

and oppression is far more profound and important to the cause of Negro freedom and social progress than are the philosophical elements of the King doctrine of neo-Ghandism garnished as it is with divisive prejudice of anti-communism."

Estimating Freedom Fight Gains

The question arises: How should gains in this period be assessed? Should we view them positively or negatively? This is a problem that cannot be answered by a simple yes or no. To exaggerate the gains would be to place a premium on gradualism. To deny the gains is to deprecate the necessity for struggle; for if, after nine years of the most intense and fiercest type of struggles, no gains have been made, then one must wonder what is the point in struggling at all.

Achievements must be weighed against the backdrop of world developments, world trends. They fall into proper historical perspective only when we note that in this same period most nations on the African continent have won or are in the process of winning their liberation from world imperialism. Our situation relative to what has happened in the world and what the situation in our country demands is still scandalous.

It is in respect to this latter point, by taking the present realities as our point of departure, that we must prepare to tackle the host of problems we still confront.

In view of the many militant struggles of the past decades, one would think the status of civil rights would be much further advanced than it is. What are some of the obstructions which have jammed the machinery and flow of progress?

Of no small significance is the fact that the monopolies, the ruling circles of our country, find themselves in a dilemma. On the one hand, they see our prestige abroad being undermined by the second-class citizenship status of Negroes. On the other hand, they fear that any change in that status may mean they stand to lose billions of dollars, dollars which represent the extra surplus extracted from the super-exploitation of Negroes. The ruling monopoly circles and their main political representatives are therefore

oriented on a policy which calls for minor concessions whenever the pressure is strong, and at the same time the most stubborn resistance to any major changes.

Obstacles in Fight on Jim Crow

Another factor of no small consequence is the continuation of the cold war policy by the Kennedy Administration. This Administration which suggested in the 1960 campaign that it was going to improve America's image abroad by greater advances in the area of civil rights, has also been caught in a dilemma.

The Kennedy Administration, which made bold proclamations before taking office, has been tempered by cold war considerations. The Administration's failure to go beyond token integration is the price it pays the Dixiecrats of the South for support to its foreign policy, which is still geared to cold war aims and objectives. Continuation of cold war policies negates a major breakthrough in freedom's fight. Substantial gains are possible only under conditions of a foreign policy based on peace.

The truth of the dependent interrelation between the struggle for world peace and the struggle for Negro freedom, which the Communists stressed at their 17th Convention is even more true today. This relationship was stated as follows in the Resolution on the Negro question adopted by the 1959 Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

"A central task of the progressive forces within the Negro people's movement is to aid in the promotion of a recognition of the inseparability of the struggle for world peace to the realization of necessary objective circumstances favorable to the triumph of the cause of Negro freedom. The foes of world peace and the oppressors of the Negro people have a common class root — monopoly capital, imperialism. A common bond of interest links the fighters for peace and the fighters for the democratic rights of the Negro people."

The structure of our form of government is a tremendous obstacle to any rapid advance. Our government is divided into three