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PL

PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 8, No. 2 August, 1971

*Pakistan, India, China, U.S. ...*

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!**

**SAME ENEMY, SAME FIGHT!**

*World's Bosses Fight for their Lives...*

**Imperialist Warfare & Rivalry**

**Revolutionaries in Israel**

**Great McCarthy Hoax**

**Rulers in Unemployment Trap**

**Worker-Student Alliance Grows**

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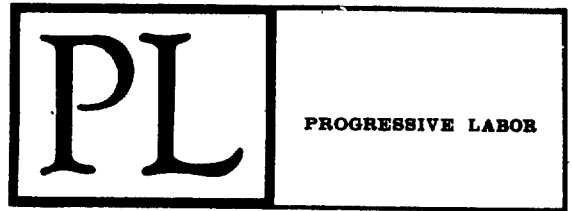
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SAME ENEMY, SAME FIGHT!

This is a speech given at the Pakistani Embassy, in N.Y.C. on May Day. A PL spokesman attacks Pakistani fascists for butchering Pakistani workers. He calls on these workers to fight back—and throw off nationalist mis-leaders as well as outside imperialists such as Nehru in India. Additionally, a clear call is made for intensifying the class struggle in the U.S. The class struggle at home and abroad is a confrontation between two classes—not one nationality vs. another.

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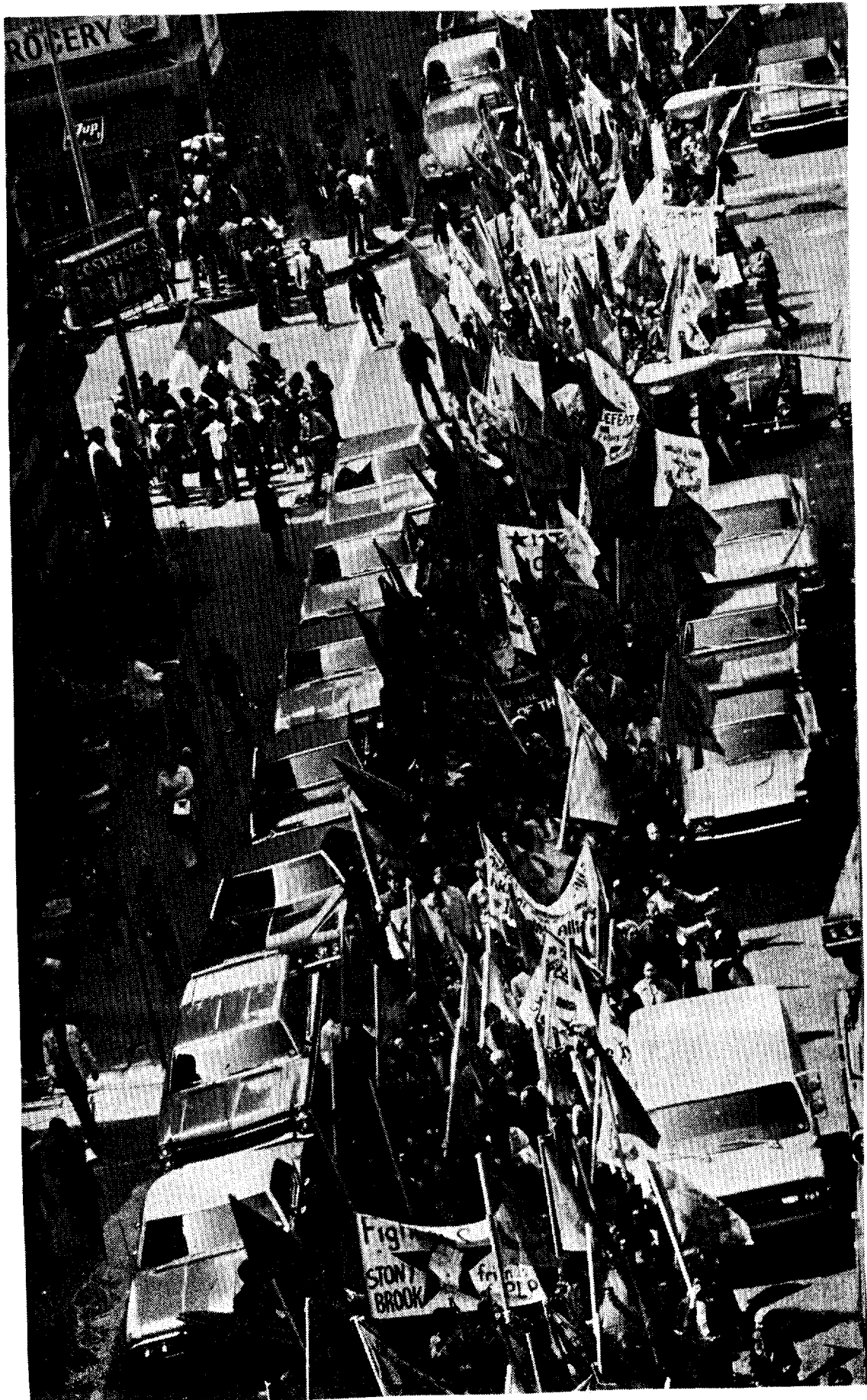
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PLP May Day march through Harlem



## Speech by a PLP Spokesman

Comrades and Friends:

I would like to say today that I'm particularly proud of my Party and of the American working class. I think this great May Day celebration for socialism has shocked the rulers of this city and this country to their very boots.

Every provocation, every trick in the book, was used to stop this demonstration. Attempts of harassment, threats of bombs, threats of murder, threats of you-name-it, were made against our Party and our friends. I think that you have shown, loud and clear, that we are not afraid of anybody, any force, or their flunkies.

They've been telling us we couldn't march through white working class neighborhoods because anti-communist white workers would attack us; so we marched through white working class neighborhoods. They told us you couldn't march through Puerto Rican neighborhoods because it belongs to the Puerto Rican nationalists; so we marched through Puerto Rican neighborhoods. They told us you could not march through black neighborhoods because the black people wouldn't respond to socialism; so we marched through black neighborhoods. They told us we couldn't march through mixed neighborhoods because nobody likes us. And the more they told us we couldn't do, the more we've done, and the more we're gonna do.

They start out telling us we couldn't come down here because this is the bastion of the rich and the privileged, but here we are at the Pakistan Embassy on New York's "exclusive" Fifth Avenue. Thousands of us, and we're going to get many more thousands, because this is just for openers. This just indicates that the American working class is basically able to be won to revolutionary socialism, to revolutionary ideas. This parade today taught us yet another lesson from the masses of this city, the oppressed workers of this city, that they support us because we stand for all the aspirations in their lives. We fight to END racism, we fight for jobs, we fight against the war, and most important, we fight for revolution.

Now we're down here particularly at this moment, to protest the nazi-like bestiality in Pakistan. We read in the paper the other day where Chou En-lai said that Yoyo Khan was unifying the country. Well, let me tell you how this yoyo is unifying the country. Let me read to you this dispatch:

"People in destroyed and terrorized cities say up to six thousand workers were killed when West Pakistan troops swept in to crush East Pakistan's move for independence. President Aga Khan's troops, top tribesmen from West Pakistan's northwestern frontier, patrolled the smoldering city in jeeps and commanded trucks, their rifles and machine guns at ready. In the teeming working class district they rose through a black wilderness of ashes and charred bamboo stumps, all that remains of the flimsy homes where thousands of families lived. At least 24 entire city blocks have been devastated, since Yaya Khan brought his soldiers into Dakar on March 25th.

The soldiers stormed into Dakar to crush the movement of workers...

'This is gestapo rule,' said one person. 'The army has committed mass murder. Hindus in this predominantly Moslem nation, are sharing the brunt of the army's fury.' A Dakar worker reported a neighboring family of six was murdered in their home, no one dared to go to their aid.

Dakar University remains closed, student dormitories are strewn with litter and pock-marked with bullet holes. Some observers estimate between three and 500 hundred stu-

dents were shot and killed when they attempted to resist the army takeovers. Eyewitnesses claim many were lined up against the wall and shot down."

This is how Yoyo Khan is attempting to unify the country. Right at this moment, 30 to 40 million East Pakistanis are on the verge of starvation because these fascist rulers in West Pakistan won't release food to them. Their racism against these Pakistani workers knows no bounds. That's right, they'll unify the country. They're going to try to kill everybody who lives in East Pakistan, and you know why? Because the East Pakistanis have been historically the most militant and the best fighters against capitalism



and when they throw off their fake leaders and when they break loose from this pain in the ass (U. S. stooge Indira Ghandi) in India and begin to fight for socialism, they'll show this Yaya Khan and all these other flunkies what the power of the working class is going to be and what it is.

They think that they can sell the working class out, they think they can intimidate the working class, they think they can scare the working class but I want to tell you comrades and friends, the more terror they put against the working class and communists, the harder the working class fights back. This is the story of history, this is the story of life, this is Marxism-Leninism.

People fight for revolutionary socialism, not because it's a game, not because they have nothing better to do, because it's a fight for life and death, because they want to live a life in accord with their aspirations. Starvation, bribery, terror, racism, or nationalism, will not force us to quit, and it will never force Pakistani workers to quit. They're going to unite East and West and dump the whole god damn crew of exploiters.

Now, when I came down here today, there is a zoo—over there—there are a lot of nice little animals running around, and somebody said to me "You know, too bad these Pakistani diplomats around the corner, these scum, aren't in the zoo." Well I say, "what do you have against animals? They're useful. These sons of bitches gotta go. They don't even belong in a zoo." And I want to tell you something else. You know what happened the other night, some bad people came down here and painted that whole damned building red and plastered up signs that they were murderers and stuck up PLP posters. Isn't that awful?

That's right, the zoo is too good for this scum. And the Pakistani workers and the workers of the world will deal with these people, and they'll repay them more than they could ever dream of. They're cringing in their beds right now. They got half of the New York cops protecting them. Why? If they weren't afraid of workers then why would all these cops and their horses be here. They are scared to death of us. We're the many and they're the few.

This is their flag, the bosses' flag. This dollar bill here is their great piece of green shit. That's their flag. Here's our flag, the PLP flag, the workers' flag. We are following this red flag and more and more are following it and in many big cities around the country, today, there are other rallies like this. All of them for socialism, all of them spelling doom for the imperialists and the Yaya Khans.

Some imperialists are trying to make the Yaya Khans and the West Pakistani army and their fascist gestapo their stalking horse in Asia. They want these Pakistanis to make sure that revolution doesn't sweep through Asia. They want to back them to the hilt. They have Chinese guns, Russian guns, American guns, they have guns from everybody, but those guns will turn to taffy.

Political power in the final analysis may not come

from the barrel of a gun. In the final analysis it comes from our heads, our minds and our aspirations. When we take a gun it means that this is their end. Armed struggle without Marxist-Leninism would have made Al Capone the president of the United States.

Power comes from Marxism-Leninism and the fight for socialism. That's right, that's a tough, hard fight, leading to armed struggle and victory, but without the ideas of socialism, communism, the dictatorship of the working class, workers' power, workers won't win. It spells the bosses' end and that's why you don't see any news cameras around here today. They don't like to report that thousands of people in this big city, are fighting together for socialism: black and white, Latin and Asian, young and old—talk about the generation gap, but just look at the children all over this truck. There're kids here from 11 years old to old fogeys like me. That generation gap is a lot of crap, a ruling class trick. Marxism-Leninism and revolution closes every gap, there is only one way forward for everybody, and that's through revolution, and that's through struggle, and that's through joining the Progressive Labor Party which many of you are supporting and I hope many of you would like to join.

If one Zionist was picketing the Soviet embassy five blocks away, *one*—you'd see every news service of the world out there to get a picture of this jerk. But when thousands of workers come here to fight for socialism, you don't see one of them. Good, who needs them, let them also go into the zoo.

We made our lesson very clear to the workers, to ourselves, and we made our message very clear to our enemies. *Workers of the world unite! Same enemy, same fight!*



# ***Bosses Fear Rising Rebellion Against Budget Cuts***



**Brooklyn N.Y., workers and students march against budget cuts**

Massive budget cutting, directed against workers, are one of the biggest attacks against the working class in recent years. Budget cuts, coming within the framework of a growing economic crisis of all U.S. bosses, mean death sentences for thousands of workers as food, housing and medical care disappear. On top of all this is the end of rent control and the 50¢ fare is around the corner. All these attacks are racist to the core.

The Brownsville rebellion, militant action by PL and friends at the recent NYC budget cut hearings, and now the growing wildcat strike wave by city workers prove that the working class is going to fight the bosses' and their union stooges' plan to turn the city into a bigger paradise for landlords and sweatshop bosses.

Nor do workers fall for liberal Lindsay's crap that it is all Rockefeller's doing. Lindsay had already passed a bill giving landlords two successive rent increases. His plan was to do away with rent control by using salami tactics. Rockefeller's plan is to eliminate rent control at one fell swoop. Even before the Albany barons were announcing job cuts

Lindsay had acted to lay-off thousands of city workers. As soon as city workers hit the bricks—leaving the drawbridges hanging—Lindsay threatened to bring in the National Guard. In a crisis all the tactical differences between bosses disappear. They all resort to coercion and terror.

The crisis in NYC is growing so sharp that revolutionaries can make dramatic gains. This is especially true as the herd of fake radicals and liberals take to hiding. They are all petrified that another rebellion like the one in Brownsville could sweep the city. They are afraid even to launch dead-end actions, because of the very real possibility of workers taking-over and re-directing such actions. They realize that any spark could "start a prairie fire."

PLP welcomes militant—often violent—action by workers in their self-interest. We are in the midst of it. We will try and guide it in a revolutionary direction. This means towards overthrowing the state apparatus of the bosses, and establishing workers' power. Let the class struggle rage. The sharper the better. Workers will win.

# **Workers Will Doom China-U.S. Marriage**

One easily can see that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) which took place in China in the mid-1960's has been reversed. One of its main slogans was that "U.S. imperialism is the number one enemy of the people of the world." U.S. bosses were described correctly as "worse than Hitler." The forces of the GPCR had plenty of proof of this. The U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, which destroyed the lives of millions of Vietnamese; which made millions of Vietnamese homeless; and which maimed or killed tens of thousands of U.S. working-class youth in a bosses' war for profits—all this was the main demonstration of the ruthlessness of U.S. imperialism.

**U.S. IMPERIALISM HASN'T CHANGED ONE bit.** *It will never change! It must be crushed!* As a matter of fact, U.S. bosses make Hitler and his masters look like pikers. U.S. armed bases ring the world. U.S. bosses stand ready to swoop down and act against any people fighting for socialism. U.S. armed forces, if required, will move into the Middle-East to save U.S. oil profits. U.S. bosses—liberal or conservative—killed thousands in ghetto rebellions here. Virtually every city in our country shows the scars of U.S. "pacification" efforts. The total wounded and jailed by the bosses during ghetto rebellions is probably at least 500,000.

**How many strikes were broken these past few years by U.S. bosses? How many picket lines were broken by bosses' cops, smashed by bosses or their agents driving trucks and cars into strikers? How many students have been imprisoned or killed by U.S. bosses in anti-war and anti-racist actions? Don't only count the deaths at Kent State. Count the scores of black students shot in anti-racist demonstrations in the last five years.**

The record of U.S. bosses is clear. You can't beat them with a ping pong racket. You can't beat them by trying to get into their U.N. You can't beat them by expanding trade with them. You can't beat them by talking "love and brotherhood" between Chinese and American people. *There can be, and should be, revolutionary ties between our two peoples. But the basis of these ties must be the fight against and destruction of U.S. imperialism and its opportunist partners-in-crime (the sellout revisionists) in the peoples' movements.*

**OBVIOUSLY, THE LINE OF THE CHINESE** leaders is to preserve their power by all means necessary. Look at the lengths they have gone to in order to do this:

- They are working for a complete accommodation with U.S. bosses, the most ruthless that ever existed;

- They are supporting the fascist generals in Pakistan who are slaughtering millions of Pakistani workers;

- They have started negotiations with Soviet bosses (who they also characterized as "worse than Hitler");

- They are expanding trade with the fascist USSR bosses;

- Using the fascist Pakistani generals, large amounts of arms were recently sent to Ceylon where rebels were fighting gun-in-hand to end the rule of the reactionary, Trotskyite-supported Ceylonese government. This government was getting arms from the U.S., the Soviets and the Chinese via Pakistan—so Chinese leaders are in a united front against Ceylonese rebels;

- China has restored diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. For years the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) told the world that Tito & Co. were the worst of the worst opportunists (and they are!).

**UNFORTUNATELY, THIS LIST COULD GO ON** endlessly. The point is, *the CCP is no longer following a revolutionary course.* It is allied with the most backward sections of the world's bosses. And it represents those forces in China who wanted to, and *did*, derail the GPCR.

Interestingly enough, those U.S. publications and reporters allowed into China are among the worst: *Life Magazine*, the *N.Y. Times*, etc. These prostitutes represent a collection of liars. *These boss papers never told the truth about struggles in our country.* The Chinese know this. They are relying on the U.S. bosses' press to whip the American people into a "love China" mood, after years of anti-China propaganda. The U.S. bosses' main purpose in all this is to save their tottering economic and political system. They feel if they can plunder the Chinese market, and the Chinese can get Asian revolutionaries to calm down (as in Vietnam), more profits can be made. U.S. bosses envisage enormous trade and more years of *bosses' prosperity.*

The Chinese leaders have the same thing in mind. Expanded U.S. trade and "peace" in Asia—that is, *no revolution*—will allow the Chinese economy to "move ahead safely." And, of course, the ideas presented by the Chinese which scoffed at the A- and H-bombs have turned into their opposite. *The Chinese hope that improved relations with the U.S. and cooling off their anti-Soviet position will get China out of a nuclear war.* During the GPCR the CCP put forward the correct line that people are more important than weapons, and that the people shouldn't be afraid of—and would win—an atomic war started by the U.S. and/or the Soviets. Instead, the CCP rightly stated, such a war would be the end of hated imperialism.

**AROUND THE WORLD, AND IN CHINA, THERE** is already growing evidence that revolutionaries won't be taken in by the opportunist line of the CCP; "There were indications here [Hong Kong] that applications for visas by other American correspondents might be favorably received. An informed source said that local Communist officials appeared 'shell-shocked' by the sudden shift in Peking policy." (*N.Y. Times*, April 11)

A recent article in the *San Francisco Examiner* (*This World* section) reported: "Government controls had forced the more aggressive revolutionary zealots [in Ceylon] to rush in to fill the political void... These groups, who also called themselves the People's Liberation Front, claiming to be the only true revolutionaries, promised to save the 'natives' of Ceylon from the 'yoke of capitalism, the dangers of nationalism, shameful revisionism and Maoist opportunism.'"

A *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent, William Selover, put it this way (written before the big love match between Chinese and U.S. bosses began): "State Department officials now have a secret intercepted document indicating when and if such a shift is decided upon the change should come 'all at once.' The document rules out 'piece-meal change' for fear of 'undermining the Chinese people's confidence' in their leaders."

**THESE FEW TIDBITS SHOW THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY** peoples of the world are not going to take accommodation with U.S. or Soviet bosses by Chinese leaders lying down. During the GPCR workers, students and others put forward a host of revolutionary ideas which centered around defeating U.S. imperialism and Soviet opportunism. These revolutionaries know you can't beat them with deals. They know *only socialist revolution and People's War for socialism can*. We can anticipate *an upsurge of revolutionary activity in China and elsewhere* when people begin to see the treachery of the Chinese leaders' actions. (One might compare this to the current overwhelming opposition by the American people to the Vietnamese war, when only a few years ago it seemed people accepted U.S. aggression for profits.)

**The crowning bit of irony has followed the action of the Left forces during the GPCR when they had sacked many foreign embassies.** In the last year there has been a nauseating wave of attempts by Chinese leaders to cuddle up to all bosses. About a month ago Chou En Lai sent British bosses an *apology* for the actions of the Left who had sacked the British embassy during the GPCR. In his note, Chou said that those who did this "bad" thing were being "punished."

**WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE THE CHOUS AND** his cronies who will be punished by Chinese workers and all workers. We rely on the people. We believe in all the correct slogans and actions of the GPCR. The drive for workers' power—for the dictatorship of the proletariat—is *irreversible*. Those

who stand in its way, no matter what the rationale, will be swept into the garbage heap of history.

There can be no deals or accommodation with U.S. rulers. "You can't do business with Hitler," and "unconditional surrender" are World War II slogans which are applicable now to the international working-class war on U.S. imperialism. The workers are winning! They will be victorious!

(Note: during the past two years our Party has been having discussions with members and friends, anticipating the above-mentioned events. More important, we are trying to analyze those flaws in Socialist development which lead to betrayal of the revolution. In the September issue of PL magazine we will publish an initial set of ideas on this crucial matter.)

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## 'Life' Interview With Mao Tse-Tung

(The following is taken directly from an interview with Mao Tse-Tung by Edgar Snow, in *Life* magazine, April 30)

"In the meantime, he (Mao) said, the foreign ministry was studying the matter of admitting Americans from the left, middle and right to visit China. Should rightists like Nixon, who represented the monopoly capitalists, be permitted to come? He should be welcomed because, Mao explained, at present the problems between China and the U.S.A. would have to be solved with Nixon. Mao would be happy to talk with him, either as a tourist or as President.

"I, unfortunately, could not represent the United States, he said; I was not a monopoly capitalist. Could I settle the Taiwan question? Why continue such a stalemate? Chiang Kai-Shek had not died yet. But what had Taiwan to do with Nixon? That question was created by Truman and Acheson...."

Referring once again to the United States, Chairman Mao said that China should learn from the way America developed, by decentralizing and spreading responsibility and wealth among the 50 states. A central government could not do everything. China must depend upon regionalism and local initiatives...."

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# ***Pakistani Bosses Use Nationalism To Slaughter Workers***

The government of West Pakistan has sent large numbers of troops to East Pakistan to massacre tens of thousands of people in the world's biggest bloodbath since Indonesia. The U.S. bosses' press is crying crocodile tears, as usual—although the West Pakistan army is largely U.S.-armed and U.S.-trained.

West and East Pakistan, although divided by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, were "united" under one government by the British in 1947. That new government was controlled by the West Pakistani bosses, with the East Pakistani bosses frozen out.

**WEST PAKISTANI BOSSES HAVE BEEN RAPIDLY** industrializing "their" half of the "nation" with the help of loans from the U.S., Russia and China. The industrialists of this region use rural East Pakistan as a captive market for their goods—at jacked-up prices. East Pakistani workers are treated like black and Latin workers in the U.S.—their wages are the lowest, their unemployment rate the highest. They have been fighting this oppression harder and harder.

The East Pakistani bosses and would-be bosses recently decided they wanted to be "equal" with the West Pakistani bosses. They wanted their own "labor force" and "market" to exploit and their own army with which to shoot down workers. They wanted to be able to bargain in Washington and Peking for their own loans. They figured they could use the increasing anger of East Pakistani workers and direct it against West Pakistani bosses.

So they declared their independence, just like U.S. slave-owners declared theirs in 1776 from the British slave-owners. But the West Pakistanis sent in large numbers of troops. They killed and killed—mostly working people. These are the same Pakistani bosses who didn't lift a finger when hundreds of thousands of East Pakistani workers and peasants died in a hurricane, deaths which could have been largely avoided.

The bosses in neighboring India took time out from beating and starving their own people to "champion the underdog." If the West Pakistanis are eventually driven out of East Pakistan by a guerrilla war, Indian bosses want to move in.

**THE BOSS-LED INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT** has only been possible because of the *class* struggle of urban and rural workers in Pakistan. Two years ago, there was a great working class uprising in Pakistan, comparable to the 1968 French general strike.

Workers of West and East fought *together* against their common foe. Workers in the cities seized the factories, holding the owners prisoner in many cases. Students closed down all the schools. Rural workers rose up with arms to kill hated police officials and landowners. This heroic uprising was defeated because there was no Communist Party to lead it.

The bosses were deeply shaken by this uprising. They decided to step up nationalism among the workers—to divert them away from this *class* struggle. And the Awami League in East Pakistan—the bosses' local "Democratic Party"—decided to manipulate the workers' militancy to win its own demands for the "freedom to exploit."

**REVOLUTIONARIES WHO WANT TO FIGHT** for socialism rather than nationalism can learn important lessons from the recent massacre:

● *Non-violence is no good.* The U.S. press was recently praising the East Pakistani nationalists for their Ghandi-style tactics—tens of thousand of workers have paid with their lives following this course.

● *Elections are no good.* The East Pakistani nationalists recently won an election which gave them control of the National Assembly (of *both* halves of the nation). But the West Pakistani generals postponed the convening of this assembly, and began sharpening their knives.

● *Negotiations are no good.* The West Pakistani government, upon postponing the assembly, sent Bhutto—a leading spokesman of the industrialists and close pal of the Soviet Union—to East Pakistan to "negotiate." According to the *N.Y. Times*, "It is clear that the West Pakistanis never meant the talks to succeed, that they dragged them out only to buy time to get enough troop re-inforcements over from West Pakistan to launch the attack."

● *Nationalism is no good.* It is the nature of bosses and boss-led movements to use negotiations, elections, etc. The only alternative is people's war. Only a communist-led working class dares to take this path.

● *Alliances with nationalists a betrayal of the working class.* The Chinese Communists have been giving guns to the West Pakistani army for many years. Now Chou En-lai applauds the massacre of Pakistani workers, saying ruler Yahya Kahn and his cronies have "done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving toward a split." Chou said that through Yahya's efforts "Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal. In our opinion unification and unity... are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength." Yes,



"strength" for Pakistani bosses to continue to exploit workers and peasants there.

**DURING THE 1969 WORKER REBELLION,** Chou En-Lai warmly welcomed Pakistani army envoys in Peking. The Pakistani army guarded government buildings from "rioting masses" with Chinese-supplied tanks. **TODAY, EAST PAKIS-**

**TANIS ARE BEING MASSACRED BY CHINESE—** AS WELL AS AMERICAN AND SOVIET—**BULLETS AND RIFLES.** This is the inevitable result of relying on alliances with nationalist bosses rather than on the international working class. *To ally with a boss—any boss—means sooner or later to support him against his workers.*



# ***Nixon's Flops Prove Can't Reform, Must Crush Capitalism***

**Don't try to pay the landlord or the supermarket with Nixon's promises and claims about "economic improvement." The more Nixon promises us, the worse things get. Nixon says he is fighting inflation—but we all know food prices, rents, taxes and hospital care costs are skyrocketing. Price hikes are reflected also in larger profits for bosses.**

**NIXON HAS TOLD US HOW HE IS "FIGHTING"** unemployment. Yet unemployment has now soared to new heights. This summer millions of young people will be walking the streets, out of work. Over 75% of minority youth will be hit still harder. So Nixon's claim of "fighting racism" is just more crap.

Nixon claimed he was "restoring the value of the dollar," but the dollar is *losing* its value. The European dollar crisis proves this. Many nations there won't even honor the dollar because it is unstable. The balance of payments deficit has U.S. bosses in an even worse fix. Those countries that still deal in dollars offer far less of their own currency in trading for the dollar. *The U.S. economy is in big trouble and Nixon and his big business bosses haven't wiggled out of it.*

**By and large, the bosses are trying to solve their dilemma out of our hides. Rapidly rising layoffs and job freezes impoverish us and make more profits for the bosses. When Nixon and other politicians yap about how the economy is "improving," they only mean that big business is making more profits (and they just handed the corporations another \$3 billion tax refund)**

**ADDITIONALLY, NIXON & CO. INTEND TO** keep a huge military establishment around the world—including Vietnam. This serves several purposes:

- Workers pay the costs of the military machine out of their taxes and through their labor—so bosses make *clear* profit;
- The military machine then guarantees that the U.S. rulers can rob and exploit people in other countries;
- And the military can be used to oppress workers at home. Every time our people engage the bosses in struggle, they are met by the cops, the National Guard, the Army, and sometimes all three.

**ANOTHER TACTIC THE BOSSES ARE PURSUING** is to cozy up to the opportunists in once socialist countries. Now the pages of the bosses' press are filled with "what a beautiful country China is." And, of course, we are told in great detail what a *moderate* Chou-En Lai is. Then Wilfred Burchett, noted scribbler of the "left," is let into China to tell us how—

during the Cultural Revolution—the extreme leftists in China wanted to defeat the current gang of sellouts, and how, in turn, their efforts were sidetracked—momentarily.

The fly in the bosses' ointment is that *U.S. workers won't fight willingly in Vietnam or anyplace else to help U.S. big business kill and exploit people. U.S. workers are striking harder and more often for their aspirations*, despite union sellouts and government edicts. (Witness the railroad signalmen's refusal to move even military cargo during their recent nationwide strike—see editorial, page X) Ghetto rebellions rage on, such as in Brownsville, Brooklyn, N.Y. and elsewhere, as unemployment triples among black and Latin workers. Murdering cops are used—as their latest killing of a black worker in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn shows—in an impossible effort to stem the tide of rebellion.

Nor will the student movement be deterred in its serious efforts to ally with workers. More students than ever know from experience that *this system can't be changed without alliances with workers*. Pacifists, fake radicals, and various agents can turn out all the "crazies" in the U.S.—in Washington or elsewhere—or they may use many honest, good people in their actions, which only lead to further isolation from workers and most students. They can give the Nixon-Agnew axis a perfect foil for attacks on the Left, *but none of these phony deals will reverse the growing role for students to unite with workers.*

**U.S. BOSSES HAVE GREAT HOPES THAT** fakes in leadership in Moscow, Hanoi or Peking will keep things cool for them, or that they will open the doors for trade. All of this is doomed because in every one of these countries there is ample proof that the revolutionaries will *not* be duped, coerced or silenced. And in the U.S., Puerto Rico and Canada important May Day actions by PLP, the Puerto Rican Socialist League and the Canadian Party of Labor served notice on the bosses that *revolutionary ideas and actions are swiftly moving ahead.*

**All revolutionaries know that revolution cannot be made by playing ping pong. What is more important, millions realize that this system cannot be reformed, it cannot be changed at the ballot box; and that it must be crushed. After the defeat of capitalism, every effort must be made to prevent the return of the swine from the private profit system, with their rotten ideas. Revolution is the sweep of world reality—not merely because we say so but because it is the only way workers can gain political power and prevent the ruination of their lives by the bosses. And revolution it will be!**



# Red Tycoon of Romania Follows Capitalist Dogma

By BRUCE van VOORST

Special to Buffalo Evening News

BUCHAREST, May 19—"I'm guided by one word, and that's 'profit,'" says Josef Steinbach. "My objective is to make money. Money's the name of the game." He picks up a brandy goblet and adds, "I don't move this glass from here to here unless there's something in it for me."

Such capitalistic homilies might sound a bit timeworn emanating from a Western entrepreneur. On the lips of a businessman in socialist Romania, they sound downright heretical.



But the jolly Mr. Steinbach, a 53-year-old tycoon with a magnificent capitalist paunch, is hardly a heretic. He is instead the loyal director of a huge "combinat" called the Bucharest Ready-Made & Knitwear Combine, which employs 20,000 workers, is Romania's biggest light-industrial operation and one of the country's major foreign-exchange earners.

Every day, the combine churns out 5500 men's suits, 30,000 shirts and 60,000 knitted items. During the last five years, it has produced \$800 million worth of goods, of which 39 per cent were exported to western countries.

MR. STEINBACH is the first to admit that the secret of his success is his willingness to compete with the west on western terms.

"We're operating just like any capitalistic firm," he notes, as he chainsmokes cigarettes. "Our objective is to go on the market and beat the pants off the competition. We watch the market as closely as any western businesses do. Don't think we're any less capitalistic than they are when it comes to the dollar sign.

"We deliver the latest fashions and we deliver on time. We produce a standard competitive with anything in the world. The primary emphasis on our selling program is quality."

Obviously, the reason Mr.

Steinbach has been able to succeed is that the Romanian government, eager for foreign currencies and a place in the world-trade market, has freed his combine from all the bureaucratic hassles that normally restrict socialist industry.

"If I want to get something done," he says, "I go straight to see the minister."

He is never harassed by government directives ("We write most of them ourselves"), and the variety of products made "is determined," he says, "solely by the way we see the market."

Mr. Steinbach and his staff enjoy several distinctly non-Communist privileges, including the freedom to travel around the world and act like hard-nosed businessmen.

NOT LONG AGO, Mr. Steinbach went to visit a British textile-machine producer.

"They sat me down in the board room," he recalls, "and without introducing all the other people sitting around the table promptly began by showing me photos of the machines they wanted to sell me.

"I said, 'Wait a minute. In my country there's a certain formality to be observed, and I walked around to each one introducing myself and getting their business cards. I told them, 'You can't treat me like somebody from your colonies.'

"Then I told them that the equipment they were offering was outmoded and could be peddled in Africa but not to us. 'Show me something newer,'" I said. They finally did, and we bought it."

Even though he is unfettered by bureaucracy, Mr. Steinbach is careful to maintain good relations with the government. He has been a staunch Communist Party member since 1934, and if he has even the

slightest qualms about the party's policies, he keeps it entirely to himself.

He has been in the textile business for 40 years. He started as an unskilled weaver and gradually moved up the ladder to manager of a plant in the provincial city of Bacau. He was brought to Bucharest in 1951 as director of all civilian garment production.

THROUGH THE years, he has earned himself a reputation as an innovator — supervising an anthropological study of 150,000 Rumanians to work out proper clothing styles, helping develop a three-dimensional photographic technique for measuring body types and sizes.

He has adopted the western technique of classifying all his workers by psychological personality profile and he is currently busy installing computers to gain data-processing help in production control.

