



An Analysis

The Cuban Revolution!

High point of Latin-American revolutionary tide

The ousting of dictator Batista from Cuba is but a superficial incident when gauged from the standpoint of the profound upheaval which the uprising of the Cuban people entails. This Cuban episode is no mere revolt — it is but one stage of a vast revolutionary process.

This phase of the Cuban revolution represents the ever-growing groundswell of revolution in the colonial world, which, originating in Asia and Africa, is spreading to the Western Hemisphere. This anti-imperialist struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in Latin America finds its concrete expression in the efforts of the Latin American peoples to eliminate the criminal, anti-democratic dictatorship foisted upon them by American imperialism.

The famous Cuban historian, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring in his book "Marti Anti-Imperialist" explained fully and clearly the relations between the Cuban revolutionary classes and American imperialism when he stated:

"The pernicious influence exerted by Yankee imperialism over the Cuban Republic has suffocated its economy, and has constantly obstructed, by its intervention from without, the normal development of Cuba's

political life. This has resulted in the internal disorganization of the nation.

"The aim of American imperialism has been to secure the support of Cuban nationals so as to assure their (American imperialism's) economic and political domination. This evil policy has, with the connivance of the reactionary forces of the Cuban nation, led to the favoring of corrupt candidates and leaders and the emergency of tyrannical governments.

"In countries where self-government is a myth (like Cuba), Yankee imperialism requires the establishment in power of those elements who have no popular support whatsoever. Hence the setting up of tyrannical governments, be they overt or covert, civilian or military; governments wholly dependent upon imperialist support for their existence and at all times at the service of imperialism.

"So thorough has been the influence in the sovereign life of our country of Yankee imperialist intervention, that it can be used as a gauge to measure Cuban representatives and leaders. It can be unequivocally stated, that on any occasion that one of our leaders or representatives supports U.S.A.

intervention or proclaims his unconditional adherence to North America, it is because he is about to, or is already carrying out plans contrary to the best interests of our country, be they economic, political or administrative."

Revolutionary Uprising in Latin America

The struggle of the Puerto Rican patriots against the Luis Munoz Marin regime in 1950, the shooting of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua and Castillo Armas in Guatemala, the ousting of Manuel Odría in Peru, the overthrow of the Peron in Argentina, the heroic struggle of the Colombian people which resulted in the deposition of the bloody regime of Gustavo Pinilla, the rise of the Venezuelan people against Marcos Perez Jimenez, and now the purging from Cuba of that barbarous Yankee imperialist embryo, the bloody Batista regime. These are waves in a surging revolutionary tide. But the revolution in Cuba has gone further than in any other country in Latin America.

The fact that the people arose in armed combat, the fact that they defeated the American trained and equipped army of Batista; the fact of the great consciousness developed among

From Philadelphia's Negro Ghetto

An Answer to Slanders in Press

Philadelphia has become a focal point in the national struggle for Negro rights.

The "U. S. News and World Report", one of the propaganda organs of big business, saw fit in one of its recent issues to dedicate its lead article entitled "The Big Story in the Big Cities" to this question, using Philadelphia as an example for all major cities.

The article blames the "liberals" for their inability to deal

with "violence", the high rate of childbirth, integrated housing and schooling, juvenile delinquency and other so-called social problems. Their assumption is based on the big lie, that Negroes moving up from the South as refugees from political tyranny and social and economic discrimination have created a balance in the voting power, thereby forcing liberals to soft-pedal these questions.

What is big business attempting to accomplish through the vicious propaganda of this article?

1. To form a closer ideological alliance of the Northern white population with the racists Bourbons of the South so as to force policy makers in the North (City Councilmen, Mayors, Police Commissioners, editors, politicians and other community figures) to support, formulate and pass legislation for the further benefit of the rich.

2. To place the responsibility of the so-called "social ills" on the back of the working class in general, and the Negro people in particular.

3. To further divide the working class along racial lines, stymieing its unity. Thus, they divert attention from the drive of big business for greater profits, and place the burden of the economic crisis on the back of the working class.

Having once set forth these objectives, they skillfully proceed to juggle facts to suit their objectives. To be more specific...

They state the fact that traditionally the Negro people have been forced by unemployment, low wages and discrimination to live in slum areas. That this tradition has operated for the benefit of big business which reaps tremendous profit from these conditions — this is ignored. The article placed great emphasis on juvenile crimes among Negro youth, and while we well know that figures don't lie, we also know that they can be distorted to slant them in a given direction.

The problem of American youth is that of living in an atmosphere of war hysteria and the threat of the A and H bombs; of no perspective; of a lack of educational and job opportunities. These conditions are even more accentuated where the Negro youth is concerned. The youth of America, Negro and white, suffers while big business reaps ever greater profits by the perpetuating of these conditions.

There is no doubt that in a stretch of two blocks there might be as many as eleven bars and that in this same stretch there might be numerous pawn shops and rooming houses. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Negroes who are forced to live in these rooming houses do not own nor reap the profits from them — this money goes to line the pockets of the big real estate interests.

The article states that yearly thousands of Negroes flee from these slum areas to find homes in white neighborhoods, and that this is the cause of the increase and spread of crime.

The truth is that, inspired by the racial propaganda spawned

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Marxist Political Economy I

Recession Not Over

After seven months of "recovery" claims, the monopoly capitalist rulers of our country have given the workers a 1959 New Year's present of mass unemployment greater than it was a year ago.

