transition" is to be achieved by a coalition of the "working class and the progressive intelligentsia" and "also the reformist wing of the bourgeoisie." The "typical representatives" of this reformist bourgeoisie "are Cyrus Eaton [Chesapeake and Ohio empire], President Franklin D. Roosevelt and, especially President John F. Kennedy" (79).

The manifest destiny of this coalition of workers, intellectuals, and reformist bourgeoisie is to insure the "victory of the leftist reformist wing of the bourgeoisie." As a reward to the workers, the liberal capitalist will initiate "changes in the structure of ownership"—of monopoly capitalism, that is (82). Neither the late FDR and JFK, nor Cyrus Eaton, who is still with us, have ever promised to do any such thing. Sakharov takes a lot on himself when he makes promises

in their name. The "reformist wing of the bourgeoisie," Sakharov informs us, "supports . . . a program of convergence." That is, apparently, what he calls giving "convergence" a "socialist and democratic meaning" (79).

\* \* \*

Sakharov would pervert the struggle for "peaceful coexistence" into a quarantine on the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. To this end he makes the "preaching of the incompatibility of world ideologies" identical with "preaching of the incompatibility of . . . nations" (27).

He contends that since compatibility of nations is crucial to the salvation of mankind, the struggle against capitalist ideology—not to speak of the struggle against capitalism as a system—must be abandoned. To this end, Sakharov would have the reader believe that the "peril that threatens the world" is the result of a non-class "division of mankind," the non-class "estrangement of the world's two superpowers" (27, 37, 45-56).

Under the pretext of saving the world from nuclear and other catastrophe he would exclude the understanding that the perils confronting the world have a class basis. He would, thus, close off the path to ending these perils through abolition of the system which gives rise to them—capitalism.

\* \* \*

Sakharov calls for "ideological collaboration" between Marxism-Leninism and capitalism. From this "ideological collaboration" he

would exclude fascist, racist, militarist . . . demagogy" (28). This exclusion from the contemplated capitalist-socialist "ideological collaboration" has a quite different import than appears at first glance. It would conceal the fact that capitalism breeds and nurtures fascism, racism and militarism.

The inevitable consequence of the "ideological collaboration" of socialist ideology and capitalist ideology would be collaboration of the ideology of socialism with the "fascist, racist, militarist . . . demagogy" of capitalism.

\* \* \*

Consistently, Sakharov concludes that the "problem" of "the poverty, lack of rights, and humiliation of the 22 million American Negroes . . . is not primarily a class problem, but a racial problem" (74-75). Even more explicitly, he absolves the capitalist class from responsibility. The "ruling group in the United States," he says, "is interested in solving this problem," in contrast to the "white workers" who are afflicted by "racism and egotism" (75). He exculpates federal inaction, citing the government's "fears of upsetting the unstable equilibrium in the country" and recommends "letting the ruling group in the United States settle the Negro problem" (75). Not even the Nixon Administration would say that publicly.

He applies the same standards to the international arena. Imperialism is, for him, only "the so-called imperialist peril somewhere in Africa or in Latin

America or in the Middle East" (58). In fact, "colonial oppression" is not a consequence of capitalism but of "national egotism." So, too, are "nationalism and racism" (78).

\* \* \*

Peaceful coexistence makes possible the natural "convergence" of capitalism and socialism, according to Salisbury. Under this "convergence" theory, the "societies of Russia and the United States seem to be borrowing valuable features from each other, thus leading in the long run to the creation of systems which are more and more compatible." (143); "western society becomes more socialized and the Communist world more democratized"; "the concepts of 'Communism' and 'Capitalism' as differing social orders . . . become largely meaningless" (153); and there emerges a "world government on a basis of 'socialist convergence,'" "a system of world government, led by the United States and the Soviet Union" (154), a "world society" (21).

Sakharov puts it this way: "Socialism should enoble" the "ground from which it grew," the "capitalist world," by "its example and other indirect forms of pressure and then merge with it" (78-79). He insists that the rape of socialism by capitalism be "principled" and carried through by "elections."

The "convergence" perspective is intended to bemuse those who are oppressed by capitalism, to divert the working class from the struggle against the capitalist ex-

ploitation and repression, and for socialism. The intent is to prevent the working class from realizing that "peaceful coexistence of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R." can be achieved only if peace is imposed on capitalism, and if the natural "convergence" of capitalism and socialism is rejected as a cynical hoax.

Projection of the allegedly increasing similarity of capitalism and socialism tends to make them equally responsible — that is,

equally guilty—for the state of the world today. For example, both systems, according to Salisbury, "carry inevitable seeds of military collision and fatal war" (143). This assignment of equal responsibility for militarism and war is an attempt to erase the responsibility of capitalism for the carnage of World War I, World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War, by ascribing responsibility for war to the "military" and thus exculpating the system of imperialism.

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