Mr. Steinbach lives in a Bucharest villa with his wife, Mali, and one of his two daughters. He works a 12-hour day and claims to have no extracurricular hobbies, with the exception of an affinity for a drink or two of "everything, so long as it's of good quality."

For his talent and labors, he receives a mere \$5500 a year (about five times what his workers earn). But even though Mr. Steinbach could undoubtedly have succeeded in western industry, he bristles when westerners tell him how well off they are.

"A friend was recently telling me all the advantages he enjoyed," he says, "and I replied, 'Wait a minute. Do you know how I live? You've got a house, I've got a house. You've got a car, I've got six at my disposal. You're worried about the kids' education, my kids go to the university free.

"Who's got it better?'"

This article makes it ludicrous to read the various statements by leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) who call the Romanian CP a "revolutionary ally." Constant feating of Romanian brass in Peking and printing their crap in the *Peking Review* exposes the true nature of political developments in the CCP.

## Prisoners Study PL Behind Bars: Note Revolutionary Line

Dear PLP,  
In the past I have had the opportunity to read the *Challenge-Desafio* and I found it to be right on time. The paper was given to me by one of the comrades in Susanville Conservation Center. There was a line on the paper and it was passed from hand to hand until it was either read by all who wished to or until it was no longer readable. The same thing for the magazines. We went on a work strike because of the conditions and treatment, consequently we were all shipped to different in-prisons throughout the state, (in other words to closer custody). One of the real bad things about the whole matter is that I no longer get the *Challenge*. I don't have a lot of money, as a matter of fact, I get about five dollars every two months or so and I don't have the money to buy it, but if it is free to convicts, I would appreciate it if I could receive a subscription. If I remember correctly, the magazines are quarterly and that they cost about \$.75 each. I am sure that I could pay for the magazines, but I don't have any information concerning when it is to come out and how much it cost for a year's subscription. Also, I would like to know about the pamphlets that the PL puts out. I have read some of them.

### How WE were introduced to the PLP

We were basically Marxists but we were pretty heavy on nationalism and the Blank Panther Party seemed to be the party with the correct line. We were sitting on a comrade's bunk cutting up some fine revolutionary hairs and this comrade that had just come up from Solidaridad happened to have a copy of a 1969 issue of the *PL* magazine (if I remember correctly it was 1969 and yellow) and this *PL* magazine had some criticism of the BPP's relation with the CP and I was running it down about becoming revolutionary celebrities, (always in press conferences and on TV and the like) and the *PL* was giving us some of their personal experiences on this matter, WOW!

Who was this PLP who dared to give such criticism to the vanguard of the revolution? We were very liberal. We really blew it, we couldn't understand it, the PLP must be insane or something to say such things to the *supreme servants of the people*. I am not joking, we couldn't understand it at all. Well I guess when the brother saw this



New York prisoners rebel against oppressive conditions

*Build a Base*

he knew we needed a lot of political education, so he started by letting us read *Challenge*, but he didn't stop there, he got out his *red book* and typed up *Combat Liberalism*. After he had made up about ten copies he asked us if any of us had a *red book*; sure we all had a copy. He asked if we had ever read *Combat Liberalism*. Some of us had and some hadn't, anyway he gave us the copies of *Combat Liberalism* and he rapped about PLP's reasons for saying what they had said and that it was a good thing that the PLP was revolutionary enough to try to give the BPP some constructive criticisms and that it showed revolutionary love when PLP shared their experiences with the BPP so that the BPP wouldn't fall victim to the bosses' trickery.

Well, we didn't cut the BPP a loose but we did start to understand the PLP and the role of a working-class party. Shortly thereafter the comrade went home and one of the other comrades started getting the *Challenge* and from that point on we were reading it each time it came. Sometimes the institutional staff would hold it up or refuse to give it to us but by hook or crook we got that paper. One of the best articles I have ever read was on party criticism by the chairman of the central committee (I think). In it he said he had

been in the struggle for 22 or 27 years and he still felt that he wasn't as dedicated to the people or as selfless as he should be. We discussed that in our meetings for a long time. (In the process of being shifted from one prison to another it was taken and I would sure like to have it back, so if you will let me know the date of it, I will send the money right away.) I think that we all had to take a very close look at ourselves after reading that article, our criticisms became more concrete and complete after that; I think that we all gained from reading it.

I tried writing to PL once before but I never received any answer. I am from Waterbury, Conn., and that is where I plan to be paroled to if I ever get out; so I wrote to the New Haven branch but I don't know what happened to the letter. (I am not saying that they refused to answer, because sometimes the institutional staff plays funny games with the mail.)

I hope that the PL accepts this letter with a feeling of comradeship and revolutionary love, for that was the manner in which it was intended. I also hope the party members continue to criticize in such a revolutionary manner.

Hope to hear from you soon;

Yours in solidarity,  
—from a prisoner in a California tomb

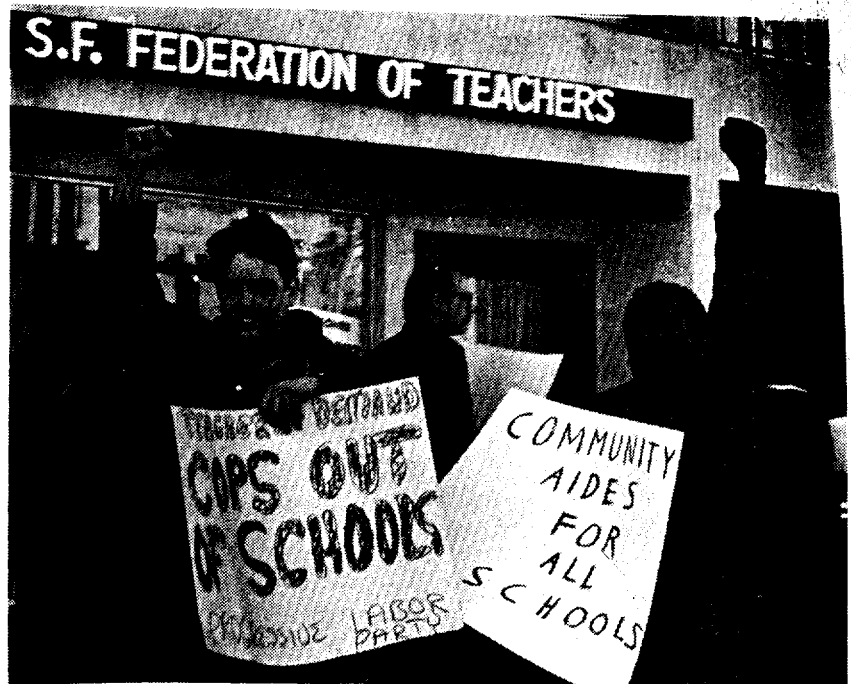
# California Education Superintendent Elections Exposed

This year Californians have gone to the polls with virtually nothing to choose between as far as the major candidates were concerned. On the one hand, we could have elected the known law-and-order Republican candidates Ronald Reagan for Governor, George Murphy (of old-movie fame) for U.S. Senator and Max Rafferty for Superintendent of Public Instruction. On the other hand, we could have cast our ballot for liberal Democrat candidates who all said that they were just as much for law and order as their opponents. For example, there was Jess (formerly "big daddy") Unruh running for Governor or John Tunney, a young man who was trying very hard to look and sound like a Kennedy. Finally, there was Wilson Riles, the Democrat who ran against and beat Rafferty. Riles claimed that he will devote 100 per cent of his time to do the job of supervising the schools and not use the office as a political stepping stone, as he claimed Rafferty has tried to do. Tunney won as did Riles, but what did these candidates mean to the Californians who voted as well as to the many who did not?

As a teacher I cannot speak for all working people of California, but I have noticed several interesting attitudes and ideas among liberal teachers. First, many of these teachers see through Unruh's statements about Reagan's support of big business in general and the oil interests in particular. Unruh claimed he would be independent of control by these large companies. But people remember that Unruh himself was a powerful figure in the state legislature for years and during that time supported many bills similar to those he recently has been complaining about.

Not quite so clear to many teachers is the case against John Tunney. His appeal seems to be "youth and vitality" as opposed to old, sick, "do-nothing" George Murphy. Tunney's campaign advertisements always ended with "Vote for Tunney: He's a fighter." A fighter for whom though? Not for the working people of California. He was for example, opposed to the grape boycott, in fact, some of his financial support came from big agricultural interests in his home congressional district.

Even more unclear to many teachers was the position of Wilson Riles. Max Rafferty seemed to them an evil of such magnitude (he threatened to fire liberal



Picketing racist teachers union headquarters

teachers, suppressed certain books from the classrooms, was opposed to sex education in the schools, etc.) that many people ignored or excused the many unsavory facts about Riles. Most obvious, Riles worked for Rafferty until several months ago when he took a leave of absence to campaign against his boss. This was the first that we heard about Riles' disagreements with Rafferty.

A man who campaigned extensively for Riles was San Francisco State College President S.I. Hayakawa. Hayakawa was made President of S.F. State in the hopes that he could crush the Third World Liberation Front strike and deal "forcefully" with the student and faculty "dissidents." Hayakawa happens to dislike Rafferty, but is a great admirer (and it goes both ways) of Ronald Reagan.

Finally, I heard some revealing statements on TV one day after Riles was elected superintendent. As Superintendent of Public Instruction he will also become a member of the Board of Regents of the University of California system. When asked by newsmen how he felt about working with the Regents, he said, "I've always had good rapport with the Board." He said of the Regents, "they have integrity," and "have concern for children." Finally, when a newsman asked him how he felt

about working with Governor Reagan, he said he "felt the same way."

Who are these people that Riles describes as having "integrity" and "concern for children"? Here are some facts about some of them:

*Katherine Hearst:* Hearst family that owns the anti-union, anti-labor Hearst Publishing Company newspaper chain.

*Edward Carter:* President of the Broadway-Hale Stores, largest in the West; also trustee of the Irving Foundation, which owns 51% of the Irvine Ranch, which owns 20% of Orange County.

*Theodore Meyer:* Director of the Broadway-Hale Stores and of the Newhall Land and Farming Company.

*W. Thomas Davis:* President of Blue Goose Growers and of its parent company, Western Fruit Growers Sales Corporation.

*Dorothy Chandler:* Vice-President and Director of the Times-Mirror Co. (publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*) which owns a variety of companies, including 40% of the giant Tejon Ranch Co., controlling 285,000 acres in Kern and Los Angeles counties.

*Norton Simon:* President of Hunt Foods and Industries, one of the two giant companies in the state's food-processing industry.

These are all very wealthy persons. If they are so full of "concern for chil-

dren," why do they own or run businesses that underpay workers and work them at a pace or under such conditions that the workers are hurt or killed in industrial accidents. These same workers have children who are hurt by their parents' inadequate pay or industrial injuries. Obviously, the regents care far more about how their businesses are doing and how they can increase their profits at the expense of their employees than about helping children.

Once again, most of these regents were opposed to the farm workers' strike and the grape boycott in general. Were they not concerned about the children of these workers? These children suffer severe economic hardships. They also suffer through lack of education because of being moved around so often and also because they often have to work long hours themselves to help out their families.

The point is that Wilson Riles is not a man to put our faith in. He will not work any harder than Rafferty to gain a decent education for the children of California's working people.

How could he even if he wanted to? Where would the money come from? With people like Reagan and the rest of the Board of Regents guiding our educational system, there won't be much money spent on education. Instead the money will stay in their and fellow big-businessmen's pockets.

Nor will we see a change in the racist, reactionary, anti-working-class content of most of the classes our children attend. These men are happier with, for example, the social studies textbooks glorifying all aspects of our country than criticizing the government's national policy of slaughtering the Indians, of enslaving the black people or of attempting to brutally crush any workers' movements to organize for unionization or better conditions in general. The simple reason is course *their* interests today parallel the way the history is being taught in schools now.

In California this November, 800,000 less people went to the polls than during the last off-year election of 1966, in spite of the population increase. This tells us that many working people have no illusions about one major party candidate being better than another. Nevertheless, it is crucial for us to answer those people who still say they are going to vote for "the lesser of the two evils." We have to point out concretely that in the past when push has come to shove the "liberals" have reacted with as much force as the "conserva-

## Fake Radical Ron Dellums

"Some people think I'm for violence. That's not true. Just as I'm against the violence in Southeast Asia, I'm against violence in the streets at home."

So says "Radical" Ron Dellums, black Berkeley City councilman just elected to Congress. Dellums has got himself something of a reputation as a "black militant" with his vague rhetoric about the war and racism, about big business and about workers and students getting together. This reputation was helped when he was endorsed by the Black Panthers. Despite all this, Ron Dellums is just a slightly newer version of the kind of "radical" politician the people have seen before.

For a start, he's running as a Democrat. His literature attacks the "Nixon-Agnew-Republican movement" but it doesn't say a word about the party of LBJ. In fact, Dellums "officially" endorses all the Democratic candidates in California. Now, Dellums' supporters will explain that most of these endorsements are just made for "political reasons," and it's true that he hasn't actually praised them. But his supporters say that there are also other Democratic candidates he endorses because he really agrees with them. One such was George Brown, a Kennedy-style liberal who ran against Tunney in the primary. Brown sometimes talked like Dellums but wasn't above a little good old Democrat Law'n'Order during his campaign. For instance, one of Brown's handouts boasted that he was "the only one," among other things, "against crime and violence." He has been working for 15 years to improve the police service

through local, state, and federal legislation" and he cosponsored the omnibus crime control and safe streets act. Could George Brown be one of the "expedient liberals" Dellums used to criticize for compromising their principles to get elected?

Dellums is a pacifist. As the quote says, he doesn't think oppressed people should use violence against their oppressors. Just so we wouldn't forget this, right before the election Berkeley and Oakland were plastered with posters of Mrs. Martin Luther King in mourning, with the caption "for peace and non-violence—Ron Dellums." Well, PLP thinks that for the movement to return to King-style turn-the-other-cheekism would be a big defeat. Workers and poor people of the world have never won anything without a fight, whether here or in Vietnam—pacifism just helps the enemy. For example, last spring at Berkeley there were big demonstrations against ROTC which members of PLP helped organize. What was Dellums doing? Among other things he was working with the notorious Peace Brigade whose members would stand between demonstrators and cops and tell everyone to go home (like Dellums, they didn't believe in fighting.) The police chief later said in a magazine article that the Brigade had been a big help in protecting ROTC and the pigs.

Ron Dellum's alternative to fighting is working inside the system. He says, "The fundamental challenge facing American society is to bring the young

(continued on page 16)

tives" whenever people start to fight back against oppressive working or living conditions.

If we don't respond to this illusion, people will either continue to work and vote for "the better candidate," or finally will become so discouraged as to give up, become very cynical, and "do their own thing" for the rest of their lives.

We in the Progressive Labor Party say that all politicians, conservative or liberal, Republican or Democrat, work for big businessmen like the regents. Those businessmen have either bought or okayed those candidates before they even have run for office. The only way working people are going to win a decent life for themselves is to organize

with other people on the job or in their communities to force bosses and businessmen to give better wages, living conditions, etc. Ultimately no meaningful gains will be securely won until working people destroy the existing government (or state) that the bosses use to protect their interests and instead set up a government run by and for the working class. Only by relying on their own fighting strength to destroy the bosses' state and replace it with their own, will working people win freedom. Voting to choose between two types of bosses' representatives won't accomplish a thing.

—Ann Ley, San Francisco, California

## Readers' Criticism on Schools Article Answered

**L**et us leave aside for the moment (we'll return to it later) the unfriendly tone of Mrs. Rubee's criticism, and try to examine the main points of difference between us.

First, I wrote an article suggesting that communist teachers (and parents and students) in the public schools should consider the classroom a battleground in the class war and encourage students to organize to fight back against the ruling class which is trying to brainwash students. The article further suggested that a key strategic issue which students and teachers might organize around is the very brainwashing itself—the textbooks which are racist anti-working class pieces of garbage for the most part the subtle racist anti-working class garbage for the other part. The article cited some examples.

A number of readers responded favorably, one sent in some more examples, this time of anti-communism in the textbooks.

Mrs. Rubee was incensed. In her letter in last month's *PL*, she argues:

1. Textbooks are racist but they are not "the very real and immediate problems facing students." And "you would be hardput to interest students enough to picket or demonstrate over books." And "what is the role of a communist gym, math or science teacher with regard to struggling with students considering that there are no texts used in their courses or they are not directly related to racism."
2. "It is anarchistic to say that there should be no discipline (in the schools) at all. True, schools are prison-like and racism is the reason" but there have to be rules of respect for fellow students as well as for deserving teachers...discipline in and of itself is not harmful—just the racist application."
3. My article was "racist" or "at the least...condescending" in suggesting that teachers visit the homes of their students and get to know the parents. "Wouldn't it be a much closer and more important involvement if teachers were encouraged to have students and parents visit their homes..."
4. The techniques of struggle I suggested were "old hat" and "unimaginative." The idea of "picketing the board of education is for those parents who don't work, leaving out the majority." She suggests instead "boycotts, sit-ins, leafletting and picketing individual schools."
5. My article "completely overlooked or deliberately omitted" the

role of the teachers' union.

6. My article didn't discuss the need to struggle against drugs in the school, against the war and for jobs for young people. Also better lunches and "superior and convenient free medical and dental services."

Now actually, the first two points above contain the main differences. How important is it for communists to help organize struggles within the schools against the *content* of the brainwashing that is *the main reason for existence* of the public school system? Is this brainwashing a "real and immediate problem facing students?" Well, Mrs. Rubee, I suggest it is the main reason students consider school to be a lot of crap; that is because school *is* for the most part a lot of crap under this capitalist system. We must make clear to students, parents and teachers alike the role of schools in this society—why do they exist, why does the ruling class insist that your children attend, why do they want discipline in their schools? The answer to these questions can be found in Dick and Jane's bright white middle class faces as they jump over their happy-

go-lucky dog Spot. And, although Mrs. Rubee may not realize it, there is just as much racist anti-working class brainwashing in the science and math textbooks as there is in the history and civics books.

Compare, for example: "If your mother gave you ten dollars to buy some marbles and the marbles cost 15 cents each, how many..." etc., with "if the landlord raised your rent to \$150 a month but your mother and father only got \$175 from the welfare department, how much would you have left for food each day?" Of course there is no math book in the public school system that includes the second example. The same could be said for the application of science lessons. And as for gym, if Mrs. Rubee thinks that gym courses "are not directly related to racism" then I suggest she attend any gym course in any working-class public school in the country, or perhaps just ask her children.

As to whether or not students are interested enough to do something about their racist textbooks, I think Mrs. Rubee underestimates students. But then we will see.

As for the discipline, I don't believe



Cops out of schools is real issue, Mrs. Rubee!

the most careful reading of my article will find anywhere that I said there should be no rules. But the role of discipline in public schools is to keep the kids in line so they can be better brainwashed and that is the role of discipline whether Mrs. Rubee or Mr. Shanker or anyone else thinks it's necessary or not. The problem, Mrs. Rubee, is not that "there have to be rules of respect for fellow students as well as for deserving teachers," the problem is there are too many damn rules of "respect" and very very little—teachers or anything else—in the public school system that deserves respect. Now our children are taught "respect" at school, they are taught "respect" on television, they are taught "respect" in the army. With all due respect, Mrs. Rubee it's time we started teaching our children a little disrespect—a little rebellion!

As for the other points Mrs. Rubee raises, for the most part they are minor and I would consider them welcome additions to the original article if it weren't for the nasty tone and occasional distortion Mrs. Rubee throws in.

Teachers should definitely invite parents and students to visit their homes, but I think it would be easier in most cases to begin with if teachers visited students and parents at home first. However, this is hardly a difference one could call "racist" or "condescending" unless you were just looking to pick a fight.

As for tactics which are "old hat" undoubtedly picketing the board of education is old hat—although sit-ins and boycotts are not exactly the latest rage in revolutionary techniques. In any case, I'm sure students and parents and teachers will come up with their own new (and old) tactics as the struggle unfolds so that the question will be settled in practice.

My article "deliberately omitted" the role of the teachers' union because it is a complex question deserving of another article and it was good of Mrs. Rubee to point out this omission.

My article didn't discuss the fight against drugs in school, against the war, or for jobs for students mainly because those have been covered in detail in other articles in our Party's publications. But it in no way was intended to downgrade the importance of those struggles, and it was good of Mrs. Rubee to point out that these things should not be neglected. Although, Mrs. Rubee, if you read over the article again you'll find that one of the specific demands suggested in it (and these were only some preliminary

suggestions) was "free medical and dental checkups and health care at school"—almost exactly the demand which you claim I didn't mention. However this is a minor oversight, I'm sure, on your part.

The point is, why all the venom, Mrs. Rubee? Why the antagonism, the attitude that the entire PLP National Committee is at fault for including me on it?

The only answer I can come up with, unless there is some personal reason I don't know about, is that you really don't want us to attack the basic foundations of the public school system—the brainwashing and the brutality—which faces our children. Perhaps your kids are not getting brainwashed or

brutalized in the schools, perhaps they simply have some problems with drugs. If that's the case, we should be glad to join with you to fight to get narcotics out of the schools.

But at the same time Mrs. Rubee, our Party is determined not to make the school system a cleaner, nicer better place for cleaner nicer better brainwashing. Our Party is determined to attack the capitalist school system at its roots. Perhaps as we continue this debate, we can join together in at least some common struggle against the modern three R's of racism, repression and red-baiting which menace our children—the children of the working class.

—Fred Jerome, *San Francisco, Calif.*



### Fake Radical Ron Dellums (continued from page 14)

and ethnic minorities into the political process." The real challenge facing *the ruling class* is to divert peoples' struggles into voting, petitioning, trying to reform the Democratic Party, etc., instead of effective resistance and revolution. This was the stated purpose, for instance of the McCarthy campaign (McCarthy used almost the same words). Well, Clean Gene held poetry readings to raise money for Dellums. You can fool some of the people some of the time...

One last point. Lately, many of the Vietnam "anti-war doves" have become hawks when it comes to Israel and U.S. interests in the Middle East. Dellums is no exception. In a recent issue of the pro-Zionist Jewish Observer, Dellums reassures the readers: "I reject the notion that Israel is a spearhead of so-called western imperialism... necessary arms should be provided, particularly where the USSR continues arms buildup..."

—Bill Ouage, East Bay, California

**I**n this current period of "hard times," two of the issues most often discussed are the rising unemployment rate and the rising welfare rolls. What is the relationship of one to the other?

In the 1930s unemployed workers, watching their families slowly starve, took to the streets to militantly demand a living. They won a major victory in the form of welfare. It was a victory then because it kept families alive; it gave them the strength to struggle even further, to demand jobs—and in fact, many jobs were created. But the welfare system, born in the 30s, has grown into a monster which is often used by the ruling class against workers, to oppress them in a number of ways.

*Unemployment is necessary to the capitalist profit system.* Bosses can keep paying lower wages to their workers as long as there are a lot of unemployed workers around who desperately need any job, even at low pay. Will a worker so easily go out on strike for higher pay and better conditions if he knows there are five men in the boss' office who are begging for jobs? Welfare is the system which allows the bosses to maintain this "pool" of unemployed workers. Welfare keeps the unemployed and their families alive—barely alive.

*Who pays for welfare?* The rich bosses must pay the wages of their workers—but they do not pay for food and rent of families who can find no jobs. No, the workers who have jobs are forced to bear the burden of those who don't. In New York City, one person out of seven is on welfare and is supported by the other six. But the key thing is that five and one-half of those other six are just plain workers—and the other one-half are bosses who could pay for the welfare cost and still come out with profits.

Supplementary welfare is simply a subsidy to the bosses. Instead of the boss paying his workers enough to support their families, welfare makes up the difference. So, in effect, the taxpaying workingman is forced to help the boss pay his workers'

salaries helping him keep up his big profits.

Welfare is used so relentlessly to promote racism in the U.S. that we need to examine this particular oppression in detail. Above we see why welfare was created and how it is supported, but one of the most profitable side-effects that welfare has for the rich bosses is racism.

Racism is the strongest force in the U.S. for dividing workers from each other. Every division leads away from workers' power and toward increased oppression by the ruling class. The bosses use every opportunity, and then some, to promote racism among workers; profiting by that racism. Black and Latin American workers are the last to get hired and the first to get fired. They are hired mainly for the lowest paying, most menial jobs. Because of racist splits there is less solidarity among

all of the workers to fight against the bosses' practices, they love racism and the ruling class plays it up to the hilt.

Many white workers work side-by-side with black workers, or they see black workers working throughout the city every day, yet some believe that black people are not mainly workers. This is because the papers and TV lead white workers to believe that black people are lazy, that they aren't willing to get a job, or that they would "rather be on welfare."

Nationally, a majority of people on welfare are

white; the reason that the majority on welfare in the larger cities are black and Latin American is that cities are the areas of concentrated oppression of blacks and Latins. Again, the last to get hired and the first to get fired.

Naturally, people have to go on welfare. Also, it is in the larger cities that a number of low-paying industries hire mainly blacks and Latin Americans and force these workers to get supplementary welfare for the low wages, or in the many cases, bring about family splits because the husband is unable to provide a living for his family. In New York City,

## **RULERS CAUGHT IN UNEMPLOYMENT TRAP**



the garment industry is the classic example.

The propaganda handed out really drums into people that the taxpayers are supporting millions of black and Latin American people who are either lazy or "unable to adjust to our complex society" (i.e. stupid). Let these racist lies be damned—both employed and unemployed workers of every color, unite to fight this racist system!

### NO !! FOR WELFARE: Bosses' Strategy

The current issues in welfare also demand some examination. In early 1969, welfare budgets were severely cut, the main cutback being no more money for clothing or household needs. Welfare became at that time "food plus rent." The only way to get clothes or a new bed was to cut down on food. They also stopped replacing stolen cash; a severe hardship for people who are forced to live in neighborhoods where crime is so high.

The theme of the ruling class for welfare is now no money. Funny thing: if our taxes pay for welfare and we are still paying our taxes, how come there is no money for welfare? The truth is that the economic squeeze is cutting into the profits of the bosses (including the governments) and they are trying to keep up their profits by cutting the "least popular" item, welfare. Then they can use our tax money to pay "lovely" interests to banks on government loans, to pay for inflated useless building contracts, rents, etc.—all to benefit the ruling class, the banks and big businesses; and for the war against the Vietnamese people, again for ruling class profits.

The latest aspects of welfare cutbacks are very evident in New York City. Five welfare centers were closed on January 31. Additionally 500 city workers were laid off in December, many of them in welfare and Lindsay says there will be no more money left for welfare after mid-year.

Bosses plan to profit by these cuts in several ways. All the cuts save them a little money—but not a lot of money. (Obviously, the threat that there will be no money for welfare is a joke. They would hardly risk an open rebellion of over a million people who are forced to depend on welfare!) By closing the five centers, they save a little money; but the main thing is that they overcrowd the remaining centers, making it impossible to accept and keep up payments on the increasing number of people who have to apply for welfare. In this case, increased inefficiency means saving money. (This idea was put forth last year in a report from the N.Y.C. Budget Bureau to Mayor Lindsay.)

The layoffs of workers came at a key time: contract time. Many union contracts of city workers expire either December 31 or June 30. If the city is so bad off they have to layoff workers then, they want us to think, how can they possibly offer their remaining employees any more money? In order to prevent massive rebellion against the layoffs, the city fired mainly low-paid "provisional" employees—

and again, mostly blacks and Latin Americans—so they would get relatively little support in a fight against the firings. If the city was trying to save money on salaries they would have fired some of Lindsay's high paid aides, or perhaps some workers who earn \$8000-\$9000 a year, but that would rock the boat. So now the city can save tons of money by giving almost *nothing* on the new contracts. Because of their threat of layoffs they figure no workers will have the nerve to militantly demand more than the city's meager offers.

Every politician from Nixon, to Rocky on down, is coming up with some way to save money by cutting back on welfare. By doing this they just do more to give the impression that you can easily cut welfare because most people are "cheaters" anyway. The catchy phrase of the year seems to be "less welfare and more work-fare." What do they mean by this, at a time when there are so few jobs?

The aim of the ruling class is to cut welfare clients to a bare minimum existence, but only to the point where they will remain "quiet"—that is, give them just enough so they won't rebel. (This was also stated in the budget report to Mayor Lindsay.) They have set up some training programs, and seem to be making a big push toward getting people employed. They have increased the harassment of clients by trying to push them into low-paid jobs, by more repressive procedures and overcrowded centers. It seems that the aim is to continue to layoff regular employees in industry and replace these workers with lower-paid, temporary employees from the welfare rolls. It is even possible that a man would get laidoff his regular job, and be rehired a month later at almost one-half the pay.

In most cases, however, there simply are not enough jobs to push people into. But as long as the welfare system *pretends* that the jobs exist they can keep up the lie that most welfare clients are just too lazy to work. Once they establish that "fact," they can move to cut back welfare payments even more, further oppressing those unemployed workers who are already the most oppressed of all workers; therefore, *all* workers should support the demands of welfare clients for a less repressive welfare system. Given adequate day care facilities and enough jobs with adequate wages, there would be no need for a welfare system. Increased Social Security and disability benefits would take care of the aged and sick. Therefore PLP demands more jobs with higher pay, end the *need* for welfare!

### Bosses' Strategy Will Fail: Workers Rebel!

The ruling class is caught in its own trap: they are desperately trying to keep up their profits by cutting back more and more on the workers. Already, many workers are beginning to fight back—and eventually the bosses' plan will backfire right in their own faces. The ruling class is terrified of workers' struggle for power. This is why they take great pains to break every strike, to buy off all the union



leaders, to put down every community struggle (by either sending in more cops, or by planting their "anti-poverty" agents in the midst of a struggling community). They have tried to keep welfare clients from fighting back by threatening them with being cut off welfare; but workers are fighting—the only road to victory.

No permanent victory can be won by any short struggles of the workers, unless part of the fight is against the capitalist profit system, the fight for socialism. Under this present system, we can strive for unity of all workers, we can engage in struggles that will get us better pay or conditions, lower prices, better housing, or a less repressive welfare system. These fights are good and absolutely necessary. But the ruling class has a million ways to take away our gains as long as they are in power. This is why the only answer in the long run is workers' power. The bosses claim they can't afford to pay

workers decent wages; we claim that we can't afford to have bosses, *they* are the real parasites!

It is true that there is a financial crisis in the U.S. The solution for the ruling class is to come up with more money for the continuation of capitalism and their profits, to continue this dictatorship of the bosses over the workers. The only solution for the workers is to put an end to this system, and turn the tables: dictatorship of the workers over the lousy capitalists. It will take a revolution to do this and to lead us ultimately to a classless communist society. Progressive Labor is a revolutionary communist party which believes in these goals and which engages in struggles which unite workers in fighting for better conditions now, for eventual workers' power. Only a solid force of all workers, regardless of nationality, can eventually overthrow the capitalist ruling class.



**PLPers and friends fight budget cuts and cops for jobs and socialism**

**H**is main accomplishment, paradoxically, is one that is most ephemeral: He enlisted the youth of this country in the democratic process. He channelled a sullen generation into active roles in a Presidential race, proving that cynicism and bitterness could be reconstructed into the right of petition and possibly election," spoke the August 31, 1968 *New York Times* in its praise of Senator Eugene McCarthy's campaign for presidential nomination. McCarthy emerged as the alternative for many to the usual candidates run by the Democratic and Republican parties: he would end the war, fight racism, challenge the system. McCarthy was the so-called people's candidate, the man who spoke out against party machinery and the control of politics by the ruling class. He was a grass-roots politician who depended on volunteer students and \$1 contributions to attack capitalism from within...

In the following pages, the financial backing of the McCarthy campaign is investigated to see if he was really the people's choice. It turns out McCarthy was supported by businessmen, big and small, and bankers. The point is not to warn people about the trick McCarthy himself played. He is just a typical example of liberal politics in the United States, which are the politics of the ruling class of big businessmen and bankers. In the 1968 elections, the ruling class ran a three-ring circus, with McCarthy the carefully loyal opposition to Nixon and Humphrey —no liberal politician can escape this role.

### McCARTHY'S POLITICS

#### McCARTHY SPEAKS OUT...

The U.S. must undertake to preserve Western civilization and the peoples who value it... (and) guard and protect our lifelines to vital materials and necessary supplies of oil, tin, manganese, uranium, etc... preserve our national honor... and raise the economic and cultural level of peoples of other civilizations and thus promote the cause of justice and

world peace. (1951)

It is to the interest of the U.S. to protect non-communist countries against communist combinations even to the point of using American troops under certain conditions. (1954)

In Korea, we do have a clear obligation and it is a legal one and a justifiable one that dates out of a continuation of World War II. (1968)

Since the concern here is to look into the money behind McCarthy, a thorough review of his political statements will not be made. Some of the high points of McCarthy's less publicized record prior to the 1968 campaign will be noted to show why big business chose a good investment.