From the security of their government and editorial sanctuaries the high priests of finance capital assure us, however, that the present high level of joblessness is merely a "temporary inconvenience" which the American workingclass should bear with good grace. Here is a typical example of the official "explanation" in this connection:

"As expected, in a recovery several factors hold down the pick up in employment. For one thing, before employers rehire laid-off workers, they restore to full time, workers who have been on part time. Moreover, the sharpening of production efficiency that occurs in recession inevitably means that some jobs of the laid-off workers have been eliminated." (Views of U.S. government economists cited in New York Times, November 16, 1958).

All that, and a token, will get you a ride down to the unemployment or relief office. But just for the record, let's briefly reflect upon this offering of mid-20th Century U.S. monopoly capitalist "political economy."

First of all, they speak of a "pick-up" in employment, and in the very next breath estimate (even by the government's official figures) that between October, 1958 and January, 1959,

unemployment will rise by 18 percent (from 3.8 to 4.5 million). Some "pick-up"!

By December it was reported past the 4.1 million mark.

Secondly, in connection with their reference to part time employment: In their eagerness to assure us that there is no real cause for alarm in the present level of unemployment, they are forced to reveal the lie they have been telling all along. They now confess what labor has charged for many years: That government figures are deliberately falsified to conceal the real extent of unemployment. A most recent example of this charge was a study made by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. It showed how government figures of unemployment totally ignore the factor of part-time employment. The West Coast union showed that this factor alone ("Full-Time Equivalent Among Those Involuntarily Working Part Time for Economic Reasons") would add about one third of the official figure. This factor, together with one other ("Hidden Unemployment Among Those Which The U.S. Census Excluded From the Labor Force") raised the actual unemployment for the month of June, 1958, for example, from 5.4 million (given in government statements) to an

actual level of 8.2 million!

Thirdly: the government economists "explain" to us, perhaps with a sigh, that some workers can never get their old jobs back; they have been "eliminated" by "the sharpening of production efficiency that occurs in a recession." Only in a recession? Even such anti-labor sources as the President's Economic Report for 1958 and the Federal Reserve Board (in an unpublished analysis by Murray Wernick, cited in July 1958 issue of Economic Notes) admit that in the ten-year period 1947-57, the productivity of manufacturing workers increased on an annual average of 3.24% (the President's estimate) or 3.70% (the FRB figure). Their figures show an increase in man-hour productivity for every year of the period, prosperity as well as crisis. Of course, it is true that the index of productivity does reflect the various phases of the economic cycle, with the sharpest gains in man-hour output being made under the "stimulus" of high unemployment. For instance, in 1949-50, and in 1954-55, the average annual rate increase in the productivity of labor was 8.4% and 7.2% of the 1947 base. Using the same base year and extending the productivity index in manufacturing in keeping with the estimate of Business Week (September 20, 1958) the productivity figure for the fourth quarter of 1958 would be about 9.5 points above the corresponding period of 1957!

That is why it was no exaggeration for the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Ewan Clague, on November 6, 1958, to say that even if production were to return to the previous prosperity level, em-

ployment would not because it would still leave those thrown out of work by increased productivity and the normal increase of 700,000 or 800,000 per year. Karl Marx 110 years ago in his famous "Wage Labor and Capital" exposed and analyzed this tendency peculiar to capitalism where: "The fastest possible growth of productive capital is, therefore, the indispensable conditions for a tolerable life to the laborer." (Chapter VI).

Thus when the bourgeoisie takes even slight notice of this effect of capitalist "progress" on the life of the worker, they are confessing the failure of their endless "refutations" of Marx who first revealed that:

"The law by which a constantly increasing quantity of means of production, thanks to the advance in the productiveness of social labor, may be set in movement by a progressively diminishing expenditure of human labor power, this law, in a capitalist society — where the laborer does not employ the means of production, but the means of production employ the laborer — undergoes a complete inversion and is expressed thus: the higher the productiveness of labor, the greater is the pressure of the laborers on the means of employment, the more precarious, therefore, becomes their condition of existence..." (Capital, Vol. I, Chp. XXV, Part 4.)

II "Figures can't lie, but liars can figure"

The worst deception of all however that is being attempted in relation to the current economic situation is the fiction that

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Recession Not Over

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effect that the cyclical economic crisis — depression period — is over and that "The economy is in full swing of business recovery," as Mr. Clague for instance puts it.

And, now, we hear it from the President's 1959 Economic Report to Congress: "A recovery began in May, 1958 and by the end of the year most of the ground lost had been regained... The events of the last eighteen months show again the considerable capacity of our economy to resist contrative influences and to hold a downturn within fairly narrow limits."

In order to support this "prosperity - is - just - around - the - corner - happy - days - are - here - again" argument, its supporters resort to typical methods of vulgar political economy: pragmatism and one-sidedness.

They emphasize secondary aspects of the economic picture simply because these seem to serve their "recovery" argument. On the other hand, they de-emphasize, ignore or distort other basic and decisive elements in the current economic situation, simply because these cannot be used to support their thesis.

They emphasize the rise in the gross national products from an annual rate of 425.8 billion dollars for the first quarter of 1958 to an estimated \$439 billion in the third quarter.

Gross national product for the 4th quarter of 1958 is now reported to have increased to an annual rate of \$435 billion. But for the year as a whole it still was only \$436 billion as contrasted with \$440 in 1957. But they de-emphasize the fact that some 60% of this "recovery" simply reflected price increases largely monopoly price boosting. "In the third quarter of 1958, the current-dollar GNP had regained about two thirds of its prior decline; in real volume terms, about two-fifths of the loss had been made good." (Article in U.S. Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business, December, 1958.)

They point to the rising index of stock market prices, now at or near all-time highs. But they ignore the fall in bond prices (i.e., the rise in interest rates), a development which shows that the capitalist speculators are motivated not so much by a confidence in stocks, as by a lack of confidence in bonds; not by a stronger confidence in capital in its commodity forms, but by a weakening of confidence in capital in its money form.

They point to the rising volume of warrmaking expenditures by the U.S. government as an economic stimulus. But they soft-pedal the financial crisis which is being created by their cold-war spending, by their placing of the government credit at the disposal of a handful of imperialist billionaires. This question of the developing financial crisis and its significance for the class struggle we shall reserve for further discussion later.

But when a country is operating in the international market with a weakening dollar now challenged by a freely-convertible British pound and by a devalued French franc now looking the dollar straight in the eye at the official exchange rate; and when U.S. gold reserves fall by more than ten per cent in less than nine months (February to November, 1958), it is obvious that "something will have to give." If England in 1957 and France in 1958 bankrupted the pound and the franc by monopoly dictated policies, then our turn will come, too, and for the same reason. But who, then, will there be to lend the U.S. Treasury a sum comparable to the \$3.75

billion and other loans which the British got from the U.S. in the late forties? Or will the attempted solution take more the form now being advanced by fascism in France?

Certainly, the economic situation of the past year, or, indeed of the entire period since the beginning of World War II can be understood only by taking into account the expansion of the government credit as a factor of key importance. But if we are to avoid the onesidedness of vulgar political economy, we must keep two things in mind regarding the expansion public debt: 1) it has its negative as well as its positive economic consequences; and 2) it does not mitigate, but rather it aggravates and expands the scope of the contradictions which give shape to the capitalist economic cycle.

They point to the rise in the Federal Reserve Board index of the physical volume of industrial production from 126, in April, to 142, in December, 1958, with an average for the year being about 133. (1947-49 = 100). But they ignore the significance of the expansion of productive capacity since 1953, the first year in which industrial output reached 133. From the end 1953 to the beginning of 1958, \$127.6 billion was spent on new plant and equipment.

An idea of the proportions of this expansion can be had from the following: From the end of 1953 to the beginning of 1958, in U.S. manufacturing (which accounts for ninety per cent of the industrial product on index) more than \$53 billion was spent on new plant and equipment (U.S. department of Commerce figures). This amount represented more than 85% per cent of the net value of all existing property, plant and equipment of all manufacturing industry in United States (National Industrial conference Board Economic Almanac, 1958.) Further on in this article we shall cite bourgeois sources to show that the productive capacity of basic American industry is overspanded from 25% to 50%. Those figures show that whereas output in 1958 was no more than about what it was in 1951, this level of production represented 95% of capacity before but now represents only about 71% of capacity (12 basic industrial materials). The significance of these contrasting ratios is obvious: a year of 95% of capacity operation is almost sure to explode in expansion of fixed capital investment; a year of 71% of capacity operation is almost sure to lead to a period of stagnation.

They point to the relative strength of construction activity which rose from a level of \$3.9 billion in May to \$4.3 billion in October. But they are constrained to leave out of account these facts: 1) The \$1,850,000,000 made available under the so-called "anti-recession" Emergency Housing Law for government purchase and guarantee of housing mortgages has been used up; and, 2) Industrial construction declined every month from September 1957 to September 1958, a total of 40%. (From a level of \$290 million to \$172 million). (In November it had risen to \$178 million). This latter figure, is important not for its relative size, but as an index of expenditure for fixed capital.

They point to the relative strength of the index of disposable personal income, up by \$5.3 billion from the third quarter of 1957 to the third quarter of 1958, a gain of 1.7%. But they disregard the meaning of these facts: 1) in the same period the consumers price index increased almost twice as fast, i.e., 3.1% and, 2) According to

the Survey of Current Business, no less than \$5.2 billion of the \$5.3 billion increase was accounted for by the increase in government transfer payments (such as old-age and survivors' insurance, unemployment insurance, and other), the very type of expenditures which either the threat of inflation or direct reductions make most unstable. Surpluses can never be liquidated on the basis of a dollar of reduced purchasing power in the form of the pitances grudgingly issued to the unemployed and pensioned workers.

They point to a narrowing of the gap between total inventories to sales by some \$4.6 billion in the first nine months of 1958. But they remain silent about the implications of the \$1.8 billion decline in exports (second quarters of 1957 and 1958); the \$2.0 excess of redemptions over sales of U. S. Savings Bonds during the first nine months of 1958; and, that as of last September 30, the U. S. government had \$7.5 billion invested in "surplus" farm products, \$645 million more than a year earlier.

In the history of political economy, we have had various schools: the Thomist feudal anti-utopian school, the phycocratic school, the mercantilist school, the classical school (Smith, Ricardo et al) etc.

"Classical political economy", said Marx, "nearly touches the true relation of things, without however, consciously formulating it. This it cannot, so long as it sticks in its bourgeois skin." (Chapter XIX, Volume I, Capital.) Marxism freed political economy from its bourgeois skin, vindicated it as a science, and placed it in the hands of the workers as an instrument of struggle for higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, for democracy and for socialism.