- McCarthy got his start in politics by helping Hubert Humphrey purge communists from the Minnesota Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party in the late forties, and was rewarded with the congressional nomination in 1948. He has a long and consistent record of red-baiting. In 1954 he supported the "Humphrey Bill" outlawing the Communist Party;

- In 1964 McCarthy was supported by the Right-wing of the Democratic Party—Richard Daley, John Connally, Russell Long and other Southern Senators. McCarthy was the kind of man they could work with, not identified with civil rights, not "indebted to labor," etc.; Connally and Daley frequented McCarthy headquarters in 1968;

- In 1964 McCarthy voted both in the Finance Committee of

the Senate and on the floor against reducing oil depletion allowances. He is considered a friend of oil and gas companies (along with William Fulbright);

- In 1968 McCarthy voted against Edward Kennedy in his bid to replace Russell Long as Democratic whip. What is to be noted here is not McCarthy's anti-Kennedy vote, but his loyalties to his old buddy Russell Long;

- McCarthy voted against every effort to pass a Senate income disclosure bill;

- In 1962 McCarthy voted in the Finance Committee and on the floor to let business lobbyists take their expenses as tax deductions;

## THE GREAT McCARTHY HOAX

- In 1967 he voted against an amendment which would have prohibited joint business ventures by senators and lobbyists;

- In 1966 he said the Senate Ethics Committee should not look into Dodd's use of tax-free campaign funds. During the following year as a member of the Ethics committee, McCarthy helped block an all-out inquiry into Dodd;

- In 1964 he voted against two amendments reducing defense spending; in 1965 he voted against two more;

- In 1966 he voted against an attempt to cut military aid funds by \$250 million;

- In 1961 he voted for Goldwater's amendment to prohibit the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from conducting research;

- In 1967 he voted against an effort to cut a rifle-practice subsidy to the Right-wing National Rifle Association;

- In December 1966 he participated with others in the Finance Committee in loading the Foreign Investor Act with riders for the benefit of special interests—the act became known as the Christmas Tree Bill;

- McCarthy contributed to the "swap fund" amendment, which permitted stockholders to swap securities for shares in an investment fund without paying capital gains tax. This provided a tax loophole for the benefit of about ten corporations. (We shall see later that investment funds were among the largest contributors to the McCarthy campaign);

- McCarthy voted for every appropriation to the House Un-American Activities Committee, and voted to uphold every one of their contempt citations. In 1967 he voted against abolishing the Subversive Ac-

tivities Control Board;

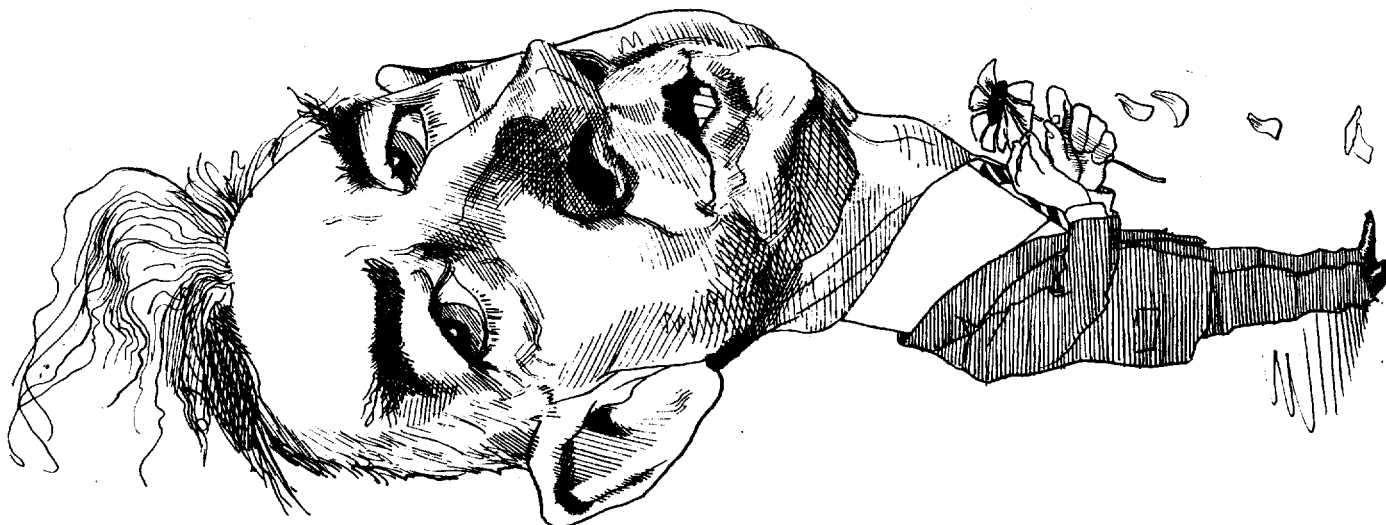
- In 1967 McCarthy voted with seven Southern senators against the Legislative Reorganization Act, which drew a Democratic vote of 46-8.

This compilation of McCarthy's record is presented in Jeramy Larner's book *Nobody Knows* on the McCarthy campaign. Larner was one of the campaign's chief speechwriters. He concludes that McCarthy never challenged established interests or established procedures. McCarthy "never mentioned corporate involvement in defense policy, or how the banks and corporations lay the financial weight of the war on the back of the working man." In Larner's opinion, his politics were like Humphrey's except for his position on the war—which he was against because it was "bad fiscal policy." Larner also points out that McCarthy reserved all his venom for Johnson and Kennedy, but never attacked Humphrey; of course, he finally supported Humphrey before the election.

Rather than dwelling on McCarthy's position on the war, simply note the following incident. During the Wisconsin primary there was a radically worded "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now" referendum on the ballot. McCarthy would not endorse it; but, more than that, his campaign took out ads in local newspapers officially *discouraging* people from working for this referendum.

#### **Racism in the McCarthy Campaign :**

Our whole problem is to make them (black people) a part of America, not to deal with them as negroes or as a separate problem, but as citizens and this requires a wholly new conception of new civil rights for Americans in which everyone is treated as though they were a white traditional American—McCarthy, in *Answers to Questions for UCLA Students*, a campaign brochure



This kind of racism, which most of McCarthy's white supporters overlooked, was responsible for his lack of appeal among black, Latin and Asian people. McCarthy's close ties with the Southern politicians—Russell Long, William Fulbright, John Connally, Thurston Morton, John Sherman Cooper—show where he stands on the question of racism and black oppression.

The racism was apparent in the campaign itself. Secret Service men who guarded McCarthy after Robert Kennedy's death advised him not to appear in big city ghettos and he followed their advice in all but one case (Pittsburgh). The approach which his campaign staff had to getting black votes was manipulative and racist. Whenever McCarthy would come to a city his aides would arrange meetings with the various so-called black community leaders. They would bargain for McCarthy to say certain things in his speeches in return for which these "leaders" would "deliver the black vote." This technique, as well as being racist, was ineffective since the community types McCarthy had contact with were usually so phoney that they had no voice with black working people anyway. At best, what McCarthy gained from this approach was support from an element of black middle class people who saw him as providing them a springboard into the political arena for their own advancement. Larner describes this operation, and summarizes by saying that McCarthy could not convince black people he "cared."

No election campaign would be complete without an "anti-racist" candidate. In 1968, Robert Kennedy played that role and McCarthy made some attempts to fill the vacuum after his death, without much success. McCarthy's job was to bring students back into the fold, and Kennedy's assignment was to convince black people that they could "control their own communities" under capitalism.

#### **How Political Contributions are Made**

The 1968 presidential election cost about \$100 million. McCarthy's campaign cost between \$9 and \$11 million—and this was just a nomination campaign. A statewide senatorial primary in a big state costs between \$500,000 and \$1 million. The general election usually costs more. (For example, Cranston's California primary against Pierre Salinger in 1964 cost him \$800,000. Edward Kennedy's 1962 Massachusetts primary against McCormack cost over \$1 million.)

The federal law which supposedly governs campaign contributions is the 1925 Corrupt Practices Act. It says that all contributions of \$500 and over to any senatorial or congressional candidate must be reported in Washington. It also says that no corporation or labor union may contribute to a campaign, and that no individual may contribute more than \$5000 to one campaign committee. This law is a feeble attempt to convince the public that big business does not control politics. Incidentally, there has never been a prosecution under this law.

First of all, most contributions simply are not

reported. For example, looking at the liberal senators the record shows that:

- in 1961 and 1962 Edward Kennedy and George McGovern list no spending or receipts (this is in the year that Kennedy spent over \$1 million by all estimates on his primary);

- in 1964 the following listed *none* under campaign contributions for their election campaigns: Hartke, Muskie, E. Kennedy, Hart and McCarthy. (The scrupulous Robert Kennedy listed two columns of names.)

Second, although corporations do not contribute by name their executive officers and directors contribute. As for the \$5000 limitation, a candidate can create any number of campaign committees, each of which can receive \$5000 from an individual. In 1968, the Democrats had 68 such committees.

Third, this law only covers congressional races. Any contributions to presidential primaries, for example, need not be reported.

There are also a variety of state laws which purport to control campaign contributions. Let us take Edward Kennedy and the Massachusetts law as an example. In 1962 Kennedy reported spending \$120,000 to the Massachusetts authorities on his primary campaign. As has been mentioned, he actually spent over \$1 million. The Massachusetts Crime Commission conducted a study of this primary and concluded there had been "universal circumvention of the law." Kennedy's advertising agency refused to provide the commission with reports of expenditures. Naturally, there was no prosecution.

It therefore turns out that it is very difficult to trace down the financial base of a campaign. Conservative politicians generally make no bones about their support and report a good deal of it, but liberals do not want it known that their money comes from the same quarters and so do not report most of their contributions.

Naturally, to run a campaign which costs millions of dollars, one must depend on the big contributions. Even if the sum total of small contributions is millions of dollars it does not pull the weight which one large contribution of, say, \$100,000 does: it is the relatively small number of large contributors who define the politics of the campaign.

The Democratic Party is as much a party of big business as the Republican Party. It makes little difference to the ruling class who gets into power, as they control both parties: one interest's particular choice may be predicated by some factional dispute, or a desire to control a particular candidate for "special interests," i.e., special favors. A lot of petty corruption from the point of view of the ruling class as a whole goes on at the highest levels and campaign contributions reflect this. For example, Nixon recently opposed import tariffs for everything except textiles, although many industries besides textiles are clamoring for them. The reason: as October 1970 *Fortune* notes, Roger Milli-

### Three Ring Circus

#### POLITICS DIVIDE TOP MEN OF SOME MAJOR COMPANIES

In business, as elsewhere, Presidential politics can divide close colleagues and even members of the same family.

Textron, Inc. chairman Rupert Thompson is a member of Nixon's business advisory committee, while Textron president G. William Miller is a founding member of Businessmen for Humphrey-Muskie. And at Ford Motor Co., the three Ford brothers among the top executives are going three different ways: Chairman Henry Ford II is a Humphrey man, Vice President Benson Ford is a Nixon enthusiast and Vice President William Clay Ford, an admirer of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, says he may 'register a protest' against both candidates by not voting for president.

Executives deny such situations strain their business relations. "We continuously kid each other and make small bets," says Gerhard D. Bleichen, executive vice president of John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. and a fund raiser for Mr. Nixon, commenting on his relations with President Robert E. Slater, a Humphrey supporter.—*Wall Street Journal*, October 16, 1968.

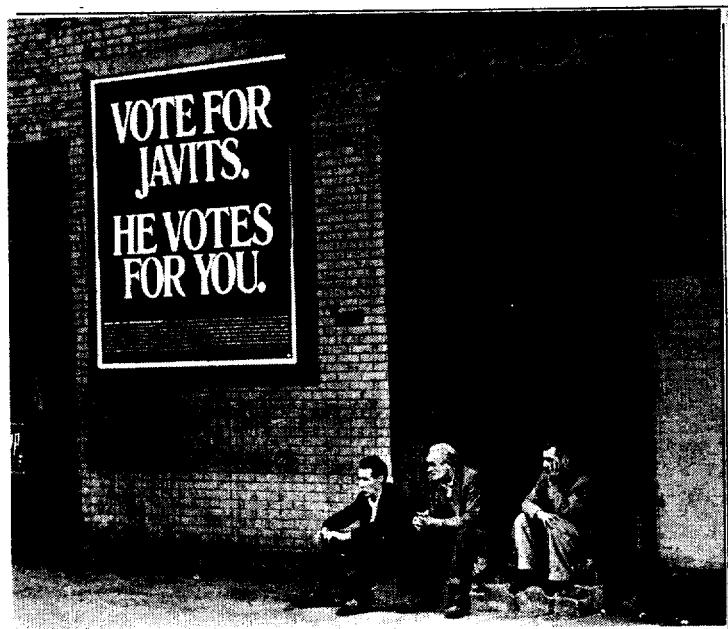
ken, Southern textile baron, controls Strom Thurmond, who carried the South for Nixon.

Petty corruption is probably not the main factor which determines campaign contributions. Ruling class elements disagree on the best tactics for ruling and different politicians to some extent represent different tactics. However, these differences are not as important as the illusion which the election system creates, the illusion that people have a real choice. Hence, many rulers support both parties to assure a good contest. The differences themselves are not as important to them as the fact that the differences exist.

Although Democratic Party funds as such did not support McCarthy, since he was not the chosen candidate, they obviously would have had he been chosen. In fact, the Democratic National Committee offered to assume the debt from McCarthy's campaign (\$500,000) after the election. As it is, McCarthy's backers define more precisely "liberal" money.

Most of the big contributions to the 1968 Humphrey-Muskie campaign came in the form of loans. Following is a list of some of the big loans:

Lew Wasserman	\$240,000	Music Corp. of America, First National City Bank
Herbert Allen	\$100,000	Allen and Co., Miller-Wohl, Benguet, Avondale Shipyards
John Factor	\$240,000	Los Angeles real estate investor
Lester Avnet	\$100,000	Belding Hemingway Co.
Robert Benjamin	\$100,000	United Artists, Carnegie Hall Corp., Transamerica Corp.
Jacob Blaustein	\$100,000	Standard Oil of Indiana, AMOCO
Robert Dowling	\$100,000	City Investing Co., New York
Milton Gilbert	\$100,000	Gilbert Systems Inc. and eight other companies
Milton Gordon	\$100,000	M.A. Gordon and Co., investment banker
H.E. Gould	\$100,000	Pepsi-Cola, Reinhold-Gould
Leon Hess	\$100,000	Oil
Arthur Houghton	\$100,000	Steuben Glass, U.S. Steel, N.Y. Life Insurance Co., U.S. Trust Co., New York
Francis Levien	\$100,000	Lawyer for Pepsi-Cola, Twentieth Century Fox
John Loeb	\$100,000	Financier, Carl M. Loeb Rhodes Co.
Jeno Paulucci	\$100,000	Chun King Co., Chop Chop Corp., R.J. Reynolds Foods
Arnold Picker	\$100,000	United Artists
Robert Short	\$100,000	Admiral Merchants Motor Freight Inc., Motor Inn
Edwin Weisl	\$100,000	Lawyer, Simpson Thacher & Bartlett
Samuel Friedland	\$ 95,000	Food Fair
S. Harrison Doyle	\$ 50,000	Globe Security Systems, Globe Protection, Inc., Sparks Plant Security, Inc.
Edgar Kaiser	\$ 37,500	Kaiser Enterprises
Arnold Saltzman	\$ 10,000	Seagrave Corp.
Dwayne Andreas	\$ 5,000	First Interoceanic Corp., National City Bank, Minneapolis; Northwest National Life Insurance Co., etc.
Richard Rubin	\$ 5,000	Philadelphia Fidelity Trust



This is only a partial listing. Other big Democratic Party supporters who do not appear on this list are those in the clothing industry, the retail trades and, like Henry Ford, the auto industry.

A survey was made of the top 25 government contractors in three fields: defense, space and nuclear development. There were 56 companies involved, and 49 made contributions through their executives and directors in 1968 for an average of \$4000 per company. Of these 49 companies, 28 gave to both parties. Only seven gave predominantly to the Democratic Party. They were: Aerojet-General, Avco Corp., Catalytic-Dow, Dow Chemical, Kaiser In-

dustries, Martin-Marietta and Phillips Petroleum. As an example of bi-partisan spending, Ford Motor Co. gave \$87,000 to the Republicans and \$43,000 to the Democrats. Nineteen of Ford's 47 top officials made these donations. As another example, Arthur K. Watson, vice-chairman of IBM gave \$55,000 to the Republicans, and Thomas J. Watson, Chairman of the Board, gave \$21,000 to the Democrats and \$8000 to the Republicans.

The figures which follow deal with the 1964 election since the 1968 figures are not available at this writing. In 1964 the contributions of twelve ruling class families were as follows:

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF 12 PROMINENT FAMILIES, 1964

Name	Number of Members Contributing <sup>1</sup>	Total Contributions	Republican	Democratic	Miscellaneous
duPont	21	\$ 73,510	\$ 71,010	\$ ---	\$ 2,500
Field	2	16,500	1,000	15,000	500
Ford	2	45,100	4,100	41,000	---
Harriman	4	39,000	25,000	14,000	---
Lehman	6	40,000	2,000	37,000	1,000
Mellon	12	122,156	93,510	17,500	11,146
Olin	5	44,900	44,900	---	---
Pew	10	103,510	94,510	---	9,000
Reynolds	3	6,000	---	6,000	---
Rockefeller	14	65,500	65,500	---	---
Vanderbilt	2	2,750	750	2,000	---
Whitney	5	44,000	43,000	1,000	---
	<u>86</u>	<u>\$602,926</u>	<u>\$445,280</u>	<u>\$133,500</u>	<u>\$ 24,146</u>

<sup>1</sup>Husbands and wives were counted individually in this case.

Note seven of the twelve families gave to both parties. Also, Harriman, in 1964 predominantly a Republican contributor, is a mainstay of the Democratic Party.

In 1964, 130 individuals reported contributing over \$10,000 to campaigns. Of these, ten gave to both parties. They include: E.R. Harriman, railroads and banking; Harold Hochschild, American Metal Climax, African copper mining; Robert Lehman, investment banking; Gustave Levy, Goldman Sachs, investment banking; John Loeb, Loeb, Rhodes, investment banking; Herbert May, department stores; Norton Simon, Hunt Foods. (Simon is a big Democratic Party contributor. He recently ran in the Republican senatorial primary in California as a "capitalist.")

Some other large and famous contributors to the Democrats in 1964 who have not been mentioned above are:

Gene Autry	\$20,000	now a Reagan supporter
Douglas Dillon	\$42,000	Dillon Read (in 1968 he switched to Republicans)
George Killian	\$12,000	MGM, American President Line (now a Reagan supporter)
Harold Linder	\$61,300	ex-chairman Export-Import Bank
Charles Luckman	\$16,250	Lever Bros., Pepsodent, Phillipine Refining Corp.
Bart Lytton	\$16,000	Lytton Savings and Loan
Andre Meyer	\$35,500	Lazard Freres, investment banking
Jubal Parten	\$13,000	Texas oil
George Pratt	\$ 7,300	Pratt and Whitney
J. Spiegel	\$15,000	department stores
Ben Heineman	\$10,000	Northwest Industries
William Hewitt	\$ 6,000	Deere
Augustus Long	\$ 2,500	Texaco
C.R. Smith	\$ 3,500	American Airlines

The Business Council is a ruling-class body composed of big businessmen who make recommendations for government policy. In 1964, 30 members of the BC contributed to the Republicans, 27 to the Democrats and six contributed to both parties. In 1968 members of the BC switched largely to the Republicans, giving them three times as much as the Democrats.

### **The Third Ring: McCarthy Money**

The McCarthy campaign had a budget of between \$9 and \$11 million. About 25 per cent, or \$2.5 million, came from 50 large contributors. The rest of the money was apparently raised at rallies, in small contributions, or is unaccounted for. It is very difficult to find out precisely where the money came from. All sorts of precautions were taken to keep lists confidential and there was no federal reporting of receipts.

The McCarthy campaign had two periods. It started out as a protest movement mounted by certain elements of the ruling class against Johnson's policies, but was not a serious attempt at the presidency at that time. As McCarthy started winning primaries he attracted more big money. For instance in California \$600,000 was raised in all; \$200,000 of this was raised in the last ten days before the June primary. This money is not only liberal money, but anti-Kennedy money. Naturally, a lot of switching went on. After Kennedy was killed, some Kennedy backers went to McCarthy and some to Humphrey. Also, Humphrey supporters pumped \$100,000 into the McCarthy campaign in the Oregon and California primaries to oppose Kennedy whom they saw as the main threat. Many McCarthy backers went over to Humphrey for the general election.

One of the initial organizers of the McCarthy campaign was Allard Lowenstein, later Congressman from New York. Lowenstein's main contribution to liberal politics has been anti-communism. Lowenstein helped start the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. He felt SNCC had been "taken over by Reds," and said of the movement in the South: "I felt as if I was in Spain and the communists were holding their guns at my back." Lowenstein linked the Mississippi movement to the Free Speech Movement and to SDS anti-war organizing as a big communist conspiracy. In the 1950s Lowenstein was president and International Affairs Director for the National Student Association, of CIA fame. Later he worked as a top aide to none other than McCarthy's "opponent" Hubert H. Humphrey.

The steering committee of the McCarthy campaign nationally was composed of:

**John Safer:** Washington businessman  
**Tom Page:** former director of public information for the Peace Corps  
**June Degnan:** a California businesswoman  
**Blair Clark:** former associate publisher of the *N.Y. Post*, former vice president of CBS

This is not exactly a grass-roots body. Blair Clark contributed \$75,000 to the campaign himself and June Degnan \$60,000. Although McCarthy made a lot of noise about the campaign being run by ardent supporters with no particular political pull, wealth or special interests, this was not the case. Virtually all the important organizers of the campaign were seasoned political figures or rich businessmen.

#### **1. The Finance Committee**

• **Howard Stein**, chairman of the National Finance Committee. Stein is a chief officer of the Dreyfus Fund, a huge mutual investment fund with \$2.4 billion in assets. He was an important money raiser because of his many Wall Street connections and was probably the main funnel for financial money in the campaign—he contributed over \$10,000 himself. Stein is also the president and director of the Dreyfus Corporation with \$65 million in assets, a director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (CSDI), and a director of Bache and Co.,

an investment house.

• Arnold Hiatt, treasurer of the finance committee. Hiatt is vice-president of the Green Shoe Manufacturing Co., Boston. He gave over \$10,000 to the campaign himself.

• Thomas McCoy, co-chairman of the finance committee. McCoy settled McCarthy's debts at the end of the campaign with AT&T, American Airlines, and so on. McCoy is a close McCarthy friend. He was a CIA agent who during his tenure was one of the chief proponents of the desirability of nationalist revolution in the underdeveloped world. He speaks of the "good work of the Agency with the Meo tribesmen in Laos, building a 'nationalist alternative' to the Communists." McCoy, being a liberal, agrees with McCarthy that the CIA has become "too big and unmanageable."

• Henry Cabot, co-chairman National Finance Committee. Henry is from the established Cabot family of Boston, a Harvard Law School Trustee, member of the Harvard Board of Overseers 1954-60, and director of Samuel Cabot, Inc. He contributed at least \$10,000.

• P. McEvoy Cromwell, co-chairman. Cromwell appears to have no corporate connections, but he is from a rich and established Baltimore family.

• Martin Peretz, an important money raiser for the campaign on the East coast. He contributed over \$100,000 himself to the campaign, which he gets from his wife's Singer Sewing Machine fortune.

Arthur Herzog, a McCarthy speech writer who wrote a book *McCarthy for President*, mentions several other men as top money getters besides Hiatt and Stein. These men, like Peretz, held no formal position in the finance committee.

• Robert Pirie, Major shareholder in Carson, Pirie and Scott Department Store, Chicago. Pirie personally contributed at least \$10,000 and gathered a lot more.

• Werner H. Kramarsky, Deputy Mayor of New York under Lindsay. Kramarsky took a leave from his job to work for McCarthy during the campaign. McCarthy's ties to the Lindsay wing of the Republican Party are evidenced not only here, but in his friendship with Lindsay's twin-brother, banker David Lindsay.

## 2. Citizens for McCarthy

This was the chief McCarthy campaign organization. Its officers were:

• Marshall Field, Co-chairman, has been a prominent Democratic Party contributor for years. He is the man who runs the Chicago *Sun Times* and *Daily News*; owns a string of department stores; is a director of the National Boulevard Bank of Chicago and a member of the Council of Foreign Relations.

• Benjamin J. Buttenweiser, Co-chairman, is on the board of directors of Benrus Watch, Tishman Realty and Construction, Revlon, Chock Full o' Nuts and Title Guarantee Co.; is a limited partner in Kuhn Loeb Co., investment house; and married to Helen Lehman of the Lehman empire.

• John J.B. Shea, Co-chairman, New York lawyer.

• Thomas K. Finletter, Co-chairman, is a former NATO ambassador (1961-1965), former Airforce Secretary of Defense (1941-1944); director of the Council for Foreign Affairs; a corporate lawyer for Coudert Brothers.

## 3. Coalition for a Democratic Alternative

This was the other large, New York based campaign organization.

• Harold Ickes, Co-executive director, a young, idealistic law student. He happens to be the son of Harold Ickes, Sr., Secretary of the Interior under Roosevelt. The Ickes family derives their wealth from shipping (American President Lines).

• Sarah Kovner, Co-executive Director, no corporate connections could be found but very rich.

• Clarence Jones, Co-chairman, is Chairman of the Board and chief executive officer of Inter-American Life Insurance Co., also secretary and general attorney for the Diversey Co.

• Richard Lipsitz, Co-chairman. No corporate connections are listed.

## 4. Republicans for McCarthy

Two organizations of Republicans for McCarthy were formed, the Republicans and Independents for McCarthy and the Illinois Republicans for McCarthy.

• Richard H. Miller, Co-director, Republicans for McCarthy, is president of the Fort Pitt Chemical Co., the Abrasive Metals Co. and the Durasteel Abrasive Co.

• George W. Clark, Co-director, Republicans for McCarthy, is a big executive for NBC.

• Lemuel B. Hunter, Co-chairman, Illinois Republicans for McCarthy, is a vice-president of Inland Steel; also a director of Hales and Hunter Co., and First Federal Savings and Loan Assn.

• Mrs. John M. Smyth, Jr., Co-chairman, Illinois Republicans for McCarthy. Mr. Smyth is a furniture magnate in the midwest.

## 5. State Committees

No extensive research was done on the state committees but three Western committees are given for example.

• Harry Morgan, Chairman, Oregonians for McCarthy, is a vice-president of Weyerhaeuser Co., a lumber firm with \$1 billion sales and 37,000 employees.

• Martin Stone, Chairman, California McCarthy campaign, is the president of Monogram Industries, sales \$120 million, 6000 employees.

• Joe Holsinger, Co-chairman, California McCarthy campaign, was chief money-raiser in northern California. He runs a furniture business and is on the Democratic State Central Committee.

• S.F. Black, head of McCarthy group in New Mexico, is the son of Supreme Court Justice Black.

## 6. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)

The ADA supported McCarthy, the endorsement organized by J.L. Rauh, Jr., partner in Rauh and



Silard, a Washington law firm. Rauh has been the general counsel for the UAW since 1963. He is an old red-baiter and friend of Lowenstein. John Kenneth Galbraith was also important in the ADA as McCarthy support.

#### 7. *Businessmen and Professionals for McCarthy*

This group was organized by Harold Willens, founder of the Factory Equipment Supply Corporation (Los Angeles). Willens is a relatively small (\$10 million) food chain operator. He is chairman of the Wilshire Blvd. Development Committee and the Wilshop Corporation, and is a director of CSDI. Willens contributed \$25,000 to the campaign as well as raising a lot more.

One man who was an important organizer in the campaign but does not fit into any of the above groups is Thomas Finney, who was brought into the campaign by McCarthy fairly late, after the Nebraska primary. A big operator with lots of connections in Washington, Finney is an ex-CIA agent who left the agency in the mid-fifties. He is a partner in ex-Defense Secretary Clark Clifford's law firm, which represents a good number of defense contractors. Finney had Clifford's blessing for working on the campaign.

Such was the top leadership of the McCarthy campaign. Even down to the "spontaneous student support" careful control was maintained. Many of the student leaders came from ruling class families. Lerner says, of the Wisconsin primary: "Most of the 13,000 canvassers were students, but the captains and lieutenants were young groomed professionals in vests and loosened ties..."

#### *Other Supporters and Contributors*

The following people were important supporters and contributors of the campaign. Contributions are listed when they are known.

- *Joe Ball*, member of former California Governor Brown's law firm and personal friend of McCarthy. Enlisted Dan Kimball's support for McCarthy but later supported Humphrey.
- *Louis Beck*, Executive Vice President of Advertisers Associates, Inc., contributed \$20,000.
- *Harold Bostrom*, vice-president Transportation Equipment Group, Universal Oil Products Co., Milwaukee.
- *Thomas Braden*, ex-CIA agent, led a Citizens for Rockefeller movement and then switched to McCarthy after Rockefeller was out of the race. Braden operates a publishing business which was started with Rockefeller's help.
- *Edmund G. Brown, Jr.*, ex-governor's son, assistant finance chairman of the early McCarthy California campaign. At present, famous for his idea of forming a statewide university police system and his campaign ads attacking student demonstrators.
- *Ellsworth Carrington*, young stock broker, New York. Contributed over \$100,000 to the campaign.
- *Bill Carter*, investment broker, Beverly Hills. Raised some money in Beverly Hills.
- *J.P. Warburg*, president of Bydale Co., Fontenay Co., director of Polaroid.
- *Randolph Compton*, partner and vice-president of Kidder, Peabody and Co., investment bankers was vice-president of Lazard Freres, another big banking house; director of Ralston Purina (sales \$500 million, 23,000 em-

ployees) and Standard Packaging Co. (sales \$150 million).

- *Joseph Dwight Crowley*, president New Haven Terminal, Inc.
- *Jack Dreyfus*, Chairman of the Board of Dreyfus Fund, mutual fund, assets \$2½ billion; contributed \$169,000.
- *Theodore Edison*, president Calibron Products, Inc.
- *Jerry Finkelstein*, publisher. Chairman executive committee of Struthers Wells Corp. (sales \$25-\$50 million, 1000 employees); president of N.Y. Law Publishing Co.; director Commercial Bank of North America; trustee N.Y. Law School; Chairman of the Board Struthers Capital Corp., ABC Industries; contributed \$24,000.
- *William Clay Ford*, vice president Ford Motor Co., contributed \$35,000.
- *A.W. deWind*, delegate 17th congressional district, N.Y., director of Revlon and big lawyer.
- *R.B. Gimbel*, Gimbel's Department Store, sales \$700 million; contributed \$50,000.
- *Newton Glekel*, Chairman of Beck Industries, Hygrade Good Products (sales \$300 million, 65,000 employees); director, American Book Stratford Press; contributed \$24,500.
- *Hugh Hefner*, *Playboy* magazine (sales \$25-\$50 million); contributed \$10,000.
- *James Hershman*, President I. Hershman Co.
- *Harold Hochschild*, director Mufulira Copper Mines Ltd. (Rhodesian coppermines); African American Institute; contributed \$25,000.
- *Walter Hochschild*, Harold's brother, chairman American Metal Climax Co., sales \$700 million, 13,000 employees.
- *Eliot Janeway*, economist, director Janeway Publishing Corp., Realty Equities Corp., advisor to editor of *Time*, *Newsweek*, advisor to numerous industries; contributed \$10,000.
- *Dan Kimball*, recently deceased chairman of Aerojet-General, ex-secretary of the Navy; contributed \$1,000; later supported Humphrey.
- *Edward O. Lamb*, president and owner of numerous Ohio corporations: Lamb Enterprises, Unity Corp., Gibraltar Enterprises, Edward Lamb Realty Co., Thompson Machinery, White Products Co., etc.
- *Leon Levy*, President Oppenheimer Fund, mutual fund; general manager WLAV radio station, Philadelphia. One of the original owners and directors of CBS since 1927; chairman Delaware River Terminal and Warehouse Co.
- *David Lindsay*, John's twin-brother, Ex-Assistant to Secretary of Treasury; head legal advisor to Treasury Dept. under Eisenhower; partner in a New York law firm.
- *William Mazer*, President Hudson Paper and Pulp Co., sales \$100 million, 3,500 employees.
- *Stewart Mott*, son of centi-millionaire Mott who is a GM director. Stewart is viewed as a maverick who shuns his father's politics. Originally supported Rockefeller, then switched to McCarthy, donated \$250,000 to campaign and largest known contribution.
- *John Nuveen*, investment banker, Vice-Chairman of the Board John Nuveen and Co., municipal bonds, Chicago; consultant on foreign investment for Department of Commerce under Eisenhower; trustee University of Chicago.
- *Monford Orloff*, chairman Evans Products Co. Portland.
- *Max Palevsky*, chairmen Xerox. gave \$1000 to McCarthy but later supported Robert Kennedy.
- *Lawrence Phillips*, president Phillips-van Heusen Corp., sales \$145 million, 16,000 employees. Also director Dillard Department Stores, American Apparel Manufacturers Association.

- *Jubal R. Parten*, Texas oilman. Chairman of the Board of numerous oil companies, ex-director Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, has held numerous government positions as a consultant on oil matters; board member of CSDI.

- *George D. Pratt, Jr.*, big supporter of Democratic Party for years and liberal groups such as National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC); contributed \$26,500 to McCarthy.

- *Reed Rubin*, executive of Bache and Co., investment house; director Fayston Properties; co-signed an ad in the June 2, 1968 *New York Times* as an "ordinary man on the street" for McCarthy; contributed at least \$10,000.

- *Thomas Silbert*, President Standard Prudential United Corp. and other companies; trustee Bard College.

- *Roger Sonnabend*, President Hotel Corporation of America.

- *Miklos Sperling*, owner Merz Engineering Co.; director Holgrath Corp.; President General Medical Supply Corp., Indianapolis; contributed \$10,000.

- *John L. Tishman*, Tishman Realty. [*Buttenweiser*, Co-Chairman of Citizens for McCarthy and University of California Regent *Coblentz* sit on the board of Tishman Realty.]

- *Palmer Weber*, Trotzer and Singer Co., New York; contributed \$10,000.