For that very reason however, ever since Marx, bourgeois political economy has devoted itself to attempting to give this "empty skin" the appearance of life, of a connection with scientific content. Such a morbid preoccupation inevitably led to a degenerative line of development. Today, out of the particular setting of American imperialism, in the time of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism and of triumphant socialism, is born the lowest of this descending order of bourgeois ideological development. We call it the Madison Avenue school of political economy, not because of its physical location but because of its guiding ethics.

The Madison Avenue school of political economy devotes itself to turning out "commercial" for imperialism, particularly the American brand. Its attitude toward scientific political economy is the same as the advertising agencies attitude toward medical science, for example. The possibility that cigarette-smoking causes lung cancer is simply made the basis for putting forward "scientific" claims of the effectiveness of "filter tips". In like manner, the fact that imperialism is forced to throw into the breach its ultimate reserves in its desperate and unequal competition with world socialism and its own internal contradictions — this is made the basis for "scientific" claims for the "stabilizing" effect of direct and indirect government subsidies to private monopoly capital.

The current official line that "the recession is over and we are in the full upswing of recovery" — this is nothing more nor less than the theory and practice of the Madison Avenue School of political economy. We should treat therefore with the same skepticism these emanations from the advertisers of capital as that with which we regard the huck-

Economic Penetration of Latin America

● 9 billion dollars direct investments in L. A. in 1956. Largest area investment any where in the world.

● This represents a trebling of investments in the last 10 years.

● The nearly absolute economic control of Latin America by U. S. imperialism is proven by the following figures:

British investments in L. A. 1930	694 million pounds (\$3,470,000,000)
1951	245 million pounds (\$ 686,000,000)
U. S. investments in L. A. 1930	\$3,500,000,000
1956	\$9,000,000,000

And Britain was the main competitor.

In 130 Britain had 6 times as much investments in Argentina than the U. S. By 1951 the U. S. had 3 times more investments in Argentina than Britain. How the process of U. S. economic hegemony in L. A. is speeded up.

U. S. recently bought from Britain the St. Joao Del Rey mine in Brazil which:

- produces 50 percent iron ore in Brazil.
- produces 94 percent gold in Brazil.
- represents 2 billion tons of iron ore reserve in Brazil.
- is located on 125 square miles of land.

U. S. Investments

1956 profits from U. S. investments in Latin America is \$1 billion.

Imperialist latifundia in Latin America: (for oil alone)

- Columbia — 7½ million acres.
- Venezuela — 15 million acres.
- Peru — 37 million acres.
- Bolivia — 1 million acres.
- Guatemala — 7½ million acres.

Not to mention the lands owned in sugar, cotton, ore mining.

Imbalance of payments on trade between the U. S. and Latin America (the scissor process).

Fiscal year 1955:

- increased exports from L. A. to U. S. rose 6 percent over 1954.
- decrease in prices of L. A. exports to U. S. dropped 6 percent below 1954 prices.

"An increase in the volume of exports and a reduction in their unit value were the outstanding factors which influenced Latin America's foreign trade during 1955. Both operated with equal intensity, so that any advantages which might have been expected from the greater efforts to produce export commodities were neutralized by the fall of prices." U. N. Economic Survey of Latin America — p. 22

"Hence the Latin American economy suffered in 1955 a loss of about 550 million dollars on its exports which should have been avoided if the 1954 price level had been maintained." U. N. Survey.

In 1955 Brazil produced 15 percent more coffee than the year before, but the U. S. deliberately reduced her imports of coffee by 138,000 tons in order to force the price of coffee exported from Brazil down. Then in the New York the price of coffee fell 27 percent on the Stock Exchange — but prices more than doubled for the American consumer. Thus both the Brazilian and American masses lost out while the U. S. imperialists profited.

Monetary highjacking (Devaluation) In Chile \$1 (U. S.) buys 550 Chilean pesos, but 10 years ago the U. S. dollar could buy only 100 pesos.

Decapitalization in agriculture:

The U.N. reports that:

"The rate of agricultural mechanization slowed down in some countries to a degree which was particularly remarkable in Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras and Uruguay. In the first two and in the last of these the decline was due almost entirely to balance-of-payments difficulties and not to a weakening of demand. On the contrary, there is a substantial unsatisfied demand which in many cases has raised the prices of machinery and spare parts."

Extraction of Latin American wealth:

- Out-flow of Capital (through increased re-investments)
- 1946-1951 — \$1,500,000,000 — reinvested profits.
- 1946-1951 — \$3,000,000,000 — profits.

Effects: Of U. S. imperialist domination:

Inflation:

Chile: prices rose 83 percent from 1955, 15 year index — 100 to 2887.

Brazil — up 25 percent from 1955 prices. What does this mean?

Growing mass pauperization and starvation and misery in contrast with rising income for U. S. imperialism.

ster-crisis from the "capital of advertisers."

What, then, is the truth about the present economic situation? What do the basic factors indicate for 1959? What is the effect of government spending? Why and how Marxist-Leninists can and must take up the challenge of the "Fiscal conservatives," the Keynesians and the revisionists in the field of political economy in relation to the

present economic situation, And, what are the basic requirements of a working-class economic program of "self-defense"? These and other questions will be discussed in the remaining sections of this series to be continued in the March issue of VANGUARD.

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Venezuela and Cuba.