- *Ira Wallach*, President Gottesman Co.; Vice President Central National Corp.; Vice President Eastern Corp. director Southwest Forest Industries, Allied Maintenance Corp., Interstate Paper Corp.

- *Paul Ziffren*, tax and corporation lawyer, Los Angeles.

From this list it appears that directors of at least four investment banks, two mutual funds, three commercial banks, six publishing and communication corporations, several oil companies, three lumber and paper companies, one auto company, two steel companies, a big copper company, several food companies, several real estate companies and numerous department stores and light consumer goods companies contributed substantial sums to the McCarthy campaign.

One other type of contribution to the campaign deserves mention. The campaign owed over \$700,000 in telephone and airline bills which the various companies settled for, receiving about \$250,000, arranged by Thomas McCoy. In effect, this settlement meant a \$450,000 contribution to the campaign by the phone and airlines companies. Here are the details:

Company	Original Bill	Paid	"Contribution"
AT&T	\$305,000	\$ 75,000	\$230,000
General T&T	\$ 63,000	\$ 15,000	\$ 48,000
American Airlines	\$285,000	\$142,000	\$143,000
TWA	\$ 16,000	\$ 9,000	\$ 7,000
Continental Air.	\$ 9,000	\$ 4,500	\$ 4,500
Western Union	\$ 34,000	\$17,000	\$17,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$712,000</i>	<i>\$262,500</i>	<i>\$449,500</i>

### Ruling Class Groups Behind Mc Carthy

Of the \$2½ million which was contributed to Mc-

Carthy by 50 large contributors, only about one-half is accounted for in the above figures. It is possible that the other people mentioned for whom contribution figures were not available contributed the rest, but this seems unlikely. Due to the secrecy with which such information is kept, it is more likely that there are a few very large contributors who have completely escaped notice.

#### 1. Wall Street

The biggest single group of identifiable contributors are the Wall Street investment banks and mutual funds: Dreyfus, Oppenheimer, Kuhn Loeb, Kidder and Peabody, John Nuveen, Bache. One cannot conclude that because one director of a big company supports a candidate that therefore the whole company does. But the list shows that a substantial amount of Wall Street backing went for McCarthy. It also seems very likely that much more Wall Street money was gathered by Howard Stein in a confidential manner.

The main reason for the support of McCarthy by these finance capitalists, who lie at the heart of modern imperialism, was McCarthy's position on the war. They were convinced that McCarthy would seek a negotiated settlement in Vietnam faster than the other candidates, which they saw a need for. Such a settlement would take some international pressures off the dollar. As McCarthy said, the war was "bad fiscal policy," by which he meant the U.S. imperialism had alternative ways of staying in Asia which would not stretch the balance of payments so much. McCarthy never questioned the idea of the U.S. continuing to exploit Asia and other countries: he never challenged U.S. imperialism. He represented sections of the ruling class who realized that imperialism could use "peaceful" means at certain times to achieve its goals, by capitalizing on weaknesses in the national liberation movement: revisionism and nationalism. [For a complete discussion of how negotiations help imperialism, read *Vietnam: Negotiations or People's War* by PLP.]

In 1968, the whole ruling class did not subscribe to the "negotiated peace" theory of maintaining U.S. interests in Asia—although there seems to be agreement on this now. It is not surprising that the financiers led the way in convincing the rest of the ruling class for they are the most advanced elements among the capitalists. The big banks are at the helm of the imperialist system, they control most big industrial corporations through the capital market (big loans); they have the best overview of the system and form policy with the goal of preserving the system as a whole. A simple industrial magnate has a narrower view, he thinks in terms of his own company; a defense executive might want the war to continue, so he'll sell more bombs and Roger Milliken might want tariffs on textiles, even though the ruling class as a whole needs "free trade," at this point; the banks then emerge as advocates of "free trade."

#### 2. The CIA

It is more than a coincidence that at least three ex-CIA agents were involved in McCarthy's cam-

paign: Thomas McCoy, Thomas Finney and Thomas Braden (with Lowenstein as a possible fourth). McCoy was the most important, and the closest to McCarthy. Politically, McCoy's importance in the campaign makes sense: he was one of the formulators of the CIA's strategy to use nationalism as a tool for attacking communists. McCoy put into practice on the local level what McCarthy prescribed as the general solution to imperialism's problems in Asia: rely on nationalist elements to set up a "neutral government" not unfriendly to U.S. imperialism, even if some of these nationalist elements are within the communist movement.

A succinct statement on the usefulness of nationalist revolutions to capitalism was made by John Kenneth Galbraith in a pamphlet he wrote in 1967 entitled *How to Get Out of Vietnam*. Galbraith was an important backer of McCarthy among intellectuals and in the ADA. He wrote:

So, to repeat, it is a reasonable, indeed an inescapable assumption that we are in conflict not alone with the Communists but with a strong sense of Vietnamese nationalism. If so, a further massive conclusion follows. It is that we are in a war that we cannot win, and, even more important, one we should not wish to win. . . . But if we are involved in Vietnam with national communism in which the nationalist element is strong, and if we concede it has long controlled much of South Vietnam, then nothing more is involved here than the continued existence of Marshal Tito in Europe. We not only tolerate Tito but we support him.

Thomas Finney's main role seems to have been to seek support among his many ruling-class acquaintances for the campaign. Braden, (whose job for the CIA was developing anti-communism in the labor unions of other countries), was a contributor to the campaign after originally supporting Rockefeller, but does not seem to have been an active organizer for McCarthy.

Allard Lowenstein, one of the architects of the campaign, may or may not work closely with the CIA: he is not an open agent, although he has been involved with a number of CIA projects such as the NSA and certain activities in South West Africa.

The important conclusion to establish here is not that the campaign was a CIA plot: it was a ruling-class plot, which is the same thing. The CIA is not an autonomous branch of the ruling apparatus. CIA agents, or ex-CIA agents, were involved in the campaign because they had certain political philosophies and certain influence and contacts which the campaign needed. The presence of these CIA elements simply attests to the involvement of the ruling class in the campaign, the "liberal" elements of the ruling class. The CIA was founded by liberals (JFK) and is based on liberal tenets: use of the "soft-touch" (infiltration, assassination, terrorism) and hold the big stick (war) in reserve. Liberal imperialists like the Hochschilds (McCarthy contributors) use the CIA in Zambia and South Africa to preserve their ownership of African copper and their exploitation of the miners who make them rich.

### 3. *The Think Tank of the Ruling Class*

The center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (CSDI) at Santa Barbara, known in the academic world as *the think tank*, was quite involved in the campaign. The think tank has all the facilities for its professors which a big university has, except students. It is a place where professors may go for a year when the class struggle on the campus and the burden of students gets too much for them, spending all their time reflecting and developing theories of social "science" to justify capitalism.

The *think tank* has about twenty-six officers and directors, of whom five have been mentioned above as important in the campaign: Jubal Parten, Vice Chairman of CSDI, and directors Edward Lamb, Stewart Mott, Howard Stein and Harold Willens. Probably most of the directors supported McCarthy, but at least these five were active in the campaign verifying the involvement of a certain important ruling-class group in the McCarthy campaign.

### 4. *The Businessman's Educational Fund (BEF)*

Harold Willens, Los Angeles food chain millionaire, organized the Businessmen for McCarthy group which later became the BEF. Willens spends most of his time today traveling around the country recruiting businessmen to the cause of *peace*. Willens has also realized the reliability of nationalism as a saving grace for U.S. imperialism. In a May 19, 1970 speech he gave at the Graduate School of Business, University of Southern California, he quoted Louis Lundborg, chairman of the Bank of America:

...Mr. Lundborg said better than I ever could what some of us have been trying to tell our fellow citizens for three and one-half years: "We have seen fit to inject ourselves into an internal fight between two parts of a single country. Even from an ideological viewpoint it was questionable, because we drove Ho Chi Minh into the arms of a Communist China he hated."



"The Senator is deeply interested in this particular pocket of poverty. Could we circle once more?"

Finance capital continues its campaign for nationalist revolution.

Several of the trustees of BEF are already familiar: Jubal Parten (*think tank* and contributor, oil), Max Palevsky (Xerox and contributor), Stewart Mott (biggest contributor) and Willens. Other trustees of this liberal anti-war group are: Joseph McDowell (Chairman, Servomation Corp.) Gordon Sherman (President, Midas International Corp.), Alfred Slaner (President, Kayser-Roth Corp.), J. Sinclair Armstrong (VP, U.S. Trust Co. of N.Y.), Richard Gunther (Chairman, United Continental Development Corp., L.A.), Edward Janss, Jr. (President, Janss Corp., L.A.).

### 5. Rockefeller and McCarthy

Although the Rockefeller family did not openly support McCarthy or openly contribute to his campaign, there is a lot of circumstantial evidence that the Rockefellers took more than a passing interest in him. A number of important Rockefeller supporters also supported McCarthy, or switched over to McCarthy when Rockefeller dropped out. Two of these were Stewart Mott and Thomas Braden. (Mott apparently spent about \$100,000 convincing Rockefeller to run in newspaper ads.)

Mott probably spoke for himself when he supported McCarthy—or, it should be said, he spoke for the ruling class without prompting from the wings. But Braden may have been acting as a Rockefeller agent due to his closeness to the family: They set him up in the publishing business after his retirement from the CIA.

At one point, McCarthy released to the press his *ideal cabinet*. Secretary of State would be Fulbright, John Sherman Cooper or Thurston Morton. (Morton and Cooper are Rockefeller men.)

Secretary of Defense would be John Gardner, an important ruling class anchor man close to the Rockefellers. Gardner's latest operation is a group called the *Common Cause*, which is "a new, mass-membership organization to lobby for an early end to the Vietnam war, speedier action on social problems and an overhaul of the machinery of government." Gardner is also chairman of the National Urban Coalition, a ruling class group organized to stop ghetto rebellions.

Secretary of Urban Affairs for McCarthy would be Nelson Rockefeller. Thus, three of the top cabinet positions could have gone to important Rockefeller empire servants. As a matter of interest, the other cabinet positions were:

- William Clay Ford, *Commerce*
- Coretta King, *UN Ambassador*
- Thomas Watson (IBM) or Frank Stanton (CBS), *Treasury*
- David Lindsay (John's brother), *Attorney General*
- Pat Lucay (a Kennedy aide), *Post Office*
- James Pearson (Kansas Senator), *Agriculture*
- Mitchell Ginsberg, *HEW*
- John Conyers, *Labor*
- Howard Johnson (President MIT), *Transportation*.

Finally, there were a number of newspaper headlines suggesting Rockefeller support of McCarthy, taken from *The New York Times*.

Crossley private poll for Rockefeller seen accidentally helping McCarthy at convention... (Aug. 5, 1968)

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McCarthy indicates he could support Rockefeller over Humphrey (July 1, 1968)

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Rockefeller hails vote for McCarthy as sign young people are participating in politics (March 13, 1968)

\*\*\*

Republicans explain why they are backing McCarthy since Rockefeller dropped out (March 28, 1968)

Whether or not Rockefeller sent money into McCarthy's campaign or actively collaborated with him, it is clear that their interests are the same. The Rockefellers, biggest moguls of U.S. imperialism, would have been happy to have a McCarthy for their president.

### 6. Special Interests

All politicians do special favors for the particular members of the ruling class who help them get a start. McCarthy's campaign seems to have been mainly a strategic political move by the ruling class, and was therefore not too involved with much petty corruption, although there was undoubtedly some. As his record shows, McCarthy never violated established interests, and unquestionably was repaid for this. McCarthy sat on the Senate Finance Committee, and he reportedly received campaign funds from interests concerned with legislation before this committee: oil, drugs, and mutual funds. One party given by the Petroleum Club of Houston netted \$40,000 for McCarthy (remember his support of the oil depletion allowance). According to Herbert Alexander, expert on U.S. election campaigns, there was less "vested interest money" in the petty sense given to the McCarthy campaign than in other campaigns.

### The Lesser of Two Evils ?

"There is deep anxiety and alienation among large numbers of people so we have demonstrations and draft-card burning and all the rest. Someone must give these groups entrance back into the political process. We may lose, but at least in the process of fighting within the political framework, we'll have reduced the alienation. This is absolutely vital." (Eugene McCarthy, in the *Wall Street Journal*, November 17, 1967)

The McCarthy campaign was launched for two reasons: to destroy the student anti-imperialist movement in a *safe* direction which would not attack the system, and to push for the increased reliance by the ruling class on nationalism and revisionism to smash the anti-imperialist movement internationally. *The main point of the campaign was to run, not to win.*

Millions of people supported McCarthy and con-

tributed to his campaign but the campaign was organized and financially controlled by a small group of very rich businessmen, bankers and corporate executives. Many of the important figures in the campaign, although they are very rich and run large businesses, cannot be considered to be in the ruling class. However, a number of key contributors are rulers of America, and there are several ruling-class groups who collectively defined the politics of the campaign: Wall Street, the CIA, the *think tank* and probably the Rockefellers.

But even if McCarthy had not been supported by these big bosses, his politics would have served them. A lot of small politicians get started without much big support and the ruling class watches them and waits. If they can appeal to the people, then various ruling elements jump in and pump in money. Thus, from the point of view of the ruling class, elections are a circus. They perform the function not only of diversion and pretended democracy, but they also enable the people to choose the *leader* with the slickest approach. Sections of the ruling class disagree as to what the slickest approach is, what line will fool the most people nationally and internationally. Many ruling family groups contribute to all choices, to keep the circus lively; to assure that the people get full exposure to the various possibilities and can choose what they like best.

For example, California politics this election year ran the gamut, trying to appeal to every shade of discontent. On the Right were Reagan, Murphy and Rafferty. Opposing Reagan was Jesse Unruh, posing as a *friend of labor* and *fighter for social justice*. Unruh attacked Reagan for being a tool of the oil and life insurance companies, while he, Unruh, will not represent a rich, privileged few, but all the people. Unruh criticized Reagan for not giving the highway patrol a big enough raise. He is supported by the mainline Democratic Party, a solid ruling-class group.

Opposing Murphy is John Tunney, who models himself after J.F. Kennedy, complete with hair style and Boston accent. Tunney is younger than Unruh, less openly corrupt, also supported by the mainline Democratic Party. Tunney was opposed in the primary by George Brown, the "peace candidate," who was supported by the McCarthy faction in California. (June Degnan, McCarthy's finance chairman, was also Brown's.) The battle between Tunney and Brown was quite vicious, with smear tactics and name-calling. Tunney spent almost half-a-million dollars in this primary. After losing, Brown was appointed Co-Chairman of Tunney's Southern California campaign.

Opposing Rafferty in a "vehement" contest was Wilson Riles, Rafferty's assistant superintendent. The *radical* Riles opposes teachers' strikes.

Farther along is Ron Dellums, running for Congress. Dellums is at the "watch and wait" stage. He was not given any financial support by the ruling class in his successful primary but has been favorably editorialized about in the *Wall Street Journal* and Ford Foundation so-called educational Pacific network news media. He undoubtedly attracted some big money in the general election. Riles and Dellums are black, and as McCarthy did for students, they are trying to convince black workers not to fight back, but to vote.

#### "Communist" Party Allied With Rulers

The main proponent in the movement of voting for the *lesser of two evils* is the Communist Party (CP). Here's what they said about McCarthy:

However he (McCarthy) not only represents the most advanced position on the question of peace but is also the spokesman of a grass-roots movement of considerable and growing strength. Certainly the showing he makes in the coming primary contests in such states as Indiana, Nebraska, Oregon and California can have much influence on the advancement of the peace issue.... At the same time, pressure from the peace forces and the Left can do much to influence the position of McCarthy himself. Among other things, it can help to improve his approach to the fight for Negro freedom, on which he has been lamentably weak.... Clearly the situation calls for greatly stepped up support of McCarthy in the coming primaries.

—*Political Affairs*, magazine of the CP, May 1968

These politics are made to order for the capitalists. The *main political point* the ruling class is trying to make by running McCarthy and his ilk is that people can change the system through elections. This is also the main political point the CP is trying to make!

In fact, the strategy of the CP is to win socialism by *democratic* means—through the courts and elections. (They state in their *Program*, for instance, that private property can be abolished by constitutional amendment, and then we'll have socialism!) The ruling class knows that they control the elections and the courts and the police, and they have no fear that the working class will take power through the so-called democratic process! And it is precisely the liberals in the ruling class who understand this best.

It is not surprising that the CP also supported Johnson in 1964, and hailed the election in 1970 of Tunney, Riles and Dellums as a victory for the people.

Under the dictatorship of the capitalists everything is controlled by them, including elections. We cannot improve our conditions, much less attack the ruling class, by voting for one of their prancing horses. For the people, the only solution is working-class led revolution: *Don't Vote, Organize!*

**T**he Israeli Socialist Organization—Matzpen—has been since the 1967 war the most active Israeli organization in the struggle against the occupation of the Arab territories in particular and against Zionism in general. Even before the war the Matzpen had been the only political formation in Israel which undertook a fundamental analysis of Zionism and pointed at a socialist union of the Middle East as the only perspective for all the masses of the area—Arab and Jew. It was Matzpen that pointed out the role of the Histadrut (the Israeli labor federation—Ed.) as an arm of the Zionist movement. (Matzpen is the only political newspaper in Israel which published the positions and discussed with the Palestinian revolutionaries,) it has been one of the most active elements in the democratic struggle against the 1945 Defense (Emergency) Regulations, against administrative arrests, and similar struggles.

In spite of this, and in full awareness of the heavy responsibility we undertake by doing so, we, a small group of comrades, have decided to abandon the ranks of the Israeli Socialist Organization. Two main reasons brought about this decision on our part: the absence of any program, and the absence of any political strategy or of an adequate organizational framework for any strategic realization.

In its position as the sole active opposition to Zionism—apart from the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah), which, for ideological reasons does not constitute a pole of attraction—Matzpen became a shelter for a coalition of people with extremely diverse political identities holding only their radical opposition to the regime and its policies in common. Matzpen thus started to constitute a meeting-ground for Marxist-Leninists of all schools, for Marxists doubting Leninism, for opponents of capitalism and imperialism who find Marxism obsolete, for pacifists who found it a political expression for their opposition to war and for anti-establishment youth who saw it as a means of identifying with the Western wave of the “New Left.”

Only the peculiar conditions prevailing in Israel enabled such different elements to work together:

- growing fascism inside Jewish society;
- constant aggravation of the Arab population in Israel and in the conquered territories.

There was common work to a certain degree but the lack of a defined political identity is one of the main causes for the absence of a clear and consistent political line. Such a line is indispensable in guiding and promoting significant revolutionary action. So that while Matzpen’s activities in the course of this last year is met with proper responses in Europe, the USA and within the Palestinian movement, in fact, Matzpen has been suffering from increasing internal paralysis for several months.

Matzpen’s reluctance to define a common political position stems mainly from their desire to preserve the widest possible organizational framework while reinforcing internal unity. This concern was dictated at all stages of the political work by the aspiration to keep activity at least at the level of the previous stage; dictated by the assumption that ceaseless activity, whatever it might be, together with firm internationalism, were the best means to attain the aim of combatting Zionism.

These conditions led Matzpen to develop a pragmatic approach to political work. In relating to the Jewish and Arab working masses their lack of long-range political strategy, of a plan of action and the readiness to start in the slow and basic work, led to sporadic endeavors.

They only took initiative in reaction to developments. For instance, when objective conditions in Israel gave birth to the workers’ struggles of 1968-69, they started propagandizing among the Jewish workers; when, two and a half years after the war, signs of the “youth revolt” appeared (thanks also, let’s face it, to the propaganda work of Matzpen), the organization concentrated most of its work among students and youth. But after the workers’ struggles were repressed and after the youth “quieted down,” Matzpen also became silent. ✓

The absence of a political line and the fundamental differences in the organizational conceptions of the members also encouraged the process of deterioration of the style of work. Moods, sudden energy or

## REVOLUTION IN ISRAEL

This is the English translation of STRUGGLE, published in Arabic and Hebrew by the Revolutionary Communist Alliance. The RCA is a new group of Arab and Jewish revolutionaries who have undertaken the task of propagating among the inhabitants of Eretz-Israel—Palestine—the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle and the socialist revolution in the Arab East.

The Revolutionary Communist Alliance was founded by a group of comrades who left the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen) and were joined by a few unorganized revolutionaries. This first STRUGGLE explains the background of the split and sets forth the political program that shall serve as a basis for our work.

individual idleness were to define the norms of activity more than anything else. The complete lack of discipline—organizational as well as political—provoked a considerable loss of effectiveness in an organization which, in spite of its democratic-centralistic “constitution,” was founded on spontaneity and on the “freedom” not to execute the decisions of the majority, more than on any sort of centralistic democracy.

At the same time one witnessed in the organization the growth and development of positions denying the role of the revolutionary party as a guide and leader of the mass struggle; denying the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessity of class struggle after the victory of revolution; and negating the role of the socialist “state” as a liberated area and as a base for revolutionary struggle until the final defeat of imperialism and capitalism. So grew positions exaggerating the importance of the revolt against “alienation” as such (here, in the heart of the “underdeveloped” Arab East!) as a revolutionary motivation and overestimating the importance of anti-establishment moods and feelings.

In the field of its propaganda inside the country and aside from a few isolated theoretical documents, Matzpen tends to obscure the roots of the Israeli-Arab conflict. In spite of true and courageous slogans about “Zionist nationalism” and “Arab nationalism,” Matzpen tends to overlook the purely colonial character of the contradiction and to put the stress upon its national dimensions. Thus, it never specifically fought for the breaking of the Zionist monopoly of land and it defends an ambiguous position on the question of the national rights of the Jews

in Palestine-Eretz Israel, and on the meaning of the principle of self-determination. Thus it envisions the state of Israel as a mere instrument of capitalist oppression destined to be destroyed by the socialist revolution like all other states, and not as an apparatus of colonial oppression (on top of its being capitalist and “nationalist”) deserving as such to be seen as the main tactical enemy of revolutionaries inside Israel. Thus democratic illusions developed in Matzpen about the Zionist press and courts, to which the organization at times appeals, when the state apparatus, under whose legality Matzpen functions, denies its own “democratic” principles.

We want to repeat another time: we are aware of the value of Matzpen’s activity in this country as well as abroad which contributed to unveil the character of the Zionist regime, to radicalize Jewish youth in Europe and in the U.S., to undermine the political and moral position of Zionism in the whole world, to encourage “youth revolt” inside Israel, and to promote a revolutionary debate in the area.

But since we do not see a chance of success if we were to continue and struggle inside the organization for the adoption of a proper organizational conception, for the definition of a political strategy founded on a program—a strategy that serves as a common, clear and consistent line supported by the majority of the members, and since we see that the ideological as well as the organizational principles of Matzpen are bound to silence it as an instrument of class struggle in this area, we have decided, on the basis of the following political platform, to leave its ranks and organize under the name Revolutionary Communist Alliance working to achieve our aims.

## FIGHT ISRAELI FACISM!

*The following article was written by one of the comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance about three weeks before he left Matzpen. We bring it here in its entirety, since it reflects faithfully enough the political atmosphere that brought about our decision to leave.*

**W**e’d better see things as they are. For several months we’ve been almost completely silent. We’re not aware of it, since from time to time we’re attacked in the press because of the activities by our comrades abroad, but in fact, Matzpen has become today a more or less fictitious organization.

Yet we exist, but we exist as a myth; that is as a negative social function.

This doesn’t mean we do nothing—we do exactly what we can in order to remain a myth. We publish a newspaper from time to time, we hold “circles” and we distribute a few leaflets.

Clearly, the objective situation itself is a difficult one. Any revolutionary development in the Arab countries reinforces the militaristic and totalitarian

character of the Israeli state consolidating the pro-imperialist national unity. On the other hand, no partial victory of counterrevolution can give birth to normalization and put an end to the war for this is a deeply-rooted process. In other words, the continuation of occupation means, within a short time, fascism in Israel—fascism in the South African way. Even retreat from the occupied territories as a result of the Rogers or any other plan can’t put an end to Israeli chauvinism. The evacuation of these territories won’t in itself bring peace and won’t create the possibility of internal revolutionary struggle in Israel. It could be that we’ll reach a period of calm, but as a result of economic problems, as well as of bitter disillusion, one can expect even greater chauvinistic reactions.



As a matter of fact, Matzpen itself doesn't always relate to its own slogans seriously.

We understood the reasons behind the 1967 war. We made no compromise with chauvinism and we contend—justly—that there will be no end to this war without a just solution for the Palestinian people; the results of war and occupation, on the other hand, are well enough known: they aggravate the colonial character of the state of Israel.

Did this analysis provoke any change in our personal behavior or in the forms of our activity?

None! We are capable of sarcasm toward communist organizations that watched the oncoming of the catastrophe without getting prepared for it (as in Greece, or in Indonesia); but we, who are living the very process, what lessons have we drawn from that? Not one. We go on, fostering the same illusions in ourselves.

How did we react to the campaign in the press "Matzpen=Fatah=traitor"? First we were shocked, and every time we are shocked anew; and then as good democrats, we called upon other "democrats." At the beginning of the last year we tried to struggle against our isolation and form a front, a coordination committee for public action against the Defense Regulations, administrative detentions and other similar issues. But in the long run nobody, aside from the CP (Rakah), wants to collaborate with us. There were two actions: the demonstration in front of Parliament against collective punishment and another demonstration in Tel Aviv. Nothing can force Left-wing Zionists like "siah" or demagogues like Avneri to struggle together with us for democracy. It is not their interest and to delude ourselves into believing that it is their interest is to assume that they represent some sort of real opposition. They will, at most, stand for our right to speak. This is poisoned support, in fact, we serve them: they have a group of "traitors" to attack—as good citizens—and to defend (more or less formally)—as good democrats. ✓

The press campaign against us is inevitable and so is our isolation from "the public." Some of us once thought, some of us still do, that it should be possible for us to defend ourselves in the courts of justice. To go to a Zionist court of justice, so that it makes legally plain the difference between a revolutionary and a traitor! To go to the wolf and expect him to see to it that none eats us! As though we lived here in the midst of some sort of "real" bourgeois democracy, like England, or Sweden...

In a certain sense, we are fighting a political struggle against gangsters. We must get this into our heads: we are outside the framework and this is an inevitable result of our internationalist position.

So far I have talked about things done. What about now? What can now be done?

First of all, produce a political program, that is to say produce an analysis of the contradictions in Israeli society. Such an analysis is not abstract, it doesn't appear in any book. It is obvious that the

Jewish proletariat in Israel adheres wholly, almost without exception, to the Zionist ideology. It is also obvious that the continuation of the state of war aggravates economic exploitation and that professional struggles in the coming months will develop in the most dramatic way.

It is in no way obvious that we can detach the Jewish proletariat from Zionism without revolutionary changes first taking place in the Middle East, without the transformation of the anti-imperialist Arab movement into a mass socialist movement, that shall lead the struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction at the same time. But in waging our struggle against Zionism, we must appeal, above all, to the proletariat, for it's the only class that has no clear economic interest in the continuation of the war. Both the waging of this struggle and its orientation towards the working class are of primary importance. Those who doubt whether such a struggle can succeed can bring no convincing argument to the effect that it can't, since nobody has ever seriously tried it.

There can be no final answer without experience. But it would be naive to think that a few more leaflets will do. To begin with, we must write our material in another language, in clear, understandable style. Talk about concrete problems, explain them, implies that we first study them. On the other hand we must decide that those of our comrades who don't work and don't study are at the disposal of the organization to work in factories.

We are not speaking of miraculous solutions or of wonders. We say we must undertake a long march; that demands work, skill and discipline, of no common measure with the norms familiar to us.

To the same extent we must start systematic work in the Arab sector, in the Arab language; we must change the style of our leaflets, which may be full of social idealism, but do not answer the specific problems faced by the Arab population in Israel. I think of our comrades explaining in Arab villages that "It's obvious that without a socialist revolution, there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem." Such a position, even if it is absolutely right in its essence, is not self-evident, and can even appear to be disconnected from reality.

There is no doubt that in order to operate this radical change, we need a minimum political platform, a program of action. What is even more important is the understanding that only if we define higher norms of work and revolutionary discipline is this struggle possible at all. One must understand that the decisive moment cannot forever be postponed. Matzpen must tear itself away from its petty-bourgeois and bohemian roots. Not to do this, to continue along the same lines, will be to offer the Zionist regime the best present it can receive from us: the luxury of a legal, but important, "revolutionary" organization. To exist without acting is to serve the regime—to be objectively counterrevolutionary.

There is still a possibility of changing.



# PLATFORM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. Our position is based on Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism. This attitude is not only a question of revolutionary ethics and consciousness but a condition to the victory of socialist revolution, even within the most limited national or regional framework. This attitude is built upon:

2. Seeing the October Revolution as the starting point of world revolution;

3. Seeing the Chinese Revolution as the direct continuation of October and an important step towards world revolution;

4. Identification with the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Palestinian people and all the peoples whose heroic resistance to imperialism not only leads them to the revolutionary way and to partaking in international class struggle, but also constitutes a precious source of lessons and experience for revolutionaries everywhere;

5. Solidarity with the oppressed masses everywhere against their masters, be they feudal, bourgeois or bureaucratic, be they national or foreign, be their rule enforced in the name of god, nation, freedom or even their own brand of "socialism." Solidarity with the masses of exploited toilers everywhere in their struggles against capitalism;

6. Active identification with revolutionaries everywhere, which means tending to unify forces on a democratic basis with all the elements fighting now for the same aims: Union of forces on a regional scale and integration of the national or regional struggle into a global strategy meant to isolate imperialism and to constitute a world revolutionary front;

7. Support to the proletariat and the revolutionary youth of the imperialist countries in their struggles against capitalism, racism and imperialism as well as against revisionism, reformism and collaborationist class forces;

8. Participation in the international debate of the revolutionary movement as a contribution to the struggle for world socialist democracy.

9. Armed with this internationalist attitude, we, Jewish and Arab revolutionaries, residents of the state of Israel, see in the Zionist power—that ensures the continuation of the existing social order in our active political reach—our main tactical enemy.

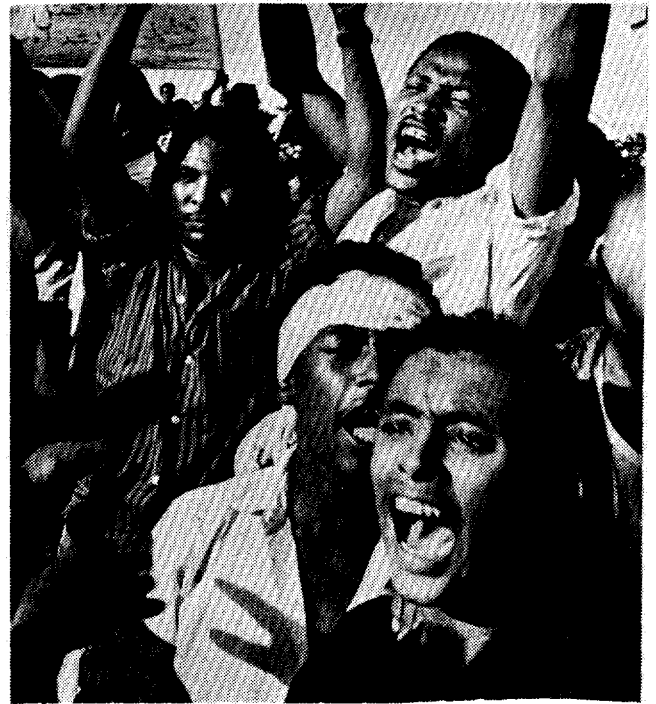
10. The Zionist enterprise is partly rooted outside this area so that part of the struggle against it is the responsibility of the revolutionaries who work in those countries where Zionism has roots.

11. The growing and expanding state of Israel—all its political, military and trade union institutions—is the expression of Zionist achievement.

12. The Zionist state of Israel is the result of a colonializing process accomplished with the help of international imperialism at the expense of the Arab people. This process—enforced with the help of racist

laws condoning land confiscation, organized Jewish immigration according to the "Law of Return" and Jewish settlement at the expense of the Palestinian residents—determines the colonial character of the very existence of a Zionist state. This is to say that Israel is not a society in which internal class contradictions constitute the ground for an independent Israeli socialist revolution, autonomous in regards to the entire region's revolutionary process.

13. Israeli society, in spite of its settler character and the artificiality of its subventioned economy, is a class society, integrated in the world capitalist market, and in which wide strata of toilers suffer



**Arab workers will one day ally to overthrow all bosses**

as in every capitalist society from economic exploitation and social oppression. It is this social contradiction that constitutes the potential ground for the detachment of these strata from the pro-imperialist Zionist enterprise.

14. The principle obstacle to unity lies in the ideological power of Zionism that presents itself to the eyes of the Jewish masses, in Israel as well as abroad, as the only alternative to eternal persecution and genocide. We must remember that Zionist ideology channeled the political despair of the Jewish petty-bourgeoisie, impoverished and persecuted by anti-Semitic reaction, transforming it into colonializing energy serving the objective interests of western imperialism.

15. Without a part of the Jewish population detach-

ing itself from Zionist ideology social contradictions won't play their historical role and the Israeli settlement will remain an integrated force constituting a powerful army against the Arab liberation movement and socialist revolution.

16. This detachment can only take place through the development of three processes, one indisociable from the other:

a. the progressive disappearance of Israeli military superiority;

b. the aggravation of the economic internal crisis in Israel;

c. the emergence of an internationalist alternative in the Palestinian liberation movement and the Arab revolutionary movement, together with the penetration of anti-imperialist ideology among the masses of Jewish workers in Israel.