Social Forces in the Revolution

At this stage of the Cuban revolution it's easy to observe the social and political forces in the struggle. Superficially, it looks like a repetition of the early 1930's. Substitute President Eisenhower for President Hoover as Chief Executive of Wall Streets colonial policy; substitute Fulgenio Batista for Geraldo Machado as the bloody puppet of Yankee imperialism; substitute Ambassadors Gardner and Smith as the "cloak and dagger" men of American imperialism for their infamous colleague, Sumner Wells. Substitute the butcher Col. Pedraza for butcher Joaquin Casillas.

But, behind these individuals stand the reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces against which the Cuban people are fighting, namely, American imperialism, the Cuban compradors and the Cuban land-owners.

On the other hand substitute the heroic martyr of the 26th of July movement, Frank Pais for the heroic martyr of the anti-Machado struggle, Julio Antonio Mella, and you have symbolized the heroism of the Cuban people in two different stages of their struggle for freedom.

While in point of fact January 1st, 1959 (date of Batista's final defeat) and August 12th, 1953 (date of Machado's final defeat) bear so many points of historical resemblance, nevertheless the present revolutionary struggle revealed differences in quality as well as magnitude. This high point in the historic tide of Latin American struggles for freedom, with its unequivocal and open challenge to Yankee imperialism reveals the advance degree of decomposition which has overtaken capitalist imperialism. American imperialism is fearful that the revolutionary experience of the Cuban people may solidify internally and spread externally to the rest of Latin America.

The Threat of Imperialist Counter Revolution

The greatest danger that faces the Cuban people now is the inevitable counter-thrust by American imperialism. The revolutionary gains in terms of added sovereignty and democracy could be wiped out if the revolutionary forces in Cuba let their guard down. It is important to ascertain the main direction and tactics of potential counter-revolution.

Recent experience in Hungary, and more specifically in Guatemala, points to indirect ways in which American imperialism will try to block the path of national freedom of the Cuban people. The Caimanera de Guantanamo (U. S. naval base) was converted into a Batista military base; the Cuban patriots exposed this direct intervention and forced American imperialism to use indirect methods of aggression and intervention.

As in Guatemala in 1954, the reactionary, pro-imperialist tyrannies of Nicaragua, Honduras and Santo Domingo were used to smuggle arms to Batista. The puppet regimes of Yankee imperialism of Somoza Jr., (Nicaragua), Carias Andino Jr., (Honduras), and Trujillo (Santo Domingo), as well as others, can be expected as in the past to carry out any task demanded by their masters.

Another stooge of Yankee imperialism who should be carefully watched is Luis Munoz Marin and his regime of compradores in Puerto Rico. This stooge of Yankee imperialism has stated the following:

"On the 25th of July, 1952 we formalized, a new relation between the people of Puerto

The Cuban Revolution!

Rico and the people of the United States, which places us in a favorable position to interpret for the world the true meaning of liberty and democracy as it is lived by a Latin people of the West in association with the biggest democracy of the West. We are helping to eliminate some of the misunderstanding and suspicious harbored in relation to the economic and political power of the United States, especially among the 170,000,000 other citizens of the New World who inhabit the 20 Latin American Republics which also commemorate Columbus, bold voyage... (Our emphasis).

These, most docile servants and apologists of Yankee imperialism will attempt to undermine the Cuban revolution under the guise of a "liberal" and "fighters against dictatorships" and for "democracy".

At the same time, American imperialism will strive to utilize sectors of the Cuban bourgeoisie to establish the "opposition" and begin to divide the Cuban people and lead them away from the revolution.

In this connection, the great hue and cry led by American "liberals" over the executions and "blood letting" is an attempt by Yankee imperialism to prevent the demoralization of the Cuban reactionary classes as well as those all over Latin America.

After all, who else is going to help them carry out the exploitation and suppression of the Cuban and Latin American people?

Let's be on guard for those American "liberals" who looked the other way when Batista was shooting down innocent men, women and children by the thousands and now shout "stop the executions". These same "liberals" and "democrats" saw Batista's police and the gunmen of Masferrer shoot down Cuban patriots even inside the Haitian Embassy (where they had taken refuge) without a murmur of protest.

International Solidarity

Only the blindest of revisionists such as the leaders of the CPUSA, will fail to see that the extension of the colonial peoples' struggles for national liberation to the Western Hemisphere is of great historic importance and significance. It means that the contradictions that is strangling European imperialism (British, French, Dutch, Belgian, etc.) is rapidly overtaking American imperialism in its own historic stamping ground. The economic stranglehold which American finance capital has clamped down over Latin America, the ruthless exploitation of nearly 200 million people by Wall Street and the consequent misery, social depression and squalor which results from it, is dialectically reacting and forcing the struggle. And like all exploited and oppressed colonial peoples, they have chosen to fight to the death for their freedom.

The American people and especially the American working-class bear a great responsibility with regard to the struggles of the Latin American peoples.

Many years ago, speaking about colonial exploitation in Britain, F. Engels stated:

"You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy? Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general. There is no worker's party here, they are only conservatives and liberal-radicals, and the workers merrily share the feast of England's monopoly of the colonies and the world market." (Letter to Kautsky, September 12, 1882).

The American working class today bears a similar relation to the exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial Latin

ECONOMIC BASIS OF IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION IN CUBA

Feature of Cuban economy peculiar to all colonies — mono-production, mono-cultivist.