17. In order to achieve this aim, it is of the utmost importance to combat the chauvinist attitudes and policies that continue to exist in the Arab liberation movement, policies that overlook the existence of a Jewish national entity in Palestine-Eretz Israel, and the political question stemming from the existence of that national minority and its rights. Only a clear recognition of their political rights can create the objective and subjective basis for the exploited masses of Israel to be able to join a common revolutionary struggle.

18. The Palestinian Arab people have been for several decades the main victim of the objective alliance between Zionism and Arab reaction. Their independent upheaval after the 1967 war constitutes one of the most important and healthiest signs of revolutionary change for the destruction of the existing social order in the area.

19. By virtue of its historic situation the Palestinian movement stands at the front of the struggle, not only against Zionism and pro-imperialist Arab reaction, but also against the force and the ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie which claims to pass its nationalist reformism for socialism.

20. The Palestinian question can only be solved within the framework of a socialist revolution, which can't take place without union on an internationalist basis of all the revolutionary forces in the area.

21. Palestine-Eretz Israel is a bi-national territory. The present territorial concentration of the Jewish population is but a fact of force, ensuring the permanent expulsion of the Arab population from its lands. Territorial separation between these two peoples on the basis of Zionist force contradicts the democratic principle whereby every citizen, regardless of his nationality, can live and work wherever they choose to.

22. These assertions suggest a clear and single conclusion: *the only alternative to national warfare, war between the people, is the common revolutionary struggle of Arabs and Jews.*

23. Zionism and the Israeli question are neither the only motor, nor the only obstacle to revolution in the Arab world. To the contrary, the Palestinian

question and Zionism are phenomena of imperialist rule over an area of primary economic and strategic importance. This area is still imprisoned in reactionary ideological and political frameworks guarantying the continuation of imperialist rule. Not only the local bourgeoisie, organically linked to imperialism, but also the "progressive" petty-bourgeoisie have demonstrated their total incapacity to lead the liberation movement of the Arab peoples. The failure of the national-democratic revolution in the Middle East constitutes the objective ground for the revolutionary radicalization of the Arab national movement, while the development of the proletariat in the Arab countries is creating the subjects who are to lead this process.

24. On the basis of the general lines of this analysis we believe it is possible and necessary to establish revolutionary popular power—an alliance of peasants, workers and intellectuals under proletarian leadership—in the Arab East.

25. The Arab East does not constitute a complete and defined geopolitical unity. This region is historically linked to the Arab West (the Maghreb: North Africa) as well as to social processes englobing non-Arab parts of western Asia, so that the socialist union of the Arab East, with its free minorities cannot be anything but a liberated area.

26. We are aware of the contradiction between the need to organize the revolutionary struggle on the basis of the most rigorous centralism and the democratic aspiration of decentralization and self-management of society by the citizens themselves in every place; but we see this contradiction as a dialectical, not an antagonistic one.

27. There can be no victory of socialism without the building of an all-regional revolutionary party that shall lead the masses of the whole area to the conquest of power.

28. It is this momentary aim, to contribute to the building of a common party through revolutionary struggle, that determines the form of organization at this stage: We are still not organically linked to the masses without which there can be no significant political action.

29. We see as an immediate need the formation of a revolutionary front in Israel, open to anyone agreeing with the principles and aims formulated in this platform, and to anyone accepting its discipline, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

30. The aim of the front in the long range must be to prepare, organize and lead—by all the means it will see as necessary—the war against the Zionist regime in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. The final aim of the struggle is the establishment of revolutionary people's power in the Arab East as a liberated area and as a bastion of the world socialist revolution.

31. The aim of the front at this stage is to coordinate the revolutionary energies existing in our field of action until the conditions are created for the

transformation of the front into a party. These conditions are principally:

a. A political program, including a theoretical analysis of social dynamics in the Middle East,

accepted by the majority of the front members.

b. A political strategy rooted in the objective struggles of the exploited social strata and active involvement of the front in these struggles.



## ***FROM THE PAGES OF REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY: THE WRITINGS OF JEAN PAUL MARAT***

Jean Paul Marat was one of the early revolutionaries. By and large, his work has been obscured by the ruling class of all countries. However, several years ago, Peter Weiss wrote the play *Marat-Sade*. After it had a fairly successful run in this country, many publishers tried to cash in on its popularity by publishing millions of copies of the works of De Sade. De Sade was a reactionary, perverted cynic who appears in Weiss's play as the theoretical antagonist of the revolutionary Marat. Naturally the publishers never reproduced the works of Marat.

We are printing a small portion of Marat's works now, because we think they are of interest to revolutionaries. We think that they will help us understand history a little more. This year is the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune. While Marat wrote prior to the Commune, certainly his ideas helped spark that historic mass uprising against the French ruling class.

Naturally, there is much left to be desired in Marat's point of view. But by viewing his works objectively, we can trace errors based on the development of the class struggle, and we can use many of his ideas to help the revolutionary movement now. Surely, his hatred for the French ruling class—and how to deal with them—stand as a beacon for all revolutionaries who must settle scores with their own ruling class.

**W**ith what consummate art have our foes marshaled their batteries. It was not without surprise that we observed the flatteries with which the King received the Deputies. Let us not be the victims of our Constitution: it conceals a number of treacherous machinations. And we may not regard the tokens of goodwill that emanate from the Court as evidences of patriotism.

Our surprise did not decrease when we observed the curtsies of the General [Lafayette] in the presence of the Deputies, and all the base flatteries that were used to ensnare them. Nor could one observe without indignation the means resorted to by Lafayette to make every one believe that he, Lafayette, was the hero of two worlds.

They are attempting, with the aid of such purchasable Deputies, to persuade the King that the nation demands the dismissal of all Ministers now in office; they wish to abolish the decree which forbids the members of the Constitutional Assembly to occupy ministerial armchairs.

But we cannot believe that the Deputies have so little intelligence as to walk like children into this trap.... And upon whom, I ask you, is the choice to fall? They say that it is already a settled matter. Mirabeau, Sr., is to replace Necker; Lafayette is to replace La Tour du Pin; Liancourt is to take the place of Mont-Morin; The Abbe Sieyes is to become Keeper of the Seal; Bailly will remain Mayor at a salary of 100,000 livres. And Necker, having wasted two thousand millions, Necker will leave the city without rendering any account, and he has been preparing for this departure for some time.

Is it possible? Can the Abbe Sieyes become Keeper of the Seal? This upstart scoundrel who has sacrificed the cause of liberty to the flatteries of the Court! And then, La Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, these questionable citizens, these base courtiers! Lafayette, a traitor to his country, who was willing to aid the Monarch to set up an absolute dictatorship, and who makes effort after effort to restore despotism! And then, Mirabeau? This vile scamp, soiled with

crime and shame, for whom nothing is sacred, compared with whom the Abbe Terray, Calonne, Lomenie, would be regarded as honorable men; this wretched voluptuary, who would exhaust the wealth of all France, reduce the nation to beggary, and in the long run auction off the kingdom, only in order to be able to satisfy his base lusts! Oh, disgrace, oh, dishonor, oh, despair! Is it only in order to screen with our skins the baseness of intriguers, the vileness of conspirators, the vulgarity of villains, that we have taken to arms and deserted our callings, our competence, our peace? And then! Shall the National Guards, who armed themselves in order to defend liberty, now become in their turn the most cruel of all oppressors? Shall they be permitted to set themselves up as absolute Ministers of the State and to look down upon their fellowcitizens, the people, the whole nation, as mere nothings? The civil power would be sacrificed to the military, and the soldiers of the people would be transformed into praetorian cohorts, with full power over the realm; and after a year of trials, of tribulations, of dangers, and tears, we should finally be faced with a military dictatorship, a frightful despotism!

Was it really worth while for us to sweep aside our oppressors merely in order to obtain a new set of more cruel tyrants? No, forever no! Great though the corruption of the century may be, we have not yet descended

to this depth of depravity, of stupidity, of contemptibility. Our armed brothers were not summoned from every corner of the realm in order to forge chains about us.

Indignant at the speed with which it is intended to fill confidential posts with men whose choice requires careful deliberation, they know that the general weal would fare very badly in such hands. They have discerned the traps which are concealed behind the flattery of the court and its creatures.

Instead of supporting criminal measures, the soldiers of the people will safeguard their rights and the general liberty by demanding the election of officers and their supervision. The people will suddenly awake from their lethargy, will again ask the re-

*Shortly before the celebration of July 14, 1790, the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, Marat issued a pamphlet which was printed two days later in his L'Ami du Peuple. The name of the pamphlet was: "A Fiendish Attempt by the Enemies of the Revolution." In Marat's paper, the pamphlet was entitled: "A New Conspiracy of the Blacks."*

## MARAT SPEAKS OUT

turn of everything that has been taken by their plunderers; they will drive forth these dangerous characters in disgrace from their offices, and outlaw forever the corrupt intriguers whom some propose even to-day to recall to the Ministry.

Does the National Assembly really believe that the great mass of honest citizens will stand by calmly

and permit a decree to be abolished whose only purpose is to keep its hands clean, while the Assembly has hitherto not dared to abolish the war laws, the indirect taxation, the rights of the Monarch, all of which deprive the citizens of their rights, undermine liberty, and endanger the public weal?

—From *L'Ami du Peuple*, July, 1790.



Justice for the rich . . . . .



Justice for the poor —from Daumier drawings

## Are We Undone?

On July 26, 1790, Marat published a passionate circular which called for a struggle against the King and the counter-revolutionaries with all possible resources. The final section of this document reads as follows:

**A**n Appeal to All Citizens!  
 Citizens, our enemies stand without the gates, the masters have had the frontiers opened to them under the pretext of granting them free passage through our country. Perhaps, at this very moment, they are advancing in our direction with great speed. The King will go to Compiègne, where the apartments for his reception have already been prepared; the road from Compiègne to Toul or Metz can easily be traveled incognito. Who will prevent him from joining with the Austrian army and with the troops of the line which have remained

faithful to him? Soon he will be surrounded by hosts of army officers who are hastening to him from all sides, the malcontents, and particularly his faithful retainers, de Bezenval, d'Autichamps, Lambesc de Broglio. Already one of the ministers, the vile Guignard [the Count of Saint-Priest], who has been unmasked as head of the conspirators, and whose arrest was demanded by me, has taken to flight; his colleagues will soon follow his example and repair to some town of Lorraine in order to constitute a "government" there. The King, this "good King," who disdained to swear allegiance to you on the altar of our country, has observed the profoundest silence concerning all these facts. The National Committee of Investigation did not open its mouth until the mine had been sprung; the local Committee of Investiga-

tion, who had sold out to the Court, has refused to take any steps to ascertain the instigators of this infernal attempt.

In order to prevent you from deliberating on the dangers that threaten, they have not ceased to overwhelm you with festivities, and to keep you in a constant state of intoxication in order that you may not see the disaster that is about to engulf you. Can you believe it—your General, who has neglected not a single means of corruption, has just organized an entire battery of artillery, against the will of all the districts, in order to destroy you; the staff of your guard consists only of your enemies, who draw princely salaries; your heads of battalions have almost all been bribed; and, horror of horrors, the Militia of Paris consists now only of undependable or blind men, who have forgotten their country for all the flatteries of the General!

Citizens of every age and every station! The measures adopted by the National Assembly cannot save you from destruction; you are lost forever if you do not take arms speedily, if you do not again give evidence of your heroism, which has already saved France twice, namely, on July 14, and on October 5. Go to Saint-Cloud before it is too late; bring the King and the Dauphin back within your walls. Guard them well. They shall be your hostages in the events that are yet to come; shut in the Austrian<sup>1</sup> woman and her brother-in-law, so that they may not instigate further intrigues; seize all the ministers and their agents and put them in irons;

<sup>1</sup>Marie-Antoinette (1755-1793), daughter of Emperor Francis I and Maria-Theresa, wife of Louis XVI, later guillotined.

make sure you have the Mayor and the City Secretaries! Do not take your eyes away from the General; arrest the General Staff; remove the battery of artillery from the Rue Verte, take possession of all the magazines and powder mills; the pieces of artillery must be distributed to all the districts. All the districts must again meet and declare themselves in permanent session; they must rescind all counter-revolutionary decrees. Hurry, hurry, before it is too late, else soon the numerous legions of the enemy will be upon you; soon you will see the privileged classes again rising, and despotism, frightful despotism, will come to life more terribly than ever before.

The cutting off of five or six hundred heads would have guaranteed you peace, liberty and happiness. A mistaken humanity has crippled your arms and held back your blows; it will cost the lives of millions of your brothers. The soldiers of the National Guard shall escape death no more than the others! The French guards whom I have just mentioned, and all the soldiers who are deserting the King's flags and gathering under those of the nation, will be sacrificed first of all, in spite of all the pacifying sermons which the General is delivering to them. Your enemies need only to triumph for a moment, and blood will flow in torrents. They will murder you without compassion, they will rip open the bellies of your wives, and in order to choke within you the love of liberty, their bloody hands will explore the entrails of your children to find their hearts.

—From *L'Ami du Peuple*, July 26, 1790.

## ***A Fair Dream and a Rude Awakening***

*This pamphlet, which appeared in L'Ami du Peuple, was written by Marat on August 25, 1790. The order of the day of the National Assembly was a discussion of the insurrection of the garrison at Nancy, which had risen against its officers. Marat was again the only one to speak for the rebellious soldiers. He considered the officers to be participants in the conspiracy to involve France in military complications, and to prepare the country for a restoration of the monarchy. His manifesto ends with the following appeal:*

**A**n Appeal to the People!  
Here at last we have the dark plan devised behind the scenes by the infernal Riquetti [*i.e.*, Mirabeau, who was descended from the Florentine family of the Riquetti]. Here is the frightful decree which will soon unleash against us the dreadful scourges of war, the sole resort still left to our counterrevolutionary officials and agents to put us in chains. Where were you, Barnave, Lameth, d'Aiguillon, Robespierre, Menou, when they were so bold as to make this proposal? No doubt you were sleeping, since the proposal was

adopted without encountering opposition from you. Or, did the infernal serpent perhaps succeed in leading you astray with its cunning speech? Beloved country, is it possible that you have defending you only a few honest hearts, who are unprotected against the treachery of scoundrels hired by the despot? They have held out their hands in peace to you and sworn fidelity to you; they have tied the hands of your defenders, who have been deceived by a pretended fraternity, and they have succeeded in chaining you yourselves on the very altar of Liberty. You now sleep at her breast. A few days more, and a rude awakening will follow this disastrous calm; you will recognize with terror that this glorious triumph in which you have been lulled to sleep was only a false dream.

How frightful is the scene that presents itself to me! When you are made the victims of your gullible natures, you will readily turn your eyes from domestic affairs to external affairs; you will sacrifice



Paris workers sweep out dregs of history

your most essential interest in response to idiotic news items and the lies of newspaper writers. To accelerate your destruction, the wretches who govern you will seek to raise enemies everywhere against you and will attempt to involve you in ruinous wars. Incapable of maintaining yourselves against these hostile forces, you will find your fleets annihilated and destroyed; billions will be spent in a few years. The estates of the clergy, which should be used for the purpose of liberating and aiding the people, will soon have served no other purpose than again to enchain you and to fasten upon our necks once more the yokes of serfdom and misery. Far from the eyes of their fellow-citizens, the soldiers will soon no longer be thinking of their rights and will finally forget their country. Surrounded by the tumult of battle, they will respond only to the voice of their leaders; thousands of devices will be resorted to in order to reduce the soldiers to serfdom; finally, after having been brought back home, they will be ready, on the slightest provocation, to assail their own fellow-citizens.

Oh precious country, you are already on the point of being misunderstood by your children; you are about to be rented and again enchained by them. What more is there for me to say? A single suggestion by despotism will be sufficient to transform our

soldiers into hangmen. While these hangmen vie with each other in covering their murderous hands with your blood, they will slay your wives and children and tear apart your quivering entrails—these are the fruits of your self-denials, your fasting, your labors, your dangers, your wounds, your victories, or rather, they are the bitter fruits of your blind confidence, your foolish sense of security.

Fellow citizens, in order to escape this terrible fate, we have but a single means attach yourselves closely to your comrades-in-arms of the troops of the line; let them swear by their honor that they will not march against the enemy but will set up liberty within your own walls. Let the guilty heads of your ministers fall under the avenging axe. And, above all, assemble yourselves without delay in order to invade the Senate and demand with loud shouts the recall of the ruinous decree which the so-called fathers of our country have no doubt presented for confirmation with all speed... But will the People's Friend preach to you forever in vain? Draw the moral from your misfortune, oh powerless and blinded nation! And if there is nothing that will remind you of your sense of duty, then continue to spend your days in oppression and misery, and end them in shame and slavery.

—From *L'Ami du Peuple*, August 25, 1790.



## ***Nothing Has Changed***

**T**he Revolution has turned against the people and has turned out to be the people's greatest misfortune.... From the very beginning it was nothing but a continuous source of bribery and plots.... Not long after its beginning it became a constant means for public officials to carry on chicanery and oppression. It afforded even the legislators (deputies) an opportunity for business jobbing, deception and crookedness, and now it must serve the rich and the speculators as a means of providing themselves with unlimited profits and monopolies, of profiteering in foodstuffs and interest rates, of ruining the people with a shameless system of pillage and exploitation, and of forcing the lower classes to sell themselves through their fear of declining into poverty....

Nothing has changed but the decorations on the National Tribunal; but the actors, the masks, the intrigues, the distribution of parts—these have remained the same. Nothing, absolutely nothing, has changed in the working of the political machinery, and this will continue to be the case until the people will have attained mental clarity enough to spoil the game of the impostors who are deceiving them, until they have become ruthless enough to punish the criminals who hoodwink them....

The first and principal reason for the impotence of our efforts to attain liberty is due to the very nature of liberty itself.

The plebs, I mean the lower classes of the nation, who have no one but themselves to depend upon in

their struggle against the upper classes, in the moment of insurrection, no doubt, will crush everything by their numbers; but they will finally succumb, since they always proceed without understanding, without the arts, without wealth, weapons, leaders, with a plan of operation.... This has been the case with the French Revolution. It is not true that the entire nation rose against the tyrants; for there always remained behind the nobility, the clergy, the legal class, the financiers, the capitalists, the scholars, the literary men, who were always a last prop and bulwark of reaction. While many well-informed, affluent and intriguing members of the upper classes at first took sides against the tyrants, they did so only in order later to turn against the people, as soon as they might have secured its confidence and made use of its strength in order to assume for themselves the posts of the privileged classes that have been overthrown.

The Revolution was made only by the lower classes of society, by the workers, artisans, petty traders, peasants, in short, by the entire submerged class, by those disinherited ones whom the rich call the *canaille*, and whom the Romans in their arrogance once termed the proletariat. But what most persons are not yet ready to believe is the fact that the masses really made the Revolution only in the interest of the petty landed proprietors and the clique of barristers.

—From *L'Ami du Peuple*, No. 667, July, 1792.

## ***To The French Patriots***

*Marat, who had been hunted for many years, who had to change his domicile from day to day, spending most of his time in a damp cellar, was finally elected to the Paris Communal Council. We print below a campaign document which he published early in August, 1792, at least earlier than August 10, the date of the storming of the Tuileries and the Proclamation of the Republic.*

**M**AN who has long lived in concealment in order to preserve himself to serve you, to-day leaves his subterranean asylum and makes the attempt to solidify the victory in your hands.

It is his desire to prove to you that he is not unworthy of your confidence, and to beg for your permission to remind you that already in the days when tyranny was in the saddle he revealed to you the vile machinations of our cruel enemies.

He predicted to you that your allies would be led to the slaughter by their treacherous generals, and the opening of the campaign was heralded by three shameful defeats; he predicted to you that the fron-

tiers of your kingdom would be handed over to the enemy, and already the enemy has for the second time taken possession of the city of Bay; he predicted to you that the contaminated majority of the National Assembly would continue forever to betray their country, and the treachery of their latest laws, which raised the indignation of the public to its pinnacle, was the provocation of the cruel—but, alas!—all too necessary events of this day.

He predicted to you that you would forever continue to be sold by your faithless trustees, the officials, so long as you were not able to make up your minds to cause the blood of your enemies to flow, in order to save your country.

My dear fellow-citizens, believe these words from the lips of a man who knows all the intrigues and plots, and who has not ceased for three years to watch over your safety.

The glorious day of August 10, 1792, may be a decisive one for the triumph of liberty, if you show



**The Paris Commune: for the bosses retreat; for the workers victory!**

intelligence in taking advantage of your gains. Many of the adherents of the despot have already bit the dust; your irreconcilable enemies seem thunderstruck, but they will soon have recovered from their terror and will again take the field, more formidable than ever. Think of the Chatelet trial, which was a result of the events of the night between October 5 and October 6. Tremble lest you lend an ear to the voice of a misguided compassion. After you have shed your blood in order to save your country from the abyss, tremble lest you become the victims of their secret dealings; tremble lest you be dragged from your beds by bloodthirsty soldiers in the dark of night and be cast into subterranean prisons where you will be left to your despair until they drag you to the scaffold.

I repeat, you must fear the reaction. Your enemies will not spare you when their time comes. Therefore, show no mercy now! You are lost forever if you do not hasten to strike down all the corrupt members of the city administration, of the Departments, all the unpatriotic Judges of the Peace, and the most contaminated members of the National Assembly. I say, of the National Assembly; why should any fatal prejudice, any ruinous excess of respect for them, spare the members of that body? They do not tire to tell you that, however bad the Assembly may be, it is necessary once more to obey the Assembly. This would be equivalent to asking you to assemble over the mine which lies concealed under your feet, and to entrust the safeguarding of your destiny to scoundrels who are determined to achieve your destruction. Do not forget that the National Assembly is your most dangerous enemy; once it again stands firm, it will exert every effort to destroy

you; and so long as you have weapons in your hands, it will flatter you and seek to put you to sleep with false promises. It will inaugurate secret machinations in order to nullify your efforts; and if it ever is able to do so, it will hand you over to the mercies of hired camp soldiers. Do not forget the blood-bath on the Champs de Mars!

No one abhors bloodshed more than I. But, for the sake of escaping the necessity of shedding an ounce of blood, I warmly beseech you to shed a few drops of it, in order to reconcile the duties of humanity with your solicitude for the public welfare; I propose that you cause to be executed every tenth man among the counter-revolutionary members of the City Administration, the Judges of the Peace, of the Department, and of the National Assembly. If you recoil from this, then do not forget that the blood shed on this day will be a net loss and that nothing will have been achieved for liberty.

But, above all things, take the King, his wife, and his son as hostages, and let him be shown to the people four times a day until his final sentence shall have been spoken. And, since it rests with him to free us forever from our enemies, explain to him that if the Austrians and the Prussians do not retire within two weeks to a line twenty miles beyond the boundaries, never to return, his head will be sent rolling to his feet. Let him write out this frightful condemnation in his own hand and send it to his crowned accomplices; it will rest with him to free you from the necessity of executing it.

Also take possession of the persons of the former ministry and put them in irons. All the counter-revolutionary members of the Paris General Staff must be executed; all the unpatriotic officers must

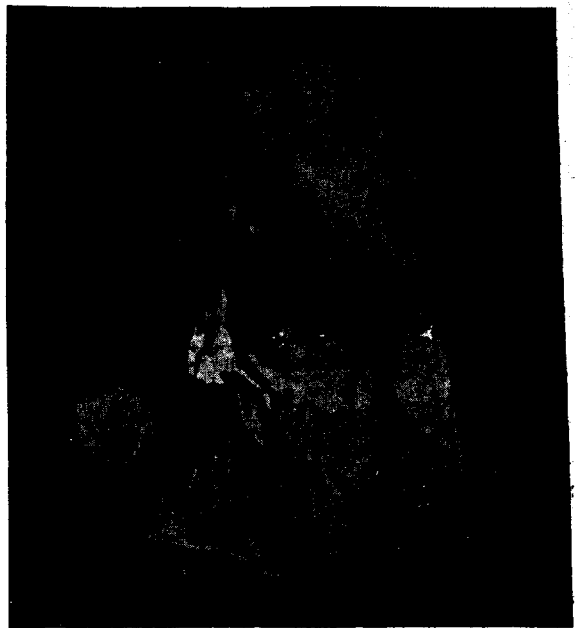
be banished from their battalions; disarm the infected battalions of Saint-Roche, of the Filles-Saint-Thomas, of Notre-Dame, of Saint-Jean-en-Greve, of the Enfants Rouges. All patriotic citizens must be armed and supplied generously with ammunition.

Demand the convoking of a National Convention for the purpose of condemning the King and reforming the Constitution; above all, its members must not be elected by an independent body of electors, but by the direct vote of the people.

Cause the immediate sending back of all foreign and Swiss regiments to be decreed at once, for they have shown themselves to be enemies of the Revolution.

Tremble, tremble, lest you permit to pass unused a single one of the opportunities placed in your hands by the protecting genius of France, to escape from this abyss and to consolidate your liberty forever!

—From *L'Ami du Peuple*, August, 1792.



Jean Paul Marat

## To The Faithful Parisians

*On August 10, Marat had become a member of the Revolutionary Communal Council. He was put forth as a candidate for the National Assembly. His periodical, L'Ami du Peuple, was changed by him to the Journal de la Republique francaise. His handbills, moreover, which were printed independently of his paper, succeeded in mobilizing the citizens of Paris and in inspiring them to a struggle against the European coalition that was taking the field against France. The poster reprinted here was to be seen on every wall in the city on August 26, 1792.*

**T**HE countless bands of the conspiring despot are advancing against us; the Fatherland will soon fall under their blows; in fourteen days, it will no longer exist; we ourselves shall have been eliminated from the living, unless we at once abandon our mutual hatreds, postpone our subjects of discord, and command the silence of all petty passions. Let us unite against the common enemy! Let us finally adopt energetic measures to protect our houses from plunder, our wives and daughters from the brutality of savage soldiers, our children from the shameful yoke of slavery, and our lives from the daggers of murderers.

Do not doubt that our cause is lost forever if all the friends of liberty, all the National Guards, all the brave *Sans-culottes* who are able to bear arms, will not inscribe themselves at once in the public squares for service against the enemy; unless all those who refuse to join in the campaign will hand over their arms to their brothers who are ready to fight; unless all the horses available in the Capital are at once requisitioned for the organization of light cavalry; unless the entire gendarmerie is ordered to the front; unless the Minister of War at

once occupies and adequately fortifies the heights that dominate Paris; unless he at once sends forth specialists to construct fortifications that will be strong enough to hold back the enemy's advance.

From tonight on, all citizens must be summoned by the commune, under pain of death, to deliver up all arms which are not a part of their own personal equipment; from to-night on, commissaires must be appointed to conduct house searches in all houses that are suspected; this very day the commune must appoint three enlightened and reliable commissaires whose duty it shall be to watch over the general welfare; from to-night on every armorer, cutler and locksmith must be ordered to engage in a public and unceasing manufacture of pikes and daggers.

In the name of liberty, of our country, of humanity, and in the interest of the welfare of your wives, of your children, of the unborn generations of the human race, and of yourselves, my dear fellow-citizens, lend your ear to the voice of your true friend; unite to save the State!

Those among you whom fortune has favored will try to segregate themselves, to conceal themselves, and to remain inactive, but their attempts will be fruitless. Paris will be handed over to be plundered, and *their* houses particularly will be devastated. Their concern for the preservation of their possessions and their lives will permit them to choose no other course than that of uniting with their brothers and fighting by their side. From to-day on, every citizen who is ready to fight for his country must be supported at the Nation's expense.

Shall I tell you, my dear friends, that you may be obliged finally, in order to save the people, to elect

a triumvirate of the most intelligent, most upright, and undaunted men, who will be instructed to adopt all their measures in a council to consist of the most resolute and unsullied friends of our country?

Be not terrified at these words. It is only by force that we can come to the point of securing a victory for Liberty and safeguarding the public weal. As a guarantee of their good conduct, it will be a sufficient precaution to have the trustees of the national authority permitted to make use of their power only for the purpose of destroying the enemies of the

Revolution and not for that of oppressing their fellow-citizens, and to have their office terminate at such moment at which the enemy may no longer be able to raise his head. For so many centuries you have been suffering from the fact that unscrupulous rulers have exercised an arbitrary dominion over you in order to destroy you; will you refuse to hand over to the most virtuous of your brothers the same power, when it is for the purpose of saving you? In order to keep in check the enemies within, it will be sufficient to show them your daggers!

## ***To The Brave Parisians***

*The following is one of Marat's political handbills, issued during his campaign against the Girondists, (August 28, 1792) on the subject of the elections to the Convention.*

**I**T is generally known that judges, and lower and higher administrative officials, including those appointed by the elective bodies, that practically all these are counter-revolutionary; on the other hand, the City Deputies, who were elected directly by the people, are without exception in favor of the people's government.

All that would have been necessary was to draw up a list of the candidates who had shown solicitude for the interests of the people; the list might later have been corrected by striking out those candidates who had incurred, with some reason, the displeasure of the people. It was desirable to post the list of the candidates of each Department publicly in order to unite the majority of the electors of a city in a single vote. This would have simplified considerably the operation of the national machine, and we should have retained for the citizens the right to execute their direct suffrage, which is their most important political right. For base and treacherous reasons, Brissot, Condorcet, Guadet, Lacroix, Lesource, Vergniaud, Ducos and the other reactionaries of the National Assembly, acting against the will of the people, have succeeded in effecting the election of persons of their own type as Deputies to the Convention. They attained this end by retaining the elective bodies and having themselves elected.

Has this been thoroughly grasped? The traitors have dared to write, to this very day, to all the Departments, to the effect that the National Assembly was working under the pleasure of the armed Paris commune, which they allege is led by about thirty criminals. They therefore wished to establish the seat of the National Convention in a city in which they could exert their ruinous influence without let or hindrance. It is in your hands, fellow-citizens, to ward off the dangers which threaten you from the side of these rascals who operate under the mantle

of fidelity to the Constitution; permit only honest republicans to be elected, whose fidelity has already been proved by their deeds! You must demand unconditionally, in advance, that every candidate indicate, under pain of punishment and disgrace, what were the titles and offices held by him before July 17, 1789; you must ruthlessly cast out every one who possessed any privileges before this date; you must eject all former nobles, advocates, bankers, courtiers, money changers, prosecuting attorneys, notaries, inspectors and merchants; in addition, you must eject all men who have been guilty of acts against the people since the Revolution; particularly, you must eject the electors of the Church, the members of the Royalist clubs, and Bailly's [who had been Mayor up to this time] representatives of the nobility.

Nor must you grant any recognition to the City Deputies who voted in 1792 for the erection of a monument to Lafayette, or to any of the members of the departmental representation, of the Council of State, or to the officers of the Paris army, or to any deputies of the Constituent Assembly who protested against the adoption of a legal procedure because of the events in the night between October 5 and October 6! You must also eject the defenders of Mollien in the elections to the National Assembly!

Citizens, the outcome of the election of deputies to the National Convention depends on your intelligent selection of electors. And on this outcome depends your happiness, the creation of a just and free state, peace, prosperity, and the destruction of tyranny in all countries.

Let us be vigilant, for an abyss still yawns at our feet. The nobility is again triumphant in the administration and in the commune; sleepy heads and intriguers infest the spot; they have already had new elections of commissaires and Judges of the Peace; stool-pigeons and elements that shun the light of day have already begun to molest good citizens in the public streets and pick quarrels with them; the con-



**French workers and students' strikes: 1968**

spirators are already holding their gatherings; they are already declaring openly that the affair of August 10 was only a flash in the pan, which might perhaps be frustrated by another flash in the pan; and it is their effort to produce such a second occasion at the earliest possible opportunity.

Their gathering place is the notorious Extraordinary Committee for the National Defense, whose majority, which had been counter-revolutionary before August 10, turned out to be so contaminated that it served as the point of departure for all the new machinations. It is their goal to remove from Paris the Federals and the French Guards, these faithful defenders of liberty, to have them, as they allege, occupy a camp outside the city, and to bring into the city in their place their own poor soldiers. And this is not enough; they will send our guards to the boundaries and have them kept occupied by the German armies, perhaps also by the Luckners or Biron.

M. Verrieres, whose acquaintance with the new gendarmerie has netted him the command of one of its sections, and who no doubt goes too far in his serious attention to duty and his mad ambition, is at present attempting to accelerate the departure of the gendarmerie. Any one observing him thus acting to the advantage of the machinations of the counter-revolutionaries, would be inclined to think he was in

the pay of the enemies of our country, all the more since he attempts to win over the gendarmes for himself by promising to pay their first quarters. But I venture to express the hope that he will bear the closest scrutiny, even though he has rendered himself suspicious by his petty weaknesses, which are unworthy of a true friend of liberty.

However this may be, I have far too high an opinion of the political good sense of our brothers, the Federals as well as the French Guards, to fear even for a single moment that they would permit themselves to be lured into this trap. They must be made to understand that their place is in Paris, where their presence is an absolute necessity. Nor does the National Assembly still hope to remove them from Paris by means of a secret ordinance. If it approves of a concentration of troops far from Paris, it will send to such points chasseur and grenadier companies from all the suspicious battalions. Such is the miracle that may come to pass.

Citizens, your salvation rests with you alone: drive out from the Provisional City Assembly the enemies of the equality of citizens, who publicly revealed themselves in the session of the 25th; never forget that in the period of the worst crisis the deliverance of all is the highest law of the state. You must trample on the suspicious and dangerous decrees of your deputies, who have so long shown themselves to be unworthy of your confidence.

## **Guard Against Profiteers**

*This vehement attack on the profiteers resulted in the raising of an accusation of "incitation" against Marat on the part of the Girondists, but the indictment was not sustained.*

It cannot be disputed that the capitalists, the brokers, the bureaucrats and former nobles are almost all of them props of the old regime. As I see no means of altering their attitude, I know of nothing else that can assure peace to the State than a complete annihilation of these accursed conspirators. They are now redoubling their energies for the purpose of driving the people into starvation and misery by means of prices far in excess of anything we have seen before.

In view of the fact that the nation, tired of constant filibustering, does not yet take means to purify our liberated soil from this band of criminals, that it even encourages its merry representatives to undertake such offenses by insuring them immunity, one may only marvel that the people of the various cities, maddened by the situation, do not take the law into their own hands. In all countries in which the rights of the people are not mere phrases to be displayed ostentatiously on paper, the plundering of a few shops and the hanging of the shop-keepers at their doors, would soon put an end to these corrupt manipulations which reduce millions of persons to despair and starve thousands to death. Will the representatives of the people not finally do a little more than merely babble about the distress, without proposing any remedy to alleviate it?

Legal measures of precaution are of no avail. It has been made apparent time and time again that they are ineffective. Only revolutionary means may be resorted to. I know of no other means that would be acceptable even to our weakest elements than that of equipping the Committee of Public Safety, which after all does not consist of patriots, with the power of investigating this matter and dragging the principal grain profiteers before a Court of State, to consist of five permanent members in good standing, and to indict them with treason before this court.

To be sure, I also know one other means that would also lead surely to this goal. This means would be to have all the well-to-do citizens organize with the purpose of importing the necessary food-stuffs from abroad, of selling them again at cost, and thus abandoning their price manipulations until food-stuffs may come down to a reasonable level; but the execution of this plan would imply the possession of virtues that are not to be found in a country ruled by impostors who display their civic virtues only at times when such a display is useful for deceiving the simple-minded and exploiting the people. Furthermore, this disordered state cannot last much longer. A little patience, and the people will finally recognize the truth that it must free itself.

—From *Journal de la Republique Francaise*,  
February 25, 1793.

## **Marat to Desmoulins**

*Early in the Revolution, Marat, who was somewhat older than Camille Desmoulins, had felt a genuine friendship for this young and ardent revolutionary, who was issuing the weekly paper, *Revolutions de la France et de Brabant*. In the course of time, however, Marat was brought to recognize the vacillating opportunist character of Desmoulins and did not hesitate to express his criticism of his former friend.*

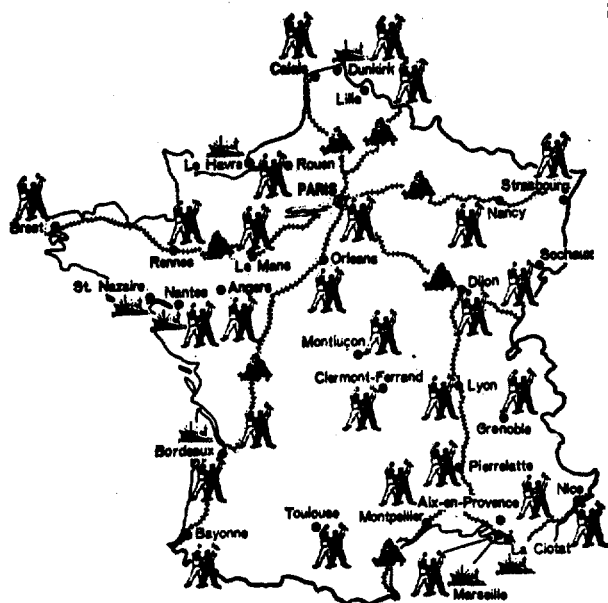
**L**ETTER from the Friend of the People to the Editor of the *Revolutions de la France et de Brabant*:

In order to establish a truly free constitution, *i.e.*, one that will be truly just and wise, the foremost requirement is to have all laws approved by the people and to install preliminary searching examinations, particularly, to give the people time enough to watch the various machinations, which presupposes a maturity of the national spirit and the formation of a public opinion concerning all fundamental points. The decrees of the National Assembly can, therefore, be nothing but provisional measures until they have been sanctioned

by the Nation; for the right to sanction them pertains exclusively to the Nation. Failing the execution of this essential, inalienable, direct and immediate right, it would subject itself to blindly operative laws of caprice and its representatives, who are exploiting their power to command the people according to their own whims, would find themselves in the possession of the supreme power. They would become the absolute masters of the nation's fate and would thus remain the final rulers of the State. This culmination, which was not attained even by our kings after fifteen centuries of encroachments on the rights of the people, was the object of their efforts and designs, their hopes and aspirations, but they carefully concealed this goal. And the National Assembly, this embryo of a day, which was not created by the people, this posthumous child of despotism, this disgracefully constructed body, in which there are so many enemies of the Revolution and so few true friends of our country? This illegal body, which the Nation has rather tolerated than created,

would it have the audacity to go so far; would it possess the impudence to boast of such a step? Such a claim would be the acme of boldness, if it were not really the pinnacle of insanity.

We might say to them: You petty intriguers, who owe your seats in the Senate only to intrigues, to petty devices, to corruption or to election by a few privileged castes that have now disappeared, cease your attempts to put us under the yoke. The first of your attempted crimes was to recognize the King's "Veto of Postponement"; the right of veto—of absolute veto—inheres in the people alone. The people will accept this right with eagerness and will pass



over to the order of the day in spite of your faithless actions. You are already at the end of your political existence; soon you will be dissolved in the mass and your works will be your judgment; the Nation will weigh your labors according to its wisdom, and of the great mass of decrees which you have taken pains to transform into irrevocable laws, it will retain only those that are in accord with the common weal; it will reject with scorn all those ill-devised decrees that have sprung from your ignorance; it will reject with abomination all the vicious decrees that have resulted from your corruptibility; and your names, engraved in the annals of the Revolution, will be preserved only as a means of unmasking your shame and your ridiculousness!

Believe me, faithful companion in arms (Desmoulins), that nothing is more important for a victory of Liberty, for the happiness of the Nation, than to enlighten the citizens as to their rights, and to create a public opinion. Therefore I summon you to labor without ceasing; publish in our periodical prints a number of selected drafts for the best possible constitution; this is the only means we have of

evaluating the labors of our representatives at their true worth.

I shall begin the series:

The serious demands of those that have nothing, on those that have everything.

Assembled Law-givers!

The nation consists of 25,000,000 persons; we alone constitute more than two-thirds of this number and yet are nobodies in the State, or at least, if you speak of us at all in your sublime decrees, it is only to humble us, to oppress us, and enslave us. Under the old regime, such neglect on your part, such treatment at your hands, would hardly have appeared unreasonable; we lived under rulers who considered that the whole nation was merely themselves; we were nothing in their eyes, and only when it was a question of robbing us of the fruits of our labor or of harnessing us to their own chariots, would they deign to consider us at all.

Those times are past. But what have we gained? In the first days of this Revolution, which turned so many heads, which was the occasion for so many shouts of joy and intoning of Te Deums, of this Revolution that has elevated so many writers to the skies, celebrating them in so many festivals, and which admires so many blockheads to this day, our hearts were opened to joy for at least a moment. We cradled ourselves in hopes that our sufferings would end and our lot improve.

Desirable though the changes may be that have been introduced in the State, they are all for the rich alone; Heaven was always hard on the poor, and this will always be the case.

Assembled Law-givers! You term yourselves representatives of the people, you allege that you have formulated its demands and safeguarded its rights. Yet, what have you done for us? No doubt you will say: we have worked in order to liberate the Nation. Very well! But of what use is political liberty to us, to us who have never known such liberty and never will know it? It is of value only in the eyes of the thinker who would teach men, of the publicist who would make a name for himself, of those citizens who would have no ruler at all; but we poor unfortunates have no time to ponder these matters. (What would become of the nations if the poor should be as conscious of their rights as the philosophers, and if their minds should permit them to appreciate their terrible situation!) We rarely intervene in the affairs of the State and even if this should occasionally be the case, we play the part of onlookers only!

We were never much impressed with the liberty of citizens, and we shall never take it seriously again. Why should we have any illusions on this matter? Under the so-called rule of liberty we are worse off than under despotism. We are exposed a hundred times more to the affronts of the petty accomplices of our tyrants than we ever were under the terror of Kings' bailiffs. We have no one to whom to present our complaints, no one from whom we may demand justice. Our Section Commissaires, our Justices of the Peace, our state officials, all have retained their



old posts. In our new administration, you can find more of the old people that were in the former administration, and, in addition, new intriguers, new ambitious rascals, new scoundrels of still less dignity. All of these are the accomplices of the old regime who apply extortion to us, plunder us, incite us and oppress us, at their pleasure; in broad daylight they enter our houses, and drag us from our homes in the dark of night, for no other reason than their own caprice. Our police courts and our district courts are as badly organized as were our old chief courts of the provinces.

What more can we say to you? Formerly we had half a million tyrants; to-day we have a million oppressors! Assembled Law-givers! You hand us over to their mercies defenseless; and by the lack of interest you show in our security and our peace, we can fully understand, in spite of your principles of liberty, in spite of your big words about equality of rank and equality of the conditions of life, that we remain nothing but a low rabble in your eyes.

Furthermore, in the matter of true inner liberty, which cannot exist at all for them that have nothing, the lot that is in store for us is an eternal serfdom. Since we are fettered all day long at our labor, whether we be day laborers or servants, we can achieve no higher lot than to be constantly at the beck and call of a hard and exacting master.

You know well that this inestimable possession of liberty that will be yours does not exist for us; in this respect, we are therefore as alien to the accomplishments of the Revolution as if we were not citizens of the State at all.

You have solidified possession in the law and placed it under the protection of the Constitution. But how slight is the value of these regulations for a man who has no possessions to administer, no interests to defend! What can property itself mean for the poor?

You have destroyed traditional privileges, you have introduced a greater degree of equality among the upper classes of citizens, a better distribution of taxes. These forms, all of which are to your advantage, are still indifferent to us. Even though you have distributed taxes more justly among the great fortunes, you still permit them to weigh as a heavy burden on the poor; the bread the poor man eats, the wine he drinks, the cloth his clothes are made of—these are burdened with heavy taxes. How is it possible for you not to feel that it is a demand of justice that the disinherited be freed from these taxes? How were you able to escape the feeling that taxes should not exist for him who is held down by his poverty below the level of the fulfillment of the most necessary bodily needs, that for him taxes must be an unbearable burden?

Far from affording us your aid, you have cruelly and barbarously taken from us everything we once had. The possessions of the Church were the patrimony of the poor; you have taken from them this patrimony in order to defray the expenses of the

follies of the government, the extravagances of the ministers, the extortions of the administrators, the shameful splendor of the court, the impostures and piracies of the vampires of the State. You have alleged your intention of eliminating the abuses of the clergy; and yet you have permitted the crozier and the miter to retain an immense portion of the possessions that actually belong to us; you have not made any effort to assure us even a small fraction of these possessions, and the clerical officials now hold them as their property, as a claim to indemnities with which they can continue to secure all the good things of life to which they are accustomed. In the reading of our decrees concerning holders of benefices, bishops and archbishops, who, depending on the case, draw either their full salaries, or one-half, or one-third, or one-fourth of their salaries, one might take these saintly personages for chief rabbis who are cashing in on their usurious claims.

We are at last being given, for all the underfed persons in the kingdom, fifteen millions taken from the estates of the Church, which had been taken away from the poor under the pretext that they were to be used in payment of the obligations of the State; this means, once they are paid, about thirty-five sous per head of the population; and yet, through one of your leaders, you appropriated nineteen millions for the purpose of paying the debts of a scamp who happened to be born close to the throne, a shameful wastrel, whose obscene dissipations are the least of his crimes, an enemy of our country, who has finally become a disgusting conspirator (d'Artois).

What shall be inferred from all this? All these advantages enjoyed by the rich with the aid of our ordinances, and as a result of their possessions, are of no value to us. And in this respect we have been sacrificed by the Revolution just as if we were not members of the State at all.

Up to the present time, the new order of things exists entirely for the advantage of the rich and the intriguers: but this is only a portion of their privileges. Assembled Law-givers! You have pretended to be trying to assure all citizens, as a result of the most careful study, equal rights, for the great good of the entire country; and you made it a condition that offices, positions, honorary appointments, should be bestowed only by reason of talent and virtue. All this would have been wonderful, if you had not made every effort to destroy your own work. After the manner of stage magicians, you have caused one concession after the other to disappear. Hardly had you declared that free and equal citizens should be appointed to positions without discrimination by virtue of their fitness alone, for discharging the duties of such positions, than you added: but they may not represent the nation unless they pay a direct tax of one silver mark; unless they pay a direct tax of ten livres they cannot become electors; unless they pay a direct tax of three livres, they cannot enter into the possession of civic rights. In this manner, by means of these petty provisions,

you have succeeded in shutting us off from admission to the Senate, to the courts, to the leading posts, to the magistracy. You declare us incapable, in the name of the law, of filling any of the positions to which you have summoned us by virtue of our natural rights; and now—the culmination of your injustice—you go so far as to declare us incapable of appointing those who are to represent us, so far as to deny us even the quality of citizens. Your famous Declaration of the Rights of Man was merely a shameful deception for the delectation of the simple-minded, since you feared their wrath; for, when more carefully examined, this Declaration of the Rights of Man amounts merely to a promise that the rich shall enjoy all the advantages and honors of the

new regime. It appears, therefore, that the glorious Revolution was made only to benefit those who were the sole enjoyers of the blessings of the century.

But if this famous decree, which makes talent and virtue the sole condition for attaining public office, were not meant merely as a parody, it would, nevertheless, have no value for us. Thrown back again upon our poverty, we can serve our country in no other way than with the strength of our arms, as we have always served it. In this way, you alone enjoy the privilege of commanding others, we are asked only to obey, to devote to the State our labors, our fatigue, our sufferings. The advantages of the Constitution for us amount to nothing more nor less than the privilege of remaining in filth and misery.

## ***Marat to Desmoulins***

**I**N spite of all your cleverness, my dear Camille, you are still quite a novice in politics. Perhaps the amiable frivolity which is the basis of your character and which permits your pen to disport itself in the most serious fields, serves as an obstacle to reflection and to serious and sound discussion. It is with reluctance that I tell you that your pen, which belongs to our country, would serve it to greater advantage, if your path were firm and straight; but you are irresolute in your judgment; you censure to-day what you will approve to-mor-

back his blows in his struggle—during these moments of crisis—when he deals passionate and inspired blows for the common cause, and when the people appear to hope for nothing except from their despair.

The inappropriate and yet bitter reproofs addressed to me by you in your paper, might deprive the cause of freedom of its most zealous defender. For they rob me of the confidence of a great number of citizens who are not in a good position to pass sound judgment on me. It is this solitude that moves me to-day to take the sad step of expounding to you the motive for my conduct during the period of the Revolution. If you had taken the pains to follow my course, you would have judged it more soundly and you would have spared me the humiliation of being obliged to explain things to you that should not have escaped your attention.

Marat now makes reference to the appeal printed above, "Are We Undone?" in which he declares the use of terror against counter-revolutionists to be the only means of safeguarding the Revolution. Desmoulins had opposed this measure. Marat continues:

Is there any one that does not know that this patriotic document, which was denounced by a miserable scoundrel, was considered a crime against the Nation only by men who had joined in a conspiracy against liberty, who were the slaves of vice and the purchasable creatures of injustice, who make it their sport to conspire against their country and their duty to murder its most zealous defenders? But I am by no means inclined to be displeased with their disapproval, since I regard it rather as a certificate of honor.

Indignant at the conspiracies again and again cropping up by reason of ancient prejudices, disquieted by the reports of the enemy's approach, and convinced that it will be impossible for us to escape



**French workers and students fight oppression**

row; you glorify unknown persons for insignificant performances; you appear to have neither plan nor goal, and you cap the climax of your silliness by obstructing the labors of your friend and holding

the horrors of civil war if we do not finally make up our minds to cut off the heads of those most responsible for the present situation, the author of this document summons the people to take possession of the ring-leaders of the conspirators. Horrified at the thought of the boundless misfortune that would be the inevitable consequence of their triumph, he reminded the people that five or six hundred heads cut off would assure the people liberty and happiness forever, and that—if these heads should be spared for any considerations of mistaken humanity—millions of innocent persons would be condemned to die a frightful death.

Present this alternative even to those wise men who consider themselves men of leniency, and I doubt whether one of them will hesitate. But let the enemy once cross the boundaries, and the most peaceful citizens will go far beyond the author's present demands, and you yourself, dear Camille, will bitterly regret the failure to punish all of the traitors to the Nation!

#### EXPLANATORY NOTES

**Assignat:** A promissory note of the French Revolutionary government, circulating as currency (1789-1796), secured by confiscated church lands, the national domain, and the estates of emigres.

**Bailly, Jean Sylvan** (1736-1793): French astronomer and orator. His reactionary measures infuriated the people of Paris and he retired to Nantes (1791). Late in 1793, he was recognized at Melun, arrested and brought to Paris. He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal (November 10) and guillotined on November 12.

**Bastille:** The prison fortress built at the Porte St. Antoine, Paris, in 1369, destroyed by popular uprising, July 14, 1789. It was regarded as the symbol of monarchical despotism, and July 14, the day of its demolition, has been made a national anniversary.

**Blacks (The):** The Blacks were the members of the Right Section of the Constituent Assembly, while the members of the Left were called Whites. The Moderates were called Impartial Blacks or Impartial Whites, depending on the side to which they leaned.

**Chatelet:** Cases of high treason were tried by this court under the authority of the Constituent Assembly, until it, together with the other tribunals of the *ancien regime*, was suppressed by the law of August 16, 1789.

**Committee of Public Safety** (Comite de salut public): A group of nine leaders in the French Revolution, appointed by the Convention of 1793, who acted as a governing body and during the Reign of Terror exercised great powers.

**Danton, Georges Jacques** (1759-1794): A French revolutionary leader, member of the Convention; he was tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and guillotined May 4, 1794. A volume of this series is devoted to his speeches.

**Desmoulins, Benoit Camille** (1760-1794): A French revolutionist and writer; author of the *Histoire des Brissotins*; guillotined May 4, 1794, together with Danton.

**Ducos, Pierre Roger** (1750-1816): Lawyer and statesman; deputy to the Convention; later Third Consul; exiled as a regicide after the Bourbon restoration, in 1816.

**Emigre:** An emigrant; especially, one of the Royalists or other refugees who fled from France during the French Revolution of 1789; they lived in a number of centers outside of France, one of which was Coblenz, on the Rhine.

**Federals (Federation):** The name of the armed associations formed during the Revolution to put down its enemies.

**Girond:** The moderate Republican Party during the first French Revolution (1792); so called from the department whence its earliest members were sent as representatives.

**Goethe, Johann Wolfgang** (1749-1832): Most famous classical writer of Germany; the author of many well-known prose works, poems and dramas (including the tragedy *Faust*), and an amateur scientist of mark in many fields: his *farbenlehre* (1810), or "Theory of Color," is an extensive work aiming at a reevaluation of optics generally, and attempting to combat Sir Isaac Newton's refraction of light.

**Guadet, Marguerite Elle** (1758-1794): A French Girondist leader; guillotined.

**Jacobins:** A French revolutionary club, so called from its meeting in a hall of the former Jacobin convent in the Rue St. Honore, Paris. It called itself "The Society of Friends of the Constitution." Its twelve hundred branch societies, led by Robespierre, Danton and Marat, had an enormous influence. It controlled the Legislative Assembly after 1791, and organized the Reign of Terror and the agitation against the king. It was overthrown in November, 1794, but not dissolved until 1799.

**Lafayette, Marquis de** (1757-1834): Lafayette is particularly known for his participation in the American War of Independence. During the French Revolution he played a reactionary role. In May, 1790, he founded the "Society of 1789," which afterwards became the Feuillant Club. He retired to private life in 1791.

**Louis XVI** (born 1754, ascended throne 1774, guillotined January 21, 1793): King of France, dethroned, imprisoned and executed by the Revolution.

**Luckner, Nikolaus** (1722-1794): A French marshal; born in Bavaria; he was guillotined January 4, 1794.

**Mirabeau, Comte de** (1749-1791): A French statesman and writer; called the French Demosthenes; a member of the Constituent Assembly.

**Mollien, Count Nicolas Francois** (1758-1850): Financier, entered the Ministry of Finance, brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal of Evreux as a suspect in 1794, narrowly escaped the guillotine.

**National Assembly:** the first of the revolutionary bodies of France (1789-1791); called also *Constituent Assembly* because pledged not to separate until the constitution was established.

**Necker, Jacques** (1732-1804): A French financier; minister of Louis XVI; the father of Madame de Stael.

**October 5 (1789):** On this day the people of Paris brought Louis XVI from Versailles to the city.

**Robespierre, Maximilien Marie Isidore** (1758-1794): A French Jacobin orator, prominent particularly in the early days of the Revolution of 1789; he became a leader during the Reign of Terror, which began in 1793 and ended with his execution on July 28, 1794.

**Sans-culottes** ("Without knee-breeches"): The poor wore trousers, not knee-breeches; the term was first applied by the aristocrats as a term of reproach to those who started the Revolution; it afterwards became a popular name for one of the revolutionary population; a Jacobin.

**Sieyes, Emmanuel Joseph** (1748-1836): Author of the celebrated pamphlet, "What Is the Third Estate?" (*qu'est-ce que le tiers etat?*); renounced his religion when the Goddess of Reason was installed.

**States General:** A general as opposed to provincial legislature, composed of different classes or estates of citizens; the name of the legislative body of the Netherlands and that of France before the Revolution.

**Swiss Regiment:** Swiss mercenary troops, common at the time throughout Europe, also served as bodyguard to Louis XVI.

**Third Estate:** The commons (*communitas, communitatis*), as distinguished from nobles and clergy.

**Tuileries:** A French royal palace completed under Louis XIV (1643-1715). It was badly damaged by attacks made upon it in 1792, 1830, and 1848, and burned during the Commune of 1871.

**Vendee (La):** A department in central western France: scene of the revolt of local peasants and Royalists against the French Republic in 1793-1795.

**Vergniaud, Pierre Victorien** (1753-1793): Orator, revolutionist, president of the National Convention which sentenced Louis XVI to death; guillotined November 31, 1793.

## Book Review

# AMERICAN HEALTH EMPIRE: UNEXPOSED BY LIBERALS

The contradictions inherent in the U.S. ruling class' system of health care for the people are sharpening almost to the breaking point. Health care in the United States has reached a stage of deep crisis. The crisis has attained such major proportions that even the most unabashed ruling class apologists no longer attempt to deny its existence.

A special report appearing in the January 17, 1970 issue of *Business Week* magazine states:

A lot of Americans would rather die than get seriously sick. For millions, going to the hospital means going broke or close to it. For many more, good medical care is non-existent... (There are) skyrocketing costs and a spreading realization that the U.S. medical system is not delivering the goods... The U.S. has been behind other nations in the key indexes (sic) of national health. In infant mortality we now rank 14th, behind many Western European countries. Men live longer in 17 other countries; women live longer in 10. Few dispute that U.S. medical research is the world's most advanced and that many U.S. hospitals are among the world's best equipped. But the fruits of this research are not getting out to the great bulk of the population.

An article in the January 1970 issue of *Fortune* magazine asserts:

American medicine, the pride of the nation for many years, stands now on the brink of chaos. To be sure, our medical practitioners have their great moments of drama and triumph. But much of U.S. medical care, particularly the everyday business of preventing and treating routine illnesses, is of inferior quality, wastefully dispensed, and inequitably financed. Medical manpower and facilities are so maldistributed that large segments of the populations, especially the urban poor and those in rural areas, get virtually no care at all—even though their illnesses are most numerous and, in a medical sense, often easy to cure.

Since these articles were written, the contradictions have sharpened further. Private hospital fees continue to rise at an astronomical rate. In their drive to protect profits, local bosses, backed by their servants in city, state, and federal government, are planning budget cuts that threaten to close down municipal hospitals in cities like Boston, Chicago, and New York. These budget cuts will also drastically reduce other services that have a direct effect on the collective health of the working class. For example, in almost every major city, the ruling class plans to curtail its sanitation program in working class neighborhoods. Park Avenue, Wall Street, and other areas where bosses live and "work" will doubtless be cleaned as regularly and thoroughly as ever. The ruling class can always find money to take care of its own. But when it comes to maintaining the already hopelessly inadequate public hygiene and sanitation now provided for workers, the money "just isn't there." As uncollected garbage piles mount, germs spread, and disease increases in working class neighborhoods—particularly in areas inhabited by black and Latin workers—as the need for decent medical care increases at the same rate that the actual care provided decreases, more and more workers will come to see that the bosses' rotten profit system cannot solve the most elementary problems it creates for masses of people.

At the same time, the ruling class is making it impossible for anyone but the very affluent to obtain the services of a competent physician. Under this system, doctors are trained to serve the rich, not the people. The dean of a large eastern medical school welcomed the incoming class of 1974 with the following statement: "Congratulations! Upon graduation, you will be the first generation of doctors to earn an average of \$100,000 per year." Who can pay the fees that will make this dean's prediction come true—stockbrokers, bank presidents, and corporation executives, or garment workers; miners, and welfare mothers? The income of private doctors has now reached such proportions that the publishing

firm Prentice-Hall puts out a *weekly* newsletter whose sole purpose is to explain how physicians can best take advantage of existing income tax laws. Yet by the same token, finding a doctor in a working class neighborhood, particularly a black or Latin working class neighborhood, is like the proverbial search for a hen's tooth; and even in white-collar or middle class areas, it is increasingly difficult to locate a doctor at night or on weekends.

At this point, it is no longer possible to cover up the crisis in medical care. However, major differences arise concerning the methods needed to solve it. At present, there are four general approaches: that of the American Medical Association (AMA), the insurance industry, and the Nixon administration; that of the liberals, led by Senator Kennedy; that of the fake radicals, typified by the authors of the book reviewed in this article; and the Marxist-Leninist approach, which contends that only the violent overthrow of the bosses' system, the establishment of a revolutionary workers' dictatorship, and the construction of socialism can bring about lasting qualitative improvements in mass health care.

In the first case, although the AMA, the insurance industry, and the Nixon administration occasionally express superficial differences with each other, their plans and tactics are essentially the same. They all propose to "solve" the problem of payment for health care through the private insurance industry. According to this plan, employed workers would buy their own insurance through so-called "employer contributions." This maneuver would take bigger chunks out of workers' paychecks and raise the profits of insurance companies, without increasing the amount or quality of medical care one iota. In the case of unemployed workers or welfare clients, the money would come from direct payments or tax credits by the federal government. Workers would be gouged for every cent of these direct payments and tax credits, because the government would raise their taxes and the overall cost of insurance would go up. The Nixon-AMA-insurance company plan would provide nothing in the way of improved medical care for workers. It would not build more hospitals, train more doctors and nurses, produce free medicine, or expand public hygiene and sanitation. Its only effect would be to increase the *cost* of today's rotten medical care. In addition, this plan would do nothing to alter the private practice system, which not only allows doctors to auction off their services to the highest and wealthiest bidder but also contributes heavily to the abuse of hospital facilities by doctors who can inflate their incomes by making highly remunerative daily hospital calls and performing unnecessary but profitable surgery. Another effect of this system—which the Nixon-AMA-insurance company plan will do nothing to alter—is the tendency for doctors to concentrate in areas where they can charge and obtain high fees but where the social need for their services is non-existent. The best way to cure the ulcers and heart attacks that bosses get worrying about their profits is to smash the bosses and the government that serves them.

The Kennedy-led liberals are calling for one form or another of national health insurance plan. According to this plan, the federal government would provide every citizen with a health insurance policy guaranteeing minimal benefits whose cost would be equally distributed among "employer contributions," Social Security taxes, and general tax revenues. The fact that this plan would be controlled and administered directly by the government contributes to its fundamentally exploitative character. There is no basic difference between Nixon's "employer contributions" and Kennedy's: both would come out of workers' pockets as they do now for Blue Cross-Blue Shield "coverage." The only alternative would be for bosses to give workers a wage increase to pay for insurance premiums out of the "goodness" of their hearts—and, as any worker who has ever walked a picket line knows, this kind of "generosity" doesn't exist even in the wildest of fairy tales. No boss has ever voluntarily given away two cents of his profits.

The Kennedy plan pretends to make medical care more accessible to working people by offering various financial incentives, particularly for physicians who engage in group practice. In the first place, workers, and no one else will pay through the nose for these bribes, in the form of higher taxes and insurance premiums. In the second place, it leaves completely intact the private practice system. Finally, like the Nixon-AMA-insurance company plan, it does nothing to change the present hospital system.

According to ruling class logic, this system is divided into three sections: private profit-making hospitals (where you get pretty good medical attention if you can afford to pay thousands of dollars for aspirins and band-aids), private hospitals (most of which are as "non-profit" as General Motors; like many "non-profit" universities, their administrations simply perform a few statistical sleights-of-hand to cover the millions they make from the disease and death of workers), and government-run hospitals (where you receive excellent treatment if you happen to be the President, a Senator or a General; if, on the other hand, you're a Vietnam veteran in a VA hospital, you're about as well looked after as if you were in a concentration camp). As a consequence of these divisions, the U.S. hospital system is characterized by almost total chaos. By its very nature, it cannot be centrally coordinated and directed, and instead of serving millions of working people, it serves the interests of the same hospital trustees who also run U.S. big business. Secondly, the hospital system also throws a few choice crumbs to the elitism of the medical profession by putting into practice the concept of "doctors' worship," which encourages private practitioners, medical school professors, and doctors-in-training to use hospital facilities for their own "professional" interests and financial advancement.

The Kennedy-liberal plan is nothing more than a figleaf for the ruling class. It pretends to benefit everyone, particularly workers and the unemployed. But despite the Kennedy family's apparently limit-



**PLP fights against racist medical cutbacks**

less capacity for shedding crocodile tears over the suffering of the masses, this plan is equally as ruthless as the Nixon-AMA-insurance company plan. It won't improve workers' medical care; however, by increasing their taxes across the board like the National Health Service in Great Britain, it will guarantee that they are penalized as much as possible for what little medical care they receive. Crocodile tears and rhetoric aside, the health care plans sponsored by the "conservative" and "liberal" wings of the ruling class reflect nothing more than bickering among bosses over the most efficient method for squeezing every last drop of profits from the working class.

To mollify the increasing numbers of people who have become disgusted and disillusioned with the "official" representatives of the ruling class, the bosses have begun to publish the health care "theories" of pseudo-radicals like the Ehrenreichs. Their book contains a series of articles that have appeared over the past few years in the Bulletin of New York City's Health Policy Advisory Center (Health-PAC). The articles purport to analyze New York City's health care system: its municipal voluntary hospitals, its medical schools, Blue Cross, Medicare-Medicaid, etc. Health-PAC is a spin-off from Washington D.C.'s Institute for Policy Studies, a "left"-liberal, pseudo-radical outfit supported by money from big foundations. Its main political function is to convince radical-minded people that they can best express their ideas by operating within the system. At the height of the anti-war movement in 1967-8, it organized for "third" and/or "fourth" party presidential candidates. When its leading candidate, Martin Luther King, was assassinated, the IPS immediately joined the crusade led by the well-known poet laureate of the banking, insurance, and oil industries, Gene McCarthy.

Since Health-PAC is a small organization, it required only the support of a small foundation. Its first director, Robb Burlage, an ex-graduate student in economics, procured this support from one Samuel Rubin, the former owner of the Faberge perfume company. Rubin is a close associate of New York Mayor John "Layoff" Lindsay and happens, among other "charitable" activities, to sit on the Board of Trustees of New York University's medical school and hospital. Because it is afraid of antagonizing such affluent "friends" and of losing Rubin's perfumed dollars, Health-PAC never attacks either the New York City government or New York University, although its main thesis is that the "medical empires" of the large voluntary hospitals, the medical schools, and Blue Cross are almost entirely to blame for the present health care crisis.

As for the Ehrenreichs, who prepared the text of *The American Health Empire*, they have long been members of the "elite" corps of pseudo-radical jet-setters. They once wrote an article for *Monthly Review* magazine entitled "From Resistance to Revolution" and a book on the international student movement. In both of these works, they express their full support for the gamut of revisionist concepts current in the movement today: nationalism, the Paris "peace" talks, student power, counter-institutions under capitalism, illusory united fronts with the "good" wing of the bourgeoisie, etc.

*The American Health Empire* applies this political line to the health care crisis. It pretends to indict the hospital system as a whole but never explains the basis of the system and therefore fails to produce a strategy for substantive improvement in health care. Rather than exposing the hospital system as an integral part of capitalism, the book attacks it for being a money-grubbing world unto itself. For ex-

ample, the Ehrenreichs describe the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City as

...an international professional organization and a vast and wealthy financial empire, serving and depending on the support of U.S. business and government. The empire is essentially a closed corporation.

With respect to the drug and hospital supply industries, the Ehrenreichs tell us that

Behind the facade of the helpless sick and the dedicated healers lies the 1960s greatest gold rush, a booming 'health industry' churning out more than \$2.5 billion a year by 1969 in after-tax profits.

Under the "cute" chapter heading "The Blue Cross We Bear," they go on to say that:

All over the country, people are increasingly cross at Blue Cross... Despite outraged opposition from labor groups, civic organizations, local governments, and just about everyone else who could remotely be considered a consumer, the rate increases rolled onward and upward. Confronted with a national crisis in medical costs, Blue Cross pleads not guilty.