Almost absolute dependence on Imperialist (American) market.

- 60 percent of Cuba exports are to the U. S.
- 85 percent of Cuban imports are from the U. S.
- Control of basic (sugar) industry with investment of \$600 million.
- Over \$1 billion — over-all investments.
- American interests own 39 of the largest sugar mills, with 40 percent of all sugar productivity.
- American banking interest control the rest of sugar production.

Besides railroads (especially in the eastern half of Cuba), banking, electric and power, telephone, port installations and services, maritime, air transport, oil deposits and oil distribution.

Land latifundia — Gulf Atlantic, Cuban American Sugar Mills (more than 15,000 "caballerias.")

Sugar production in Cuba is almost identical with production in the 1920's, yet at that time Cuba had 3 million inhabitants, now Cuba has 6 million. This is the result of the Sugar Act in the U. S. and the so-called Sugar Accord of London.

The best land — 1/5 of the arable surface of Cuba — is in the hands of Yankee corporations.

American people. The American working class must support the struggles of the Latin American peoples for full freedom against their own ruling class. American Communist must accept the responsibility to lead this fight for unity with the colonial peoples against the common enemy, American imperialism.

The Social-Democratic maneuver of attacking the "Latin American dictators" in the name of "democracy" is just an attempt to conceal the criminal responsibility of American imperialism. A classical example of this chauvinistic and cowardly maneuver is expressed in this news item published in the *Diario de Nueva York* of January 29, 1957.

"Norman Thomas criticized President Batista and the other dictators of Latin America for trying to fool the United States..." Thomas said, "... that Latin America was full of pseudo-democracies that crush the right of men the same as is done in the Soviet dictatorship."

Norman Thomas and his Social-Democrats further expose themselves as open tools of American imperialism. But most damaging and equally traitorous in relation to the colonial question is the position taken by the leadership of the so-called CPUSA. This leadership, which has stripped the Negro question of its revolutionary content, cannot be expected to take any but a reformist position on the National Question as a whole.

Here is what Gene Dennis and company had to say about the struggles of the Cuban people after years of silence in the face of the bloody murders perpetrated by the agents of American imperialism.

"The American people welcome the declaration of the leaders of the Castro-Urrutia government that they will restore constitutional liberty and trade union rights in Cuba, and pursue a course of national independence and social progress.

"The progressive forces of the United States demand immediate U. S. A. recognition of the Urrutia government, but oppose all efforts by the State Department and the Postage to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba. They express their ardent solidarity with the freedom fighters of Cuba and join hand with them in the common anti-imperialist struggle for liberty, democracy and social advance, for peace and friendship among all nations." Emphasis Ours.

In Volume XIX of Collected Works, Lenin stated: "We must... demand the libera-

rator of the oppressed nations, not only in general nebulous phrases, not in empty declamations, not only in postponing the question until socialism is established but in a clearly and precisely formulated program which shall particularly take into account the hypocrisy and cowardice of the socialists in the oppressor nations." (Our Emphasis).

Gene Dennis and company not only fail to expose the social-Democrats, agents of imperialism, but actually emulate them in their own hypocrisy and abstracts against "dictators" and imperialism.

How about the imperialist latifundia? The best land, robbed by the American imperialist monopolies. Do you "revolutionaries" agree that it should be expropriated and returned to the Cuban people?

How about the communications, transport and utilities which are monopolized by the Wall Street companies? As you "revolutionaries" for their nationalization?

How about the gun aimed at the heart of Cuba (and all of Latin America) which the military and naval base at Caimanera de Guantanamo represent? Do you "revolutionaries" demand that these bases be evacuated since they constitute a violation of Cuban sovereignty? Of course you don't! You are still playing the same old game of avoiding the struggle and attempting to conceal the responsibility of American imperialism.

A Vanguard Party in Action

The program of the Communist Party of Cuba (parts of which we publish here) was known and available to the so-called CPUSA. Their failure even to mention these key issues was deliberate.

As for us, the POC we say categorically that we support in full and without reservations the program of the Cuban Communist Party which offers a fundamental anti-imperialist, anti-feudal solution to the problem facing the Cuban people.

Before we introduce the main features of this program, we must say this — the role played by the Cuban Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular, led by genuine Marxist-Leninists, deserves the admiration, recognition and emulation of Communists everywhere.

It was the Communist Party of Cuba (Partido Socialista Popular) which projected and fought for a National Front of

National Liberation which included all revolutionary, anti-imperialist sectors of the Cuban people. It was the Communist Party of Cuba which tirelessly explained to the Cuban people the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal character of its struggle. It was the Communist Party of Cuba which led the working class and helped it to play the great independent role which it did. Without any left-sectarian projection of any role which the Cuban working class is in no position to play today; without any right-opportunist tailing of the national bourgeoisie or the middle class, the Communist Party of Cuba carried out its vanguard role.

The hundreds of Cuban Communists who died in the struggle, the thousands of Party members who were jailed, tortured and wounded testify to the heroism of the Cuban Communists.

The main features of this program are these:

"Cuba needs more than mere reforms in order to overcome the misery, backwardness and squalor facing us. Our country needs above all, to achieve its complete independence and eliminate the remnants of feudalism, a prerequisite for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the eradication of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal social structure that holds back our national development.

No regime under the influence or control of Yankee imperialism, or which is maintained in power by the latifundistas, sugar barons and importers could accomplish these tasks. Neither can it carry out the correct policies that the Cuban nation needs and demands.

Cuba needs a patriotic government, a government whose chief interest is that of national independence, the elimination of the latifundias; a government basing itself on progress and the industrial development of Cuba and world peace. Cuba needs a democratic government of liberation, that is, a government composed of the working class, and the peasantry working with the petty and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the Cuban working class.

This program does not attempt to patch up the cracks of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal regime of Cuba that paralyzes the country and impedes the development of its productive forces and thwarts the advance of progress. The purpose of this program is to eliminate this condition so as to make our nation completely free sovereign and democratic."

Program of Communist Party of Cuba

- 1) Expropriation of the latifundia (imperialist and feudal).
- 2) Abolition of sharecropping and all semi-feudal forms of exploitation.
- 3) Freedom of initiative for native industry, agriculture and internal commerce on the basis of the defense of the national economy and the people's interests.
- 4) Defense and development of industry and agriculture based on the needs of the nation, its complete independence (political and economic) and the elimination of monoculture and industrial backwardness.
- 5) Development of heavy industry based on the nation's means and objective possibilities.
- 6) Revision and regulation of commercial relations with other countries on the basis of selling what we produce and purchasing what is needed for our development and home consumption, without undermining our economy and national independence.
- 7) Every type of tariff protection (quotas on import of foreign merchandise, subsidies, etc.) for the national production.
- 8) Prohibition or restriction of

(Continued on page 4)

Letter to Our Readers

"WHERE TO BEGIN"

Dear Friend:—

Lenin in his famous article "Where To Begin" which was to become his even more famous "What Is To Be Done" spoke of the necessity for a Marxist paper as the first step for the building of a Party.

This is the question that haunts many Americans today — the old Communist Party lies in ruins, ideologically and organizationally destroyed — the so-called united Socialists equal only Trotskyism, petit-bourgeois socialism and utopianism.

The VANGUARD alone seeks to chart the path towards the reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The VANGUARD will be as Lenin said "not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator but also a collective organizer.

This is where we begin — and this is where you can begin. By subscribing to the VANGUARD, and contributing funds to its limited but essential treasury.

It is not much to ask if you are a person who wants to see a real Marxist-Leninist Party come a-borning.

Your sub and your contribution will help to bring this about. So, become a subscriber \$1.00 a year) and a financial contributor.

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Harlan Miners in Grip of Depression!

By JIM BARRY

"All I want is the right to five mister,
Give me back my job again"

These words from an old miners song are once again recalled in the Harlan county coal-towns in eastern Kentucky; a depression as severe as the great depression of the 30's grips this working-class county and the surrounding area. Floyd county and parts of the south-western tip of Virginia have also been hit, but in Harlan county the situation is at its worst.

The watered-down statistics admitted by Harlan officials tell some of the story: 13,000 people declared destitute (in Kentucky this means no funds or resources of any kind, and no relatives to help; 38,000 people on relief, and most of the people living on the meager doles of surplus food allocated in a miserly manner by the Federal government. Statistics tell only part of the story; most of it is told in the barefoot feet of children going to school, in the school rooms half deserted, as the children stay home for lack of warm clothing to brave the hard winter. It is told in the meager diets of cabbage, bread and sometimes macaroni the miners and their families live on. The soft coal miners of Harlan hunt around for work but in this "one crop" economy of Harlan when there is no mining, there's nothing else. Most of the miners have long since exhausted their unemployment checks and the racist Gov. Chandler refuses to call the state legislature to authorize 13 additional weeks as provided by federal law.

The only answer to this depression offered by federal, state and local authorities is "humanitarian relief" and "planning bodies" after the damage was done. The biggest "planning body" the "Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission" spreads the story that high wages helped cause the depression. While it is well known that the mechanization of the mines (which bring greater profits to the bosses) coupled with the closing of other mines (the so

called "un-profitable" ones which didn't bring in the super profits the operators demand) this was the major cause. This "commission" whose chairman is a million aire coal operator, B. F. Reed, throws the bulk of blame on the miners. Long ago progressives in this area fought against the operators plan to keep out other industries, for they knew that th's depression would be the consequence of a coal "one crop" economy.

The situation is so bad that crack-pot schemes, such as secession from Kentucky, have developed in Whitesburg, Pikesville and Harlan as the miners with no money to move on in search for jobs elsewhere, and with hunger, misery and continuous unemployment facing them grope around for some answer to their problems. In Williamson, one of the hardest hit towns in Harlan, a workers' representative said in an interview with the Louisville Courier-Journal, "We are receptive to anything you can do for us, this is a shameful condition" and this is the attitude of all the miners.

The answers from Gov. Chandler, his "stooge" Waterfield and the "liberals" Combs and Wyatt (Chandler's political "rivals") to the miners pleas for aid, is to blame the depression on their opponents. Some UMWA leaders as they d'd during the last crisis in Harlan sit immobile and go along with the boss line about the cause of the depression and the bosses' answers to the miners plight.

Though dormant, the traditions of struggle in Harlan county are still alive; the miners in a spontaneous manner are beginning to act and won't stand for this much longer. There is fear of "hunger riots" and of fighting organizations arising in Harlan once again. The bosses well remember the militancy of Harlan miners and are sure to do everything in their power to stop these things from developing.

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In the Struggle

by A. MARINO

Meet Comrade Mike

A comrade whom we call Mike, a seaman by trade and a Puerto Rican by birth has had one of the greatest influences in keeping us enthused in the work of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Communist Party. In this comrade is mirrored the type of member that makes up the P.O.C.

The son of a worker, comrade Mike is in his middle thirties. He is married and the father of seven children. Mike's been a worker all his life having begun to work at the age of six.

Lenin once said that there is nothing like a good kick in the pants to set a man thinking. It was the kicks that Mike and a half a million other Puerto Ricans received from American Imperialism that drove them out of their native land and into the ranks of the American working class. It was the kicking around Mike received as a worker and the discrimination he was subjected to that brought him into the Communist movement.

Growing up under the heel of colonialism, made Marxism Leninism easy for Mike to understand.

Mike put twelve years of unrecognized service in the old Party, and to this date has never uttered one word of complaint about the hardships of the struggle. How unlike the leadership of that Party who constantly moan about the present hard times! In all these twelve years we have never seen him depressed or ever lose confidence in the working class movement, the socialist nations or the Soviet Union.

In late 1956 when all the leadership jumped overboard into the camp of counter-revolution with their infamous position of "neither condemning nor condoning" the Soviet Union's heroic stand in Hungary, Mike proudly declared: "When it comes to principle I am a stand-patter. To hell with Nagy, I am for the Soviet Union!!"

His communist staunchness got comrade Mike kicked out of his union, and made him unpopular with the Coast Guard and the shipowners, but he is still fighting.

Obviously such a Communist was bound to get into "trouble"

in the old Party. During the course of the bitter inner-party struggle various "offers" were made to Mike, in order to line him up — all of which he rejected and condemned. Finally with the rest of us Mike was driven out of the Communist Party. Together with Mike, almost the totality of the Puerto Rican membership of the C.P. was driven out!

Yes it has been the kicks we have received from the bosses, the government, the phony labor leaders and finally, the revisionists in the old Party that set us all to thinking, and made the P.O.C. a heaven for the most oppressed. A strange sort of heaven because all we have to offer is struggle. Here amongst us Comrade Mike is content to labor, every now and then getting in a good lick at the class enemy. One of these days, when we have enough guys like Mike, we are going to re-constitute a real fighting Communist Party.

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Meeting in Celebration of Negro History Week

Topic "National Liberation Struggles in the Western Hemisphere"

1. The Negro Question in U.S.
2. Puerto Rican Liberation
3. The Cuban Revolution

DATE — FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13th

TIME — 8 P.M. SHARP

PLACE — ESTONIAN HALL

7061 Lexington Avenue (corner 125th Street)

Sponsored by the New York Provisional Organizing Committee

Cuban Revolution...

(Continued from page 3)

The import of articles that are unnecessary to our economy, that hold back the development of our national economy and agriculture or which may retard the establishment of new ways of production and employment.

9) The nationalization of oil so as to guarantee the nation the inexpensive combustibles necessary for its industrial and agricultural development.

10) The abrogation of the Sugar Plan inspired by the infamous Chadbourne Plan and the London Covenant that forces a unilateral restriction on Cuban production and the adoption of a new line of action that eliminates this unilateral restriction and that primarily bases itself on the national interests and not on the large North American sugar monopolies.

11) Development of the national merchant marine on coast-wise and foreign trade, putting into use all necessary resources needed to accomplish this purpose.

12) The guarantee of all social gains won by the working class and included in the 1940 Constitution. Development and extension of social legislation favorable to industrial, agricultural, public workers and all wage earners.

13) Doing away with the SIM, the BRAC, the BIP, the SIN, the

SIR and all other anti-democratic organs of repression. The cleansing of the armed forces (police, etc.) with the removal of torturers, murderers, imperialist agents and enemies of the working class, peasantry and the people in general. Abolition of all military rule.

14) The establishment of a genuine democratic government composed of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty and national bourgeoisie — the only type of government that could put into effect and carry to a final conclusion the program of freedom, progress, liberty and the welfare of the people of Cuba."

"The unity of workers and peasants should be the basis of such a government."

We of the P.O.C. call for:

1. Full solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American peoples and their full economic and political freedom! For the immediate Independence of Puerto Rico.
2. Hands off Cuba!
3. Get out from the Caimanera de Guantanamo!
4. Get the American military mission out of Cuba!
5. We demand the full abrogation of the infamous "perpetuity" concession to Yankee imperialism in Cuba!

Philadelphia

(Continued from page 1)

and spread by the real estate interests, residents in white neighborhoods bordering on neighborhoods predominantly composed of Negro residents, are panicked into moving to the middle-class suburbs and to segregated communities. Every sale and transaction robs the Negro people. Rents in the so-called better

homes are hiked up when they are rented to Negroes, and this same game is played both ways, hiking the price rents for both Negroes and whites.

Yes, there is violence, violence against the Negro people who are persecuted and bombed whenever they break through the barrier of segregation.

This vicious article further spreads the big lie in dealing with venereal diseases, illegitimacy, public assistance, integration — placing the blame on the Negro people as the source of all trouble.

There is no doubt but that this article in the "U.S. News and World Report" is the opening gun of another barrage of hatred, persecution and violence against the Negro people who with their fight against discrimination and segregation are exposing American imperialism in the arena of world public opinion.

Coming

In the March issue of VANGUARD we will print the full text of our greetings to the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Make all checks and money orders payable to ARMANDO ROMAN.

Vanguard

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A. Marino Editor