#### Take Stab At Criticizing

The analytical fault here lies not with the attack against Columbia-Presbyterian (a mammoth profit-making death factory owned by Columbia University, one of the biggest slumlords in New York City, the drug and hospital supply industry (which never hesitates to make billions by glutting the market with outrageously priced "miracle drugs" before they can be tested for dangerous side-effects), or Blue Cross (who must believe that "There's more to good health than just paying bills," because they never pay any). Instead, the fault lies with an outlook that seeks to show U.S. health care as an *aberration*, a "scandalous" deformity of capitalism rather than its *necessary* bi-product and reflection. The Ehrenreichs apply the same analysis to the health care industry that other revisionists apply to U.S. imperialism's war in Southeast Asia. The latter tell us to attack the "military-industrial complex" in the Pentagon as the source of the war—the "bad" capitalists who have succeeded in gaining temporary ascendancy over "good, peace-loving" capitalists like Kennedy and Cyrus Eaton. They never tell the truth: that, in its drive for maximum profits, the U.S. ruling class *as a whole* needs to exploit the working people of Southeast Asia, and that the only differences between "hawks" and "doves" are over the most efficient means of attaining this goal. In the same vein, the Ehrenreichs tell us that the U.S. health care system is run by a few "bad" bosses and could improve if they were replaced by "good" ones.

In their book, the Ehrenreichs never once even allude to the dominant contradiction in U.S. health

care today: that U.S. bosses—all U.S. bosses—like all bosses everywhere, are concerned primarily and uniquely with increasing their profits. Their only interest in the health of a worker is that they be strong enough to show up for work eight, ten, or twelve hours a day and to raise a family that will eventually replace them. Given the rate at which workers are sped up, the rotten housing and neighborhoods in which they are forced to live, and the wretched food they must buy at exorbitant prices, millions suffer from crippling injuries or diseases. The bosses provide just enough health care to make sure that their factories stay open and produce at the required rate. In addition, they also turn health care into an enormous profit-making venture in its own right. In this way, health care under capitalism *doubly* benefits bosses and *doubly* exploits workers. Health care under capitalism can no more serve the people than can capitalist universities, capitalist police, or capitalist law.

Instead of giving a scientific analysis of health care in the U.S., an analysis that would enable their readers to build a fighting and winning movement, all the Ehrenreichs can offer is empty rhetoric and hand-slapping. Their drums beat, their trumpets blare, their fanfare rolls earthward to reveal—nothing more than a few indecent exposures and some second-hand gossip!

In a word, *The American Health Empire* does not attempt the faintest outline of a class analysis. It performs a useful service when it lists signs and symptoms of the sickness from which health care in the U.S. suffers. But this has all been done exhaustively elsewhere, even, as we have shown, by the ruling class press. Nowhere do the Ehrenreichs or Health-PAC discuss the division of U.S. society into two major classes, the workers and the owners, despite the fact that in their preface the Ehrenreichs purport to serve "the larger movement for radical social change in America." Nowhere do these self-styled "radicals" show how the ruling class uses the health care system to maintain its rule and exploitation of workers.

In their chapter on "The Medical-Industrial Complex," the Ehrenreichs make a stab at criticizing the profiteering of the drug industry, the medical supplies industry, and the proprietary hospital system. But they formulate this critique in purely romantic, humanitarian terms, so that in essence it advances the "moral" precept that "you shouldn't make money on illness." True enough—but nowhere is profit-making *in general* condemned. Nowhere is capitalist exploitation of workers by rulers damned.

The Ehrenreichs don't even touch upon the private practice system, which allows the petty-bourgeois medical friends of the ruling class to make fantastic incomes. Many private physicians and their trade organization, the American Medical Association, are key allies of the bosses, who literally let them get away with murder by allowing them to practice alone and set fees in the manner of 19th century private entrepreneurs. Our authors, however, conveniently "neglect" to expose this situation.



According to Health-PAC's analysis, there are no class factors involved in the U.S. health care system. Despite the Ehrenreichs' more-radical-than-thou rhetoric, they view the system as imperfect but correctable if only a few glaring "abuses" are eliminated. After all the sound and fury has died down, we are left with nothing more than standard bourgeois reformism. "Red tape" must be "cut." The bureaucracy must be "streamlined." The medical schools must become more "relevant." The hospitals must be made more "responsive." Blue Cross must be made more "responsive." Administrations that are "insensitive to the needs of the people" must be thrown and replaced by administrations that are "with it." One can read the same gibberish in the editorial columns of the *New York Times* or the Congressional record of Ted Kennedy's speeches. With Health-PAC, only the rhetoric has been changed to protect the radical fig-leaf.

Health-PAC's tactics flow from its reformist strategy. They propose to achieve their goals through the magic of "community control." According to this illusion, hospitals and other health care service facilities would be "run" by community-worker boards that would make "all policy decisions." Once such a system were instituted, everything would be hunky-dory, according to the Health-PAC scenario. The problem is that this solution has nothing in common with life under the rule of the bourgeoisie. The amount of money allocated to repair and replace obsolete facilities found in working class areas would be beyond the control of such a board. The money to staff the hospitals and the quality of the staff would be beyond the control of such a board. Under capitalism, control of expense budget money, capital budget money, and health personnel supply—the keys to the operation of any hospital—lies with the ruling class and will continue to lie with them, no matter how many "community control" boards are set up. The "community control" scheme is nothing new. Pseudo-radicals have been proposing it for years, in an attempt to create the false belief that under capitalism, racist cops, racist schools, racist universities, and racist corporations can be cajoled or coerced into "serving the people." Now the Ehrenreichs want to conjure up "community control" of health care. The ruling class—and no one else—stands to benefit from this scheme. With friends like the Ehrenreichs to help them, they can sit on the sidelines and count their profits while different community control boards vie with *each other* to catch a few crumbs from a steadily shrinking pie.

Health-PAC advocates almost any strategy except a direct attack on the ruling class and the state. Under the guise of a "fresh approach," they trot out the same old revisionist strategy of diverting workers from the revolutionary struggle for state power. Instead, they advocate alliances with the "good" bourgeoisie against the "bad" bourgeoisie. This, according to them, is the only viable method for making progress in the field of health care. In reality, however, as millions know from years of bitter class struggle, alliances with the boss—any boss—have never brought workers anything but more exploitation, racism, and general oppression. Like all reformist strategies, the Health-PAC line will not win even the simplest reform, because it consciously diverts workers away from mass struggle and seeks to lead them up blind alleys.

A movement can and must be built to fight the bosses for better health care. Such a movement will unite hospital workers, working class patients, nurses, and working class communities. Under the leadership of communists and others, it will fight racism. It will conduct mass actions to force hospital bosses and city bosses to cough up some of their profits. It will ally with other movements that are fighting U.S. imperialism in the shops, the schools and colleges, the communities, and the army. But this movement will entertain no illusions about "good" bosses. It will rely only on the fighting strength of the working class. As those who participate in this movement engage in more and more class struggle, as they come increasingly into contact with communist ideas, millions will absorb the lesson that decent health care for the masses can be achieved only after the profit system has been smashed and all bosses have been thrown out under the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class.

Such a movement is now being built by members of the Progressive Labor Party and others. In the past year, it has launched successful health care fights from New York to California. It is growing rapidly. It is the last thing that the fake radicals in Health-PAC want to see. They have chosen sides in the struggle, by fabricating myths about the perfectability of the ruling class in exchange for a few coins from the purse of a perfume manufacturer. The working class will not be fooled by these myths. It will sweep away Health-PAC and other fake radicals as surely and defiantly as it destroys Nixon, Kennedy, Blue Corss, the AMA, and the rest of its class enemies.

**A**t the end of the last century, the major imperialist powers completed their division of the world: no more territory remained to be grabbed. "Imperialism means war" Lenin stated at the time, and history fully bore him out. Since that time the world has seen one continuous war to redivide the territory of the world.

Starting with the Spanish-American War (1898) where U.S. imperialism seized Spain's last colonies in Latin America and Asia, there has been an uninterrupted series of small wars, "incidents" and manoeuvres between the major imperialist powers, highlighted by the two major world wars. These two major wars form dividing lines making the history of inter-imperialist wars into three distinct periods. Each period is distinguished by the struggle of certain imperialist powers against the prevailing arrangement.

In the first period (1898-1918) the newer imperialist powers—U.S., Japan, Germany, Italy—struggled to grab colonies and spheres of influence at the expense of the more established powers—Britain, France, Spain, Russia. U.S. and Japanese imperialists launched successful wars against Spain and Russia, seizing strategic areas from them. The Boer War (German vs. British), the Balkan Wars (German vs. Russian and British), the Morocco Crisis (German vs. French), the Lybian war (Italian vs. French) gave the era the character of uninterrupted war to redivide the world culminating in World War I in which all the major imperialist powers united temporarily to inflict a crushing defeat on German imperialism.

"Peace" was imposed by the strongest of the victorious powers—U.S., Britain and France. And the second period was characterized by the struggle of the left-out imperialists (Italian, Japanese and German) to overthrow the "peace." In the twenties, the latter manoeuvred and could only fight defensive wars by proxy (e.g., German-backed Turkey's war against British-backed Greece). In the thirties the *have-nots* embarked on an uninterrupted series of outright conquests against the positions of the *haves*. Japan attacked the U.S.-British spheres of influence

in China; Italy, the British protectorate of Ethiopia; Germany, the French protectorates of Czechoslovakia and Poland. The resulting World War II was even more than World War I a desperate fight for survival by each of the two imperialist coalitions. Only the entrance of the Soviet Union on the side of the Western powers after it was attacked by the Nazis, saved them from defeat.

In the course of the war, French imperialism was subjugated by German imperialism, while British imperialism sold half its empire to U.S. imperialism bringing the U.S. into the war, and subsequently German, Italian and Japanese imperialisms were subjugated themselves in turn by U.S. imperialism. The arrangement between imperialists presented itself in 1945 as defined by Henry Luce, a leading U.S. imperialist spokesman, as the "American Century."

The U.S. imperialists were on top now and they began a systematic aggressive campaign to pirate the former empires of the other five imperialist powers.

But the U.S. imperialists miscalculated. In the first place they did not take into account the fact that the liberation of Eastern Europe from German imperialism was the work of the Soviet Red Army and various popular forces led by communists. All the various attempts by the U.S. imperialists to change this resulted in ignominious failure. The second major miscalculation was the

failure to note that the defeat of Japanese imperialism in China was primarily the work of the Chinese Communist Party and their people's army, and the attempt of the U.S. imperialists to step into the shoes of the Japanese imperialists as overlords of China met with a crushing defeat.

The third miscalculation involved the permanence of the defeat of the other imperialist rivals of the U.S.; that is the subject of this article.

Lenin pointed out:

...there can be *no* other conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, of interests, of colonies, etc., than a calculation of the *strength* of the participants in the division, their

## IMPERIALISTS AT EACH OTHER'S THROATS

general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for under capitalism the development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries cannot be even. Half a century ago, Germany was a miserable, insignificant country, as far as its capitalist strength was concerned, compared with the strength of England at that time. Japan was similarly insignificant compared with Russia. Is it "conceivable" that in ten or twenty years' time the relative strength of the imperialist powers will have remained unchanged? Absolutely inconceivable.

Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German "Marxist," Kautsky, "inter-imperialist" or "ultra-imperialist" alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing all the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a "truce" in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one is the condition for the other, giving rise to alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle out of one and the same basis of imperialist connections and the relations between world economics and world politics. *Imperialism, Highest State of Capitalism.*

Thus, the U.S. imperialists were sitting on the top of the roost in 1945, but their "economic, financial, military strength, etc.," was not equal to the task of ruling the world, even their so-called "free" (non-socialist) two-thirds of the world. Stalin prophetically saw this and polemicized against those revisionists, soon to usurp leadership of the Soviet state, who were taken in by outward appearances and fell for the U.S. imperialists' dream of an "American Century."

These comrades are mistaken. They see the outward phenomena that come and go on the surface, but they do not see those profound forces which, although they are so far operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of developments.

Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well': the USA has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to "go well" for "all eternity," that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavor to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.

Take, first of all, Britain and France. Undoubtedly, they are imperialist countries. Undoubtedly, cheap raw materials and secure markets are of paramount importance to them. Can it be assumed that

they will endlessly tolerate the present situation, in which, under the guise of "Marshall Plan Aid," Americans are penetrating into the economies of Britain and France and trying to convert them into adjuncts of the United States' economy, and American capital is seizing raw materials and markets in the British and French colonies and thereby plotting disaster for the high profits of the British and French capitalists? Would it not be truer to say that capitalist Britain, and after her, capitalist France, will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the USA and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits?

Let us pass to the major vanquished countries, Germany (Western) and Japan. These countries are now languishing in misery under the jackboot of American imperialism. Their industry and agriculture, their trade, their foreign and home policies, and their whole life are fettered by the American occupation "regime." Yet only yesterday these countries were great imperialist powers and were shaking the foundations of the domination of Britain, the USA and France in Europe and Asia. To think that these countries will not try to get on their feet again, will not try to smash U.S. domination and force their way to independent development, is to believe in miracles. *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, pp. 28-29

Stalin then concluded:

But it follows from this that the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force ... To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism. *Ibid.*, p. 30

That the phenomena Stalin pointed out in 1952 were actually determining the course of events had to be bitterly admitted sixteen years later by the U.S. imperialists themselves. George Ball, a top member of the ruling class, spoke for all the U.S. ruling circles in a *Life* article, "Three and a Half Super Powers." After assessing the defeats and frustrations that U.S. imperialism suffered in trying to impose its *Pax Americana* ("American Century") on the world, Ball concluded:

We have concluded an epoch, the epoch of *Pax Americana*. We can dimly foresee the emergence of a new world system. Europe in the West can become a full fledged super-power. Japan as the only large modern industrial state in Asia also has the capacity to play a major role. But since for the time being, neither will approach the scope and authority of America and the USSR, it is realistic to think not so much of a new era of four superpowers, but in the terms of that matter something equivalent to three and a half. *Life*, March 29, 1968, p. 74

While Ball is willing to let Western Europe and Japan "wear the club tie," as far as the redivision

of the world is considered, he won't grant the rival imperialists anything but the left-overs. It is clear that Japanese (or German or French) imperialism is not going to be content to be "one-half" a power. Even so this new concept is an admission of the "American Century" defeat. The U.S. imperialists no longer think they have the power to rule the world; now they are willing to sell "shares" of the world to Japanese, German, British, French, Italian and the new Soviet imperialists. But the latter are not going to be content to let U.S. imperialism dictate the extent of their shares. The third struggle to redivide the world is on.

### Banking & Financial Imperialism

Thousands of U.S. firms trade abroad; hundreds have manufacturing plants in almost all countries of the world, but only half a dozen U.S. banks do a substantial amount of business abroad. Even among the big six New York wholesale banks that control the bulk of the U.S. economy, only four are substantially involved in banking imperialism. Banking imperialism is so important to control of all imperialist operations that only the very few on top are involved. We have seen how a couple of dozen banks organized in a few groups have concentrated in their hands control of the entire U.S. economy (*PL*, Vol. 7, No. 4, *Who Rules America*) An even fewer number of banks wield the bloody banner of U.S. imperialism abroad.

*Honduras* What is the importance of banking imperialism? Let's take Honduras as an example. About 60 per cent of the banking business in the country is done by the Banco Atlantida, which is a subsidiary of Chase Manhattan of New York (Rockefeller-controlled). Another 20 per cent of the banking business in the country is in the hands of Banco de Honduras, a subsidiary of First National City Bank of New York (also Rockefeller-controlled). The remaining banking business is handled by the local branches of Bank of America or the local branches of the Bank of London and Montreal (controlled by two British banks). Thus, because of the need of foreign exchange, local credit, local payrolls, etc., virtually all trade with Honduras, imports and exports, all investment in Honduras must pass through the hands of one of these banks. This does not mean that no one but companies under control of the Rockefeller group, Bank of America or the two British banks can do business in Honduras, but it does mean that firms doing business in Honduras do so on the sufferance of the former. These banks are no humble middlemen providing services to industry, but because of their monopoly they concentrate in their hands all the threads of the Honduran economy. Naturally, as long as this situation obtains there can be no question of a national Honduran capitalist class arising as anything but docile adjuncts to the im-

perialists. What's more important as long as the U.S. and British banks have a monopoly on Honduran banking other imperialists will get nothing of importance in that country.

This is why at the end of the Second World War the U.S. imperialists set such store at grabbing as much as possible of the banking empires of their former rivals. They were unable to make any headway in Europe; in each country the national capitalist class was strong enough to keep control of their banking industry. The major battlegrounds were in Africa, Asia and South America. In South America the U.S. banks took over enough local banks to displace the British, French and Italians as chief financiers in that continent.

In Africa there were some radical changes. First Chase Manhattan Bank bought 40 per cent of the Standard Bank Group, thus teaming up with the number two British bank, National Westminster, which controls most of the rest of Standard, making Chase the new kingpin in that important imperialist chain. The Standard Bank has over 1100 branches and it controls about 45 per cent of the banking business in South Africa, 60 per cent in Malawi, 35 per cent in Nigeria, 40 per cent in Zambia, similar chunks of banking in Ghana, Kenya, Camerouns, Lesotho, Sierra Leone, South West Africa, Uganda, Botswana, Swaziland and Gambia.

The Standard Bank group in 1969 merged with the Chartered Bank group, another key imperialist chain closely connected with National Westminster. The Chartered Bank Group and its subsidiaries, the Eastern Bank, Riyad Bank, etc., operate in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The Chartered Bank group is the most important imperialist bank in India and Pakistan controlling 50 per cent of the banking in the oil-rich Persian Gulf states, 60 per cent of Singapore's banking, key chunks in Malaya, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, South Vietnam and Lybia. The new Standard and Chartered Banking group has assets of \$5.6 billion dwarfing any national bank in the Asian and African countries in which it operates. The parents of the mammoth chain, Chase Manhattan of New York and National Westminster of London, thus dominate banking in the vast areas stretching from Singapore to South Africa where over 800 million people live, no so-called "national" capitalists can compete with them. The two British Banks, Barclays in Africa and Lloyds in Asia are their only rivals.

While Chase moved into the British sphere of influence, First National City, the other main Rockefeller bank, made its move into the French sphere. It took control of the Banque Internationale Pour l'Afrique Occidentale, which controls more than 50 per cent of the banking in eight former French African countries and has sizable chunks in four other countries. The Morgan group was likewise not caught

napping. Morgan's Banker's Trust bought itself a partnership with the French Societe Generale and its subsidiaries in Tunisia, Camerouns, Congo (B), Ivory Coast and Senegal. And Morgan Guaranty Trust bought into one of the two main banks in Lybia.

The banking business is undoubtedly very profitable in these countries, but this is not the point of banking imperialism. The big U.S. banking houses did not gobble up so much of the banking business in Asia, Africa and Latin America just for its own intrinsic value. They control a vast industrial empire in the U.S. that of imperial necessity operates abroad. Control of a nation's finance by banks is followed by the plunder of its natural resources by allied corporations. For example, we saw how the Rockefeller group gained control of about one-third of Nigeria's banking through the Standard Bank Group; thus it should not be surprising that Rockefeller-controlled Kencott Copper shortly afterward gained control of near-monopoly Tin and Associated Mining of Nigeria. Also, as the Morgan Guaranty Trust bought into the second biggest bank in Lybia, the Morgan-controlled Continental Oil Co. got a big slice (10.4 per cent) of the important Lybian oil bonanza. This is the only significant foreign oil concession Continental has. Lybia has the biggest oil reserves in Africa. Interestingly enough, the biggest bank in Lybia is Barclay's, the biggest British bank; British Petroleum got a 16.6 per cent slice of Lybian oil.

The older imperialists, who for so many years dominated banking in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are down but by no means out. Barclays retains an African banking empire as large if not slightly larger than the Standard Bank Group's, plus controlling the bulk of West Indies finances. Lloyds' subsidiaries have important chunks of South American and Asian banking. Banking in the Middle East is controlled by four British banks and the German-owned Arab bank. Banking in India, Pakistan and Southeast Asia is shared between the Lloyds' subsidiary, National and Grindlays, the British owned Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the Standard and Chartered Group.

The three main French banks, Banque Nationale de Paris, Credit Lyonnaise and Societe Generale, have each big networks that dominate banking in many African countries, Morocco, Algeria, Uruguay, and other places. The Italian banks are still important in some of their former colonies: Lybia, Somalia and Ethiopia, and Banca Commerciale Italiana jointly with Banque de Paris et Pays-Bas control some important South American banks. The Belgian bank, Societe Generale de Banque controls banking in the Congo (K), while the main Dutch bank, Algemene Bank Nederland has big slices of the banking business in such countries as Uruguay, Ecuador and Iran. (Why a Dutch bank in Iran? Royal Dutch Shell has the second biggest oil concession there.)

Japanese and German banking networks abroad were destroyed in the war so these two imperialist powers had to start from scratch. The main Japanese banks jointly formed the Bank of Tokyo to muscle into the banking systems in Asia and South America and thus secure a beachhead for industrial penetration. Bank of Tokyo already has secured itself a prominent position in the banking business of Singapore, Laos and Iran. Deutsche Bank, which not only lost its foreign networks as a result of the war but was itself broken up, has had a hard road back. It reconstituted itself as a first step; the takeover from French interests of the Banque Commerciale Congalaise, which controls banking in the Congo (B), was a second step. Now Deutsche Bank has formed the Foreign Trade Bank of Iran in collusion with two other international outcasts, Banca Commerciale Italiana and Bank of America. (The latter had been at war with the Rockefeller and Morgan groups until 1961.)

A major turning point by European bankers in their war to reverse the gains of U.S. bankers occurred in late 1970 with the merger of France's Credit Lyonnaise and West Germany's Commerzbank. The newly-merged bank is the largest outside the Anglo-American bloc and the fifth largest in the world with 12 billion dollars in assets (compared with Chase Manhattan's 15 billion dollars) and 3000 offices around the world. In terms of available capital the Credit Lyonnaise-Commerzbank ranks only behind the Rockefeller, Morgan and Barclays' groups.

The new bank's president openly stated that the purpose of the merger was to fight the U.S. bankers. It furthermore reinforces their position in case Britain joins the Common Market, a development that would open up the continent to the powerful institutions of London. Nor are the new bank's doors shut to other European partners. Bankers in Paris and Frankfurt are expecting another large bank from Belgium to jump into the venture.

The merging of powerful sections of French and German finance capital means that the Anglo-American financiers have gotten about as far as they are going to go without fierce opposition; they appear to have peaked despite Chase Manhattan's reaction to the merger, strengthening its partnership with National Westminster Bank of England.

When an imperialist group wants to penetrate into a nation but is unable to get a foothold into the national banking industry, which may be controlled by rival imperialists or national capitalists, (as in Europe and certain other countries) there is still a road open. They can be invited in by the controlling imperialists or local capitalists. For example, the Greek capitalists recently invited the U.S. Litton Industries to take over their tourist industry. Another example is how the British invited the U.S. Reynolds Aluminum to usurp the Bauxite deposits

in their colony of Guyana in return for part ownership of Reynolds. A third example is Nasser's invitation to the Soviet capitalists to come into Egypt at a time when the Egyptian capitalists were in sharp conflict with the Anglo-American bloc. A fourth example takes place in the U.S. The Cleveland group of monopoly capitalists which controlled Ohio Oil Co., decided to sell the latter to British Petroleum which desperately wanted to enter the lucrative U.S. market. The other U.S. oil companies vigorously objected to this new competition but were unable to prevent consummation of the deal.

*aid*  
 Usually, however, this penetration is accomplished through the government of the "host" country, having been first bought off with "aid." The U.S. imperialists first used this tactic in post-war Europe. Taking advantage of the weakened national economies, the U.S. government offered Marshall Plan "aid." Actually this was the same as gobbling up a bank in a country and then loaning money to it, since the "aid" is generally tied to purchase of U.S. capital goods or finance of U.S. penetration of local companies, or finance of local plants of U.S. owned firms. Under the Marshall Plan hundreds of U.S. corporations marched into Europe to set up factories, buy up subsidiaries, seize markets. The success of the Marshall Plan led to its extension all over the world by the U.S. imperialists in various forms: Agency for Industrial Development (AID), "development" loans, Export-Import Bank, World Bank, etc., and to its imitation by rival imperialists.

The Soviet imperialists, shut off as they are from an international banking network, have been among the most zealous imitators of the Marshall Plan. In many nations their "aid" since 1954 actually exceeds total U.S. "aid." For example, they have poured over \$800 million into Indonesia,\* exceeding the U.S. total of \$700 million; in Syria they put out \$450 million to buy off that nation's revolving-door governments, comparing favorably with the U.S.'s paltry \$50 million; they slipped Ceylon's rulers over \$120 million, outbidding the U.S. by \$20 million; Afghanistan got \$400 million in rubles and only \$300 million in dollars. In certain other countries, such as Guinea, Mali, Somalia and Yemen the Soviet imperialists paid a higher price for penetration than the U.S. imperialists.

Like the Soviets, the German and Japanese imperialists, with little in the way of an international banking network, have also become big dispensers of "aid" lately. Since Indonesia's fascist coup in 1965, the Japanese government gave the military clique \$120 million exceeding the U.S. and rivaling the Soviet totals for that period. Not surprisingly, Japanese companies have been recently granted extensive oil and mineral rights.

Although carried under the banner of "economic cooperation," nearly half of Japan's total \$1.2 billion assistance to oppressed nations in 1969 consisted of export credits for the purchase of Japanese products. Private companies handle most of these sales with government financing, actively seeking out and signing deals that are officially called foreign aid. "We are always approaching foreign governments and business circles to determine what is needed for their development. We put our tentacles all round to see where the business opportunities are," says Mitsui's Murata. Much of the rest of the "aid" are direct private investments. Examples are the steel mills Nippon Steel "provided" (but retained half ownership of) in Malaya, the Philippines and Brazil, all are equipped with Japanese machinery and the Philippine mill even buys semi-processed hot coils from the parent company in Japan.

India, with over 500 million people and rich natural resources, with a market bigger than all Africa and Latin America combined, has been the most important target for investment since the imperialists were driven out of China in 1949. A big battle among the imperialists to grab the juiciest positions in that hapless country has developed. With the banking system dominated by the British and local capitalists, government "aid" has been the chief means of imperialist penetration. As an indication of the relative strengths of the various imperialist powers, India in September 1967, had the following outstanding loans:

U.S., World Bank, IDA etc.....	\$4457 million
USSR and its satellites.....	1628 million
West Germany.....	989 million
Britain.....	918 million
Japan.....	443 million
Italy.....	204 million
France.....	136 million
Netherlands.....	62 million
Switzerland.....	47 million
Belgium.....	25 million
Sweden.....	2.2 million

To Britain's "aid" total should be added the key positions held by Lloyds Bank and the Standard and Chartered group in India's finances. Also, the U.S. dumped some \$4 billion of so-called "surplus" food to prop U.S. agricultural prices and ruin Indian agriculture. And some outright "grants" were made to gain political favor and to build certain projects—roads, ports, etc.—that the imperialists need to better exploit the nation. As of 1968 the U.S. "grants" totaled \$359 million; Soviet grants, \$14 million; German, \$7 million; British, \$4 million; and Japanese, \$1 million. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have spent over \$100 million in India to subvert the national culture and pave the way for U.S. imperialist penetration.

\* All figures up to and including 1966.

Loans remain the main form of "aid," and though they carry usurious interest rates, the main purpose of the loans is to achieve penetration and control of India's economy.

**U.S.A.:** Over \$1 billion of direct private investments including manufacturing plants of such companies as General Electric, Union Carbide, Lubrizol, Studebaker, Standard Oil of Indiana, etc.; oil refineries owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard of California, Texaco, and Phillips, U.S. oil companies control most of the petroleum market; Air India, a "government-owned" company is actually controlled by the U.S. Import-Export bank to which it is heavily in debt, its fleet is made up entirely of U.S. Boeing airplanes. Through the same bank the U.S. imperialists actually control other Indian firms under local management, such as Hindustan Aluminum (Kaiser Aluminum), Hindustan Motors (GM), Andhra Valley Power, National Rayon, Varnarsi Diesel Locomotive, Orient Paper Mills and many others.

**U.S.S.R.:** Soviets control 70 percent of India's

**Japan:** Japanese private investment exceeded \$200 million, including Mitsui OSK shipping and Nissan trucks. Japanese banks counted such "national" industries as Delhi Cloth Mills, etc. Japan is the largest consumer of India's important iron mining industry.

**Italy:** Over \$15 million direct private investment including Fiat and Olivetti. Madras Aluminum of the Chettiar group is controlled by Italian banks.

**France:** 92 agreements on financial and industrial investment including Hindustan Photo Films and French Motor Company.

**Netherlands:** Shell has a two million ton refinery and controls the majority of the gasoline market not under U.S. control; National Organic Chemical is controlled by Shell.

**Switzerland:** Over \$18 million direct private investment in India by Swiss firms.

**Belgium:** Belgian bankers have some commercial loans in India.

**Sweden:** There are 12 Swedish enterprises in India employing 12,000 workers.



**Canadian workers, lead by the Canadian Party of Labour, fight back!**

electric production, 80 per cent of oil extraction, 34 per cent of oil refining, 25 per cent of steel production, the majority of India's trade in such raw materials as wool, leather, rawhides, jute, coffee, vegetable oil, over one-third of India's trade in tobacco and spices. The U.S.S.R. is also building India's major antibiotic factory.

**West Germany:** German direct private investment is over \$100 million in over 107 companies including Hindustan Organic Chemicals, Farbwerke Hoescht, Tata Locomotives (Damier-Bent), M.A.N. trucks.

**Britain:** direct private investment exceeded two billion dollars, over half of it in manufacturing. British capital controls Oil India, Indian Telephone, Pirites Sulphur Factor, three huge automobile plants, and one motorcycle plant.

Thus, if the British position in Indian banking is considered, the relative amount of "aid" given India by each imperialist power is rather accurately reflected in the relative portion of India's economy under each imperialist power's control.

### **Petroleum Imperialism**

While banking and finance are the foundation of modern imperialism, oil is its leading factor. When the imperialist groups struggle to redivide the world, the struggle is sharpest when it comes to oil, as the Biafran war and the so-called Mid-east Crisis attest. Thus when in the early sixties the Soviet revisionists attempted to subdue China, a chief weapon was to cut-off all oil deliveries there.

The reason for the critical importance of petroleum imperialism in understanding modern imperial-



ism derives from two facts. One is the crucial importance of oil in modern industry: virtually all modern transportation, road, rail, ship and air is *totally* dependent on oil. The entire transportation system of any modern country would entirely collapse without oil. The chemical and plastics industries are totally dependent on petroleum products. Furthermore, much of the power industry (almost 30 per cent in the U.S.) is dependent on oil and gas. And virtually all sections of modern industry use petroleum products to some degree. (For example, machining would be impossible without petroleum products as coolants and cleaners.)

The second fact is that almost none of the imperial nations possess sufficient oil within their national borders to power their industry. The *sole* exception to this rule is the Soviet Union, which produces a surplus of oil which it uses to control other countries. The U.S. produces most, but not all, the oil it consumes; something like 10 per cent of the oil consumed in the U.S. comes from abroad. The situation is more critical when we consider the other imperialist nations. Japan imports more than 99 per cent of the oil she consumes; West Germany, the Netherlands and France import more than 95 per cent of the oil they need; and Italy and Britain, like Japan, import over 99 per cent of their oil. Since modern industry is so totally dependent on oil and since most imperialist powers have insufficient internal sources of oil, it is not surprising that independent imperialist power, must wage a life and death struggle to seize sources of oil abroad.

While about 85 per cent of the capitalist world's production of oil is consumed in Europe, Japan and North America, about 85 per cent of the world's supply of oil is located in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This contradiction between supply and demand is the principle contradiction in petroleum imperialism.

### History of Oil Imperialism

John D. Rockefeller was the first financier to realize the importance of oil, and because of this foresight he amassed his fortune. By the 1880s Rockefeller's Standard Oil monopolized all the world's supply and markets of oil. Rockefeller's Pennsylvania fields were first challenged in the 1890s by the new Russian fields controlled by West European bankers. In 1902 these European bankers set up a new oil monopoly—Royal Dutch Shell, controlled 60-40 by British and Dutch interests—opposing Standard Oil. Standard Oil relied on its U.S. fields; Royal Dutch had fields in Russia, Indonesia and in 1912 even invaded California. The war between Standard and Royal Dutch spread into Mexico where the two giants struggled to snatch the juiciest fields.

With the development of motor transport before World War I oil became too precious to be left to the two giants alone and other interests entered the picture. In the U.S. the Morgan and Mellon groups launched an all-out attack on Rockefeller, breaking Standard up into several constituents; the most important of these, Standard of New Jersey, Standard of California, Standard of New York (Mobil), and Standard of Indiana, remained in Rockefeller's hands, but smaller constituent companies like Continental Oil were taken over by the Morgan group. The Mellon group formed Gulf, a new powerful oil monopoly which took over new Texas fields. Texas and Oklahoma fields also became the basis of Texaco formed by Morgan and other bankers hostile to Rockefeller. Elsewhere a new British rival to Royal Dutch, Anglo-Iranian, purloined new oil fields in Iran. German bankers took control of oil fields in Rumania.

In 1914 oil men were beginning to suspect that vast oil reserves lay in Arabia and Iraq, lands then held by the old Turkish Empire, at the time under growing German control. The Deutsche Bank muscled its way into the Turkish Petroleum Co. originally set up by Royal Dutch and Anglo-Iranian. To consolidate increasing control of these lands German imperialism advanced the project of the Berlin to Baghdad Railroad. A series of pro-German buffer states between Berlin and Baghdad were necessary, and in attempting to subdue the last of these, the French-controlled government of Serbia, World War I broke out. This unprecedented bloodbath was in no small way caused by oil (although there were obviously other factors).

After the German defeat in 1918 they were deprived of all their oil fields. Their Rumanian fields were taken over by Petrofina S.A., a Belgian company, and their German 25 per cent interest in Iraq oil was handed over to the French CFP. At this point Rockefeller demanded a cut. U.S. and British diplomacy clashed so violently that some oil men in 1922 forecast war between the U.S. and Britain. Eventually the British gave in and Iraq's petroleum was divided roughly in fourths: one-quarter to Royal Dutch, to Anglo-Iranian, to CFP and to Jersey Standard and Mobil.

Rockefeller's power in oil was rising again in the twenties and thirties. He successfully fended off an attempted Morgan-Chicago grab of his fourth largest company, Standard of Indiana, and later on even Texaco came under control of Rockefeller-controlled banks. Thus, five of the biggest six U.S. companies eventually came under control of the Rockefeller group. In 1928 Texaco and Standard of California grabbed new oil fields in the Persian Gulf state of Bahrein. But the biggest prize proved to be Saudi Arabia whose vast oil fields were seized by Texaco and the big three Rockefeller companies, Jersey Standard, California Standard and Mobil.

The Rockefeller offensive in the Middle East proved too much for the British and when Mobil started buying and marketing Soviet oil extracted from Shell's former fields, Royal Dutch called for negotiations. At his castle in Northern Scotland, the head of Royal Dutch Shell met with the heads of Anglo-Iranian and Jersey Standard. The three reached agreement on calling off the oil war and divided the oil sources and markets of the non-Soviet world. The *cartel* which was set up in Scotland in 1928 eventually included the three founders, Mobil, Standard of California, Texaco, CFP and Mellon's Gulf Oil. The latter entered the *cartel* when it divided the oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait with Anglo-Iranian in 1934.

The main challenge to the *cartel* in the thirties came from the Axis powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—who were determined to redivide the sources of oil by force. The Mexican nationalists provided a minor challenge when in 1938 they nationalized the dwindling fields of Standard and Shell. The *cartel* instituted a total boycott of Mexican oil and, despite the fact that some independent and Morgan-controlled U.S. companies bought the "nationalized" Mexican oil, the *cartel* by the early forties forced the Mexicans to their knees. A huge "compensation" was paid to Shell and Jersey Standard that guaranteed that virtually all the profits from the declining Mexican fields would go to the two monopolies.

The Axis challenge however was not made of paper. The Japanese attacked Indonesia and took over Shell's fields without "compensation," the Germans took over Rumanian production again and advanced toward the key Soviet fields. In 1942 German and Italian armies made a determined drive for the Middle East fields. The eventual defeat of the fascists saved the world's oil production for the *cartel*.

After World War II the victorious monopolies with no external rivals on the immediate horizon, began to struggle among themselves. Taking advantage of Anglo-Iranian's (now British Petroleum) difficulties in Iran in 1954, the other *cartel* partners forced a redivision of Iran's oil favorable to themselves. Taking advantage of Shell's troubles with the Sukarno regime in Indonesia, Texaco and Standard of California helped themselves to all of Indonesia's oil, formerly Shell property. The French, on their part, refused to share the discovery of new sources of oil in Algeria with their *cartel* partners but hogged it all for themselves. In Lybia the four Rockefeller companies grabbed two-thirds of the oil, leaving Shell and British Petroleum with less than one-quarter of the oil while the other "partners" got nothing, (the Morgan group's Continental Oil carved out 10 per cent for itself). By the time large sources of oil were discovered in Nigeria there was not much left of the partnership spirit, so British Petroleum and Shell staked out 86 per cent of that nation's oil for themselves, freezing out all the others except Mobil Oil which got 14 per cent.

CFP, which has been virtually excluded from all new oil finds since it snatched the Algerian fields for itself, is no longer a member of the oil *cartel* but became an opponent of the *cartel*. The remaining seven cos., Standard of New Jersey, Standard of California, Mobil, Gulf, Texaco, British Petroleum, Shell, although they jockey themselves about, and although they face a large number of new enemies, still dominate world oil production. Here is the situation in the major oil-producing nations under *cartel* control:

Country	1000 barrels/day* production	per cent cartel ownership	other control
USA	9177	42½	other USA cos.
Venezuela	3580	81½	Rockefeller cos.
Iran	3314	85½	CFP—6%
Saudi Arabia	2914	100	---
Kuwait	2518	100	---
Iraq	1529	71	CFP—24%
Canada	1200	56½	USA cos.—17%, French-Belgian cos.—2%
Indonesia	724	95	Japanese cos:
Abu Dhabi	600	74½	CFP—25½%
Nigeria	524	100	---
Qatar	355	88	CFR—12%
Oman	317	85	CFP—10%
Columbia	211	96½	na
Trinidad	162	100	---

\*1969 production figures

In addition to controlling all the major sources of oil except Algeria and the Soviet Union, the *cartel* controls most of the pipelines, fleets and refineries in the world. Even more important, the seven *cartel* companies control at least 50 per cent of the retail petroleum market in every capitalist country except France, Italy, the Soviet Union and its satellites and ten small African countries. Even in the homelands of West German and Japanese imperialism, the Anglo-American-Dutch oil *cartel* holds sway. Obviously this situation is intolerable for any imperialist power that aspires to be independent.

Since the full-blown restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in the mid-fifties, the Soviets have set great store on petroleum imperialism. They have increased oil production to better than 6½ million barrels a day, more than they need. When the Rumanian oil fields went dry Soviet oil flowed into Eastern Europe; soon its East European satellites were totally dependent on the U.S.S.R. for oil. The Soviet imperialists built pipelines and refineries in Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary to solidify their grip on the East European market. Then, in the late fifties the Soviets cut prices to enter the West European markets. They engaged the *cartel* in ordinary cutthroat capitalist competition.

USSR



"That's the trouble - if one group demands freedom they all want it!"

For example in 1959 they were selling oil to their East European *captive* market at 88.1 rubles a ton; in the West European *free* market the same oil was being sold by the wily Soviet capitalists for 55.1 rubles a ton. This price cutting was effective and by the early sixties the Soviets had wrested a sizeable chunk of the European wholesale market from the *cartel*. They control better than two-thirds of the wholesale market in Finland and Iceland; better than 10 per cent in Italy, Norway, Austria, Sweden and Yugoslavia; about 5 per cent in France, West Germany, Switzerland and Japan.

Not able to sell sufficient quantities of their own oil at cutthroat prices in order to capture the European market, the Soviet imperialists began in the mid-sixties to grab other nations' oil. They pounced on new oilfields in Iraq, Iran and especially India where they now control 80 per cent of the production. By paying Indian oil workers even worse than Soviet workers, they are able to sell more low-price oil and challenge the *cartel* even further. If the present Soviet drive into the Mid-East results in a redivision of that oil in their favor, the Soviets would use the low-price Mid-East oil to drive the *cartel* out of the European market altogether.

The French imperialists were in the best position to challenge the *cartel*. Their CFP was a member of the *cartel* with a sizeable chunk of the production in Iran, Iraq and the Persian Gulf states. In the mid-fifties they took advantage of the big oil finds in Algeria to leave the *cartel* and grab the Algerian oil fields for themselves. This move so chagrined the U.S. imperialists that John F. Kennedy, not previously noted for anti-colonial sentiments, became a fervent advocate of Algerian independence.

The Italian oil monopoly AGIP-ENI has had sur-

prising success against the entrenched *cartel*. It was the first major West European oil company to buy Soviet oil. Using Soviet oil it first captured the Italian market and then set up a network of gas stations that extend into Switzerland, Austria, West Germany and over 20 African countries. AGIP-ENI scored a major victory when large oil fields were discovered in Egypt. The Italians moved in at a time when the Egyptian government was at loggerheads with the Anglo-American bloc and so grabbed dominant position. AGIP-ENI is moving aggressively into Africa and now has concessions in seven African countries holding a \$600 million investment there. The company expects to increase its oil production five-fold in the near future, mostly from African sources.

Petrofina, the Belgian company, which always had an international marketing network, suffered when it lost its Rumanian oil fields. Now Petrofina has only some minor fields in North America and must purchase most of its oil from *cartel* and other sources.

The German and Japanese companies which lost all their sources after World War II have had difficulty establishing themselves. Most of their oil is bought from *cartel* or Soviet sources. The only major exception is the Japanese Maruzen Oil which obtained the major portion of the fields in the Persian Gulf *neutral zone*. In the late sixties Japanese oil companies moved vigorously into Indonesia at the expense of the two U.S. *cartel* members that dominated that nation's oil. Sumitomo has an agreement with the Indonesian state to build a \$30-million oil refinery in Sumatra financed entirely by the Japanese government and commercial banks. The project will be paid for by supplying Sumitomo with heavy oil over a five-year period. The trading com-

pany will make a profit both ways, according to a Sumitomo official: "The refinery contract will produce some profit on the sale of machinery and services, and then the import of the oil to Japan will also give us a commission." The Germans, making up for lost time, are trying to squeeze into those Persian Gulf states not already dominated by the *cartel*. They have a 7½ per cent interest in Dubai's offshore oil (50,000 barrels/day) and a majority interest in new fields in onshore Dubai and in Fujairab.

Here is the situation in major oil-producing capitalist nations *not* under *cartel* control:

Country	100 barrels/day production*	major owner	minor owners
USSR	6500	Soviet monopoly	—
Algeria	937	CFP, other French interests—65%	<i>cartel</i> —10%; USA cos.—8%
Persian Gulf neutral zone	454	Japan—48%	Getty Oil, other USA non- <i>cartel</i> cos.—40%
Mexico	405	Mexican "monopoly" marketed by USA cos.	Shell "compensations"
Argentina	339	Argentine "monopoly" operated by <i>cartel</i> Standard Oil, N.J. and Shell	key positions in operating by non- <i>cartel</i> cos. Standard of Indiana, Phillips, Tenneco, AGIP-ENI
Egypt	236	40% each: AGIPS-ENI and USA's Phillips and Standard of Indiana	Soviet control over remainder
Brazil	179	Brazilian monopoly	
West Germany	155	shared about 50/50 between German cos. and <i>cartel</i>	
India	150	USSR monopoly—80%	<i>cartel</i> controls remainder

\* 1969 production figures

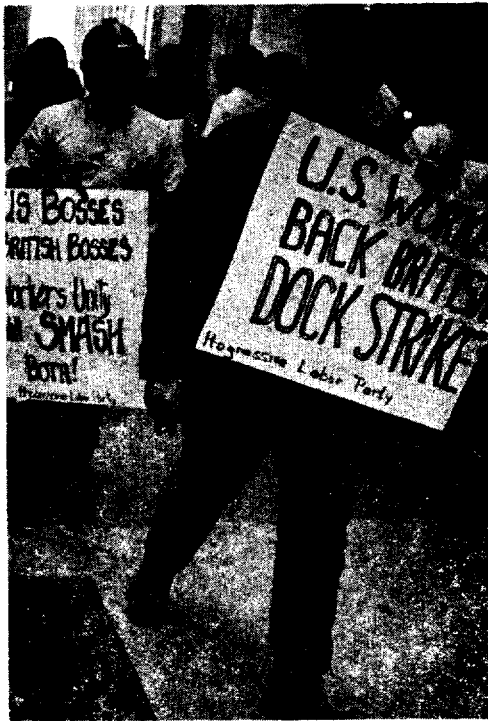
With this background the chronic *Mid-East crisis* can be understood as predominantly the product of fierce inter-imperialist rivalry. Eight of the 18 biggest producing nations (more than 300,000 barrels per day) are in the Mid-East, two more are in Arab North Africa. Even more important more than 60 per cent of the world's oil reserves lie in the Mid-East. For while the U.S. is the world's largest producer, producing three times as much as Saudi Arabia, Saudi Arabia has 140 billion barrels reserve

compared to only 40 billion in the U.S. Tiny Kuwait has 70 billion, Iran 55 billion, Iraq 27 billion, and the Persian Gulf States,\* 24 billion barrels reserve. At its present rate of consumption the U.S. will exhaust its reserves in 13 years; the Mid-East, at its present rate, won't exhaust its reserves for 80 years. Thus the importance of Mid-East oil will rise in the future and no one knows this better than the big oil magnates. Also important is the price. Due to the super-exploitation of the Arab oil workers, Mid-East oil is by far the cheapest, costing \$1.59 compared with \$3.10 for U.S. oil and \$2.27 for Venezuelan oil. It is, therefore, no surprise that the Mid-East is the most important bone of contention between the imperialists.

With the defeat of the Germans in World War II, the Anglo-American bloc (with the French as junior partners) had the Mid-East to themselves. To counter a growing revolutionary working-class movement that was sweeping the area after the war, the Anglo-American imperialists armed the Zionist colonizers in Palestine and encouraged them to commit aggression and the most heinous atrocities against the Arab population. This had several effects: in the first place, it shunted the Arab working-class movement away from a possible threat to the oil industry into support for the various puppet monarchs who were "resisting" Israeli aggression; second the aggressive nationalism of the Israelis led to a surge of Arab nationalism tending to isolate communists and internationalists who alone seriously threatened the *cartel*; third, the recurring wars gave the imperialists excuses to send arms and advisors to both sides, station troops and send U.N. "peace-keeping forces" to the area; these forces would be used first and foremost to protect the oil interests.

This strategy worked well enough until the late fifties when two factors intervened to hinder the imperialist master plan. The first was that the surge of Arab nationalism the imperialists counted on got slightly "out of hand" and extreme nationalists seized power in Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Yemen. These nationalists were so engrossed in the anti-Israeli struggle that they turned on the Anglo-Americans, who were playing both sides of the fence, and then began a process of realignment towards the new capitalist regime in the Soviet Union. For reasons we already noted, the Soviet imperialists were very anxious to grab Mid-East oil which they could use to drive the *cartel* out of Europe. The Soviets in a short time turned Egypt, and to a lesser extent Syria, into satellites. While this gained them little oil it gave them a wedge with which to turn the tables on the *cartel*.

\* The "Persian Gulf States, small British puppet sheikhdoms, include Qatar, Oman, Bahrein, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Fujairah, *neutral zone*, Dhofar, etc.



**U.S. support British dock workers**

An important Soviet aim in the Mid-East is to overthrow the *cartel*-controlled regimes in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Persian Gulf States and grab the oil for themselves. Their method is to fully arm their satellites and have them keep up the pressure on the racist Israeli regime putting the onus on the Anglo-American bloc. If they abandon their Israeli lackey to Soviet power, USSR influence is bound to sharply rise throughout the Mid-East and the *cartel* regimes would fall. On the other hand, if the Anglo-American bloc gives full military support to Israel there might be a fierce anti-American reaction in the area that would pose serious dangers to *cartel* oil property and could even lead to pro-Soviet nationalists seizing power in some of the states. Thus the Anglo-American bloc is in a trap of their own making—time, before the workers' seize ultimate power, may be on the side of the Soviet imperialists.

*France*  
But there is the complicating factor of France's role. Since the 1957 Suez fiasco, the French have abandoned the *cartel* and the Anglo-American policies in the Mid-East and have increasingly courted the extreme Arab nationalists. The nationalists on their part, except for a few like the late Nasser, who are completely sold to the Soviet Union, know the rapacious nature of Soviet imperialism and would prefer to deal with less formidable imperialists like France. The French ambition is to play the Soviets and the Anglo-American bloc against each other and grab as much as they can. Thus they move in and sell arms to Iraq, Lybia, Saudi Arabia and Algeria.

In Iraq the French offered a big arms deal for new oil concessions in 1968. The Soviets offered the same deal and the Iraqi nationalist regime played one off against the other, keeping both doors open. In the delicately balanced situation in the Mid-East the French can play a key role and indeed have achieved a certain influence in such key states as Algeria, Lybia, Iraq and Lebanon. (It is unlikely the French act for themselves alone, Italy has a growing interest in France's Mid-East allies and West Germany too stands to gain from French-Italian gains.) At the expense of the *cartel* and the Soviets they further weaken the Anglo-American position, but they also weaken the Soviet role as the only alternative to the *cartel*.

A third factor has arisen since the latest large scale Israeli aggression in 1967. The collapse of the Soviet proteges led some Arab revolutionaries to see through their duplicity, and there has been a rise in internationalism for the first time since 1948. The beginning of people's revolutionary armed struggle based on the working class in Palestine, South Yemen and in the Persian Gulf States shows that revolutionary communism can return to the Mid-East. Led by workers, the people of the Mid-East will yet seize the initiative from the bloody hands of the various imperialist powers, take back their land and its resources.

### **Nigeria and Biafra**

The Nigerian "civil war" was another recent war to redivide the world's supply of oil. The dominant nationalities in the Nigerian government were non-Ibo. Since the Nigerian government was set up in the first place by the British imperialists to protect their interests, this was not accidental. The puppets dutifully gave all of Nigeria's oil to Shell, British Petroleum and Mobil, one of their U.S. *cartel* partners. The French imperialists were out in the cold but repeating their earlier Katanga maneuver in the 1960-61 Congo crisis, they fanned the nationalistic sentiments of the Ibo people, encouraging them to secede from Nigeria and set up Biafra.

After the secession of Biafra, the French armed the Biafrans in return for a promise of securing Shell and BP's oil fields for CFP. Shell and BP naturally did not take kindly to this and they ordered the British government to pour in arms and money to the *central government*, to fan nationalistic feelings against the Ibos ordering a war of annihilation against Biafra, which the *central government* dutifully waged.

Then the Soviets stepped into the picture with arms, money and advisors to the *central government* soon outstripping even the British. Superficially, it would seem strange that the Soviets and the *cartel* should be allied in Nigeria, but it actually accorded with vital Soviet interests to defeat the

French-Biafran threat to the *cartel*. It will be recalled that the main Soviet thrust in oil at the present period is to grab the market in Western Europe from the *cartel*. Limited Soviet successes were due to the fact that French, German and Italian oil companies do not have sufficient oil sources to take all of the non-*cartel* portion of the market. If their companies could control such an important source of oil as Nigeria (and most of Nigeria's oil was located in Biafra) that oil would flow to Western Europe, challenging not only the *cartel* but the Soviet oil monopoly, probably ousting them altogether. Thus, while the threat from Biafra to the Soviets was indirect it was probably more serious than the threat to Shell and British Petroleum. Thus the necessities of petroleum imperialism found the



**OKAY, SO IT'S SAFE... THEN WHAT ARE THOSE BUZZARDS HANGING AROUND FOR?**

Soviets and the Anglo-American bloc as allies against the French (and behind the scenes probably the Germans and Italians) in the bloody Biafran business.

The recent government takeovers of *cartel* property in Peru and Bolivia were falsely depicted in the press and in the imaginations of various Latin-American petty-bourgeois nationalists as crushing blows to the international oil *cartel*. While we will

deal in detail with Peru below, the final disposition of Gulf Oil's Bolivian properties should put these theories to rest. Amid much nationalistic fanfare in October 1969, the Bolivian "leftist" military regime nationalized Gulf Oil's Bolivian properties. After six months of "negotiations" this is what was agreed: a Spanish "government-owned" company, most of whose properties are actually operated by Gulf Oil and whose profits and finances are likewise largely in their hands, took over the operation of Gulf's former Bolivian oil fields.

Camba, the "Spanish" subsidiary in Bolivia, operates the oil fields under terms far more favorable than Gulf ever had. Camba sells the oil at a port city to Gulf Oil at \$2.20 a barrel, less an undisclosed discount, making it the cheapest oil by far outside the Middle East. Gulf will, in addition to this bonanza, get a 6 per cent interest on the potential exorbitant profit it would have made off its old properties. All in all, Gulf will get its \$120 million investment back plus at least \$320 million in profit over the next 12 years; *that amounts to an annual profit rate of over 30 per cent*; this does not include the large profit the "Spanish" company will make. If Gulf Oil did not itself engineer the "nationalization" of its own properties, then it has had an incredible streak of good luck.

#### The Rape of Mineral Resources

While oil is the most important mineral used in modern industry, there are six other minerals no imperialist nation does without. These are: *coal*, important as a fuel and power source and necessary as the basic ingredient of steel; *iron ore*, the other basic ingredient in steel; *bauxite ore*, the source of aluminum, a key metal in aircraft, canning and other industries; *copper*, crucial in electric and related industries; *manganese* and *zinc*, two metals important in the manufacture of high-grade steel alloys. Industry in all the imperialist nations also needs such metals as lead, nickel, tin, gold, silver, uranium, titanium, vanadium, etc., but these are required in smaller quantities and usually only a few of the imperialist nations will take the ore; from these the others will purchase the refined metal.

The contradictions between the imperialist nations and the producing nations are not quite as sharp in regard to these other minerals, but they are important factors nevertheless. In the case of coal, the imperialist nations are virtually self-sufficient. Either they produce all the coal they need themselves or they can get it from neighboring countries, e.g., France gets some coal from West Germany, Belgium, Spain, etc.

Japan, however, is a significant exception. For Japan to reach its target steel production of 160 million tons by 1975, the Japanese steel barons will have to import some 95 million tons of coal. Japa-

nese steelmen are talking of investing \$500 million over the next five years to finance new mines in Canada, Australia, South Africa, the U.S., India, Poland and even Russia. A Japanese consortium announced plans in 1970 to lend \$25 million to Island Creek Coal Co., a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum, to set up a new Virginia mine that will send two million tons of coking coal to Japan annually until 1992. The U.S. has been Japan's largest coking-coal supplier for years; shipments last year bounded up from 15,800,000 to 25,000,000 net tons. But the Japanese monopolies don't intend to rely exclusively on U.S. coal. Outside the U.S., the Japanese have arranged to buy \$364 million of low-ash coal from South Africa. Under this ten-year contract, shipments are to start at 450,000 tons in 1972 and rise to an annual rate of three million tons by 1976. Australian coking-coal exports to Japan exceeded 15 million tons in 1970. The Japanese have \$61 million invested in Australian coal and have pledged \$90 million more. In western Canada the Japanese have contracted to pay \$2.57 billion for 204 million tons by 1985, and since 1968 the Japanese have imported over 3 million tons of coal from the Soviet Union.

#### Iron Ore Sources of Major Imperialist Powers

##### Imperialist Power

##### Source

Soviet Union	Soviet Union
USA	USA 2/3; Canada
France	France
Britain	Britain 1/2; Canada, Australia
Italy and West Germany	USSR; Canada; France; Liberia; Brazil; Venezuela; Mauritania
Japan	India; Chile; Peru; Malaya; Brazil; Canada; Australia

The situation the German, Japanese and Italian steel barons find themselves in, major dependence on other imperialist countries and their protectorates for sources of iron ore, is exactly the same situation that helped lead to World War II. In fact, German imperialism fought three general European wars in the last 100 years largely for possession of French sources of iron. Will they be forever content to trade for French iron within the European Economic Community, the so-called Common Market, or depend on U.S.-controlled Liberia and Venezuela? Will the powerful Japanese steel industry be content to deal with lackey regimes of U.S., Soviet and British imperialism for their vital supply of iron forever? History and the very nature of imperialism indicates that this situation cannot last.

As in the case of iron ore, certain of the imperialist countries are not themselves very dependent on the colonial countries for sources of *zinc ore*. The

USSR produces what it needs of this ore and the U.S. gets about 93 per cent of this important mineral from North American sources (51 per cent from domestic mines, 30 per cent from Canada and 9 per cent from Mexico). Italy likewise produces over 90 per cent of its necessary zinc; Britain imports almost all its zinc from Canada and Australia; West Germany and France get over one-half of their zinc ore from Canada or Eastern Europe and West Germany produces the remainder of its requirement locally. Japan produces one-third of its zinc requirement, gets a third from Peru and a third from Canada and Australia. Thus only Japan and France import zinc from the colonial countries to any significant degree, France getting about one-third of its zinc from Morocco and Peru.

The vital importance of Peru to the Japanese economy is becoming clear. Besides providing 12 per cent of Japan's iron ore consumption (close to 10 million tons, equal to the entire Italian consumption) and a third of Japanese zinc ore consumption (better than 300,000 tons more than either Britain or W. Germany's total consumption), Peru is the source of 7 per cent of Japan's copper ore and 8 per cent of her lead ore, thus it is not surprising that the Bank of Tokyo established one of its two Latin American branches in Peru. This has added significance in light of the fact that U.S. and British financial capital have always been weak in Peru. Two big French banks have the advantage there. Peru likewise has not been a major victim of U.S. "aid," getting less than any other Latin American country of comparable size.

Yet Peruvian mining is under the complete control of the U.S. Morgan group. Peru Copper Co., jointly-owned by American Smelting and Refining, Newmont Mining and Phelps-Dodge, all controlled by the two New York Morgan financial houses, control four-fifths of Peru's mining industry; Northern Peru Mining, owned by American Smelting and Refining, controls the rest. In 1966 the Morgan group had \$262 million invested in Peruvian mining which returned a profit of \$92 million, a better than 35 per cent return. (U.S. "aid" to Peru in 1966 was \$28 million; profits from mining alone made this up three times over.) In 1966 Standard Oil of New Jersey owned all the Peruvian oil fields, an investment of \$29 million returning a profit of \$30 million—an astounding 104 per cent rate of return!!! Most of the remaining investments were the Peruvian Telephone Co. owned by Rockefeller's ITT, and the plantations, paper mills and chemical plants of W.R. Grace Co., jointly controlled by both Morgan and Rockefeller groups, valued at \$90 million.

The situation on the eve of the Peruvian military coup was:

(1) the Morgan and Rockefeller groups controlled all the mining, petroleum, chemicals and most manufacturing industries;

(2) the major consumer of Peruvian minerals was



Japan, followed by France;

(3) the banking and financial structure of Peru was dominated by two French banks, with Bank of Tokyo in a secondary position;

(4) a clique of servants of the U.S. imperialists dominated the government;

(5) there was an upsurge of the students and workers movement directed against the scandalous profits of Standard Oil, and an upsurge of the peasants movement to seize the land of W.R. Grace and other latifundistas.

In this situation a military cabal ousted the pro-U.S. government and amid much fanfare announced the nationalization of Standard Oil's properties. A cold chill passed through Wall Street that day. But not only for the loss of the oil properties; for lucrative as they were they amounted to only 1 per cent of Standard Oil's total production. Also, Wall Street was not taken in by the military cabal's "revolutionary" rhetoric; the bankers feared they saw the hand of Japanese or French imperialism behind the coup. They understood full well the financial weakness of U.S. imperialism in Peru and that Japanese imperialism stood most to gain from the coup.

Whether Japanese or French imperialism was actually behind the coup, but were foiled from reaping the benefits, or whether the military acted merely to restore "order" and thus be of more value to their traditional U.S. bosses, or whether the military represented Morgan interests against the Rockefeller-controlled civilian government, we cannot say. At any rate, the new rulers of Peru soon settled down to their role of defenders of U.S. imperialism in Peru, and the Japanese are no closer to control of one of their major sources of iron, copper and zinc.

The military bought the unprofitable telephone company from ITT, but ITT will still supply the company through a new big ITT plant; ITT also began construction of one of its Sheraton Hotels in Lima. The military also bought (at inflated prices) some unprofitable plantations from W.R. Grace without touching the lucrative chemical and paper industry controlled by the company and valued at \$65 million.

The military regime has been at great pains to reassure U.S. investors that Peru's natural resources and labor power were still available at the usual bargain prices. In an unusual full-page advertisement in *The New York Times*, the Peruvian president declared.

There is no conflict between the goals of the Revolution and the fair requirements of investors. The revolutionary process seeks a change of structures which will establish a framework of social justice, wherein private activities should develop, not disappear or be limited.

The constant preoccupation of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces is to guarantee in

the country the necessary conditions for the normal development of economic activities. It has been reiterated in several opportunities that, within this framework the Government of Peru grants all the facilities that any investor, either foreign or national may need as a legitimate incentive to his work.

A new reality in Peru offers a very vast field of endeavor for entrepreneurs. They will always have the stimulus of a Government that understands the absolute importance of private activity for the integral development of the country.

The coup d'grace to whatever hopes the Japanese steel barons entertained about Peru must have disappeared when early in 1970 the government signed a new contract with Southern Peru Copper. The company got the new Cuajone mine in which it will invest \$355 million, thus doubling its investment in Peru and ensuring its continued dominance of Peruvian mining.

#### Sources of Copper for Major Imperialist Powers

Imperialist Power	Sources
USSR	USSR
USA	USA 3/4; Canada, Chile, Peru
Japan	USA; Canada; Phillipines; Peru; Chile; Zambia
Britain	Zambia; Chile; Canada
France	Congo(K); Chile; Zambia
West Germany	Chile; Congo(K); Peru; Zambia; Nicaragua
Italy	Congo(K); Zambia; U.S.

It can be seen from the above table only four countries, the Congo(K), Chile, Zambia, and Peru provide the bulk of copper for the European imperialist countries and an important chunk of copper for the U.S. and Japan. Zambian and Peruvian copper is entirely controlled by the U.S. Morgan group; Chilean copper by the U.S. Rockefeller group, and Congolese copper by the Belgian Union Miniere group. These three monopoly capitalist groups control almost all imperialist trade in copper.

Rio-Tinto Zinc, the British mining monopoly, which has not been involved in copper up to now, has been invited by the Soviets to exploit Siberian copper. A Soviet-Rio-Tinto Zinc joint adventure will build an unprecedented \$2 billion copper mining and smelting complex at Udokan in Eastern Siberia. The main British banks are providing the financial backing for the project, with behind-the-scenes support from the U.S.-Morgan group. Other British mining ventures in the USSR include a \$160 million Rio-Tinto-Zinc nickel plant and two iron-ore plants owned by British Steel.

France is the only imperialist nation to depend on the Congo for the bulk of its copper; explaining why

France alone of the big imperialists so vehemently opposed the attempted takeover of Katanga province and its copper mines by the U.S.-influenced *central government*, during the early sixties. After several years of war, the U.S. lackey government did take over Katanga province, but the Union Miniere retained the all-important mines.

*Morgan*  
The situation with regard to manganese mining contrasts with iron and zinc. Virtually all the major imperialists are dependent on Asia, Africa, and Latin America for manganese ore. The U.S. steel companies and other U.S. users of manganese get over half the ore from the Congo(K), Gabon and Ghana; most of the rest comes from places like India, Brazil and Morocco.

The Japanese are the biggest users of manganese; they produce about 20 per cent domestically; 20 per cent comes from India; Gabon, Australia and South Africa account for most of the rest. The French and Germans are the other big users and close to half of their consumption comes from Gabon and Congo (K). As in copper, the imperialists depend on a small handful of oppressed nations in Africa, Asia, and South America for their manganese.

*Alumina*  
Bauxite is the only ore from which aluminum is commercially produced. The U.S. aluminum monopolies' domestic subsidiaries alone consume close to half the world's production of bauxite, their subsidiaries abroad probably account for half the remainder. Over 56 per cent of the bauxite consumed in the U.S. comes from Jamaica; 17 per cent from the small Dutch colony of Surinam in South America; 7 per cent from the Dominican Republic; 13 per cent from domestic mines; the rest from Guyana and Haiti. Japanese users of bauxite depend on Indonesia and Malaya for 60 per cent of their supply; the British depend on Ghana for 60 per cent of their supply. German, French and Italian users get a large part of their supply from Italy and other South European nations; Surinam, Guyana and Sierra Leone provide the rest.

The vital importance of a few countries to the capitalist world's supply of bauxite as in copper and manganese is another key factor in imperialist politics. It thus becomes vitally important to the aluminum barons that they retain absolute political and financial control of such countries as Jamaica, Surinam and Guyana in the Carribean area, Sierra Leone and Ghana in West Africa, and Indonesia and Malaya in Southeast Asia; the latter two are particularly important to the Japanese. In these countries the imperialists can afford to take no chances on a people's revolutionary movement or even an independent-minded nationalist regime which might sell the bauxite to rival bidders. This fact was in no small way responsible for the vicious massacre of communists and their allies in Indonesia by the fascist military clique that overthrew the undependable Sukarno. This fact also helps to account for the

fascist military coup in Ghana, the long colonial war in Malaya and the huge expense the U.S. government paid to overthrow the Cheddi Jagan regime in Guyana. U.S. naval power ensures that the lackey regime in Jamaica remains in power and the Dutch retain full colonial power in Surinam.

The imperialists also enjoy absolute control of the finances of the seven main bauxite producers. Indonesia's finances are in the hands of Indonesia's main creditors, the U.S., Soviet and Japanese bankers. Over 90 per cent of Malaya's banking is in the hands of the Rockefeller standard, the Chartered Bank and the British Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. All of Sierra Leone's banking is in the hands of Barclay's and Chase Manhattan. These two also account for two-thirds of Ghana's and Guyana's banking. Jamaica's banking is in the hands of Barclays, Lloyds and two Canadian banks associated with the Rockefeller and Morgan groups. All of Surinam's banking is handled by Algemene Bank Nederland, the major Dutch bank.

While the Rockefeller group has the biggest world empire in oil, the Morgan group predominates in international mining. The Morgan group controls or is first in influence in such companies as Newmont Mining, Phelps-Dodge, St. Joseph Lead, International Michel, American Smelting and Refining and American Metals Climax. These companies and their subsidiaries control:

- (1) almost all of the mining in *Peru*;
- (2) better than 95 per cent of *South African* copper production;
- (3) all *Canadian* nickel production;
- (4) about one-half of *Zambia's* copper production;
- (5) about 61 per cent of *U.S.* copper production, 45 per cent of *U.S.* zinc production, 90 per cent of *U.S.* lead production;
- (6) huge copper mining operations in *Canada, Philippines, Australia, Mexico* and other countries;
- (7) gold and silver mining in *U.S., Canada, Mexico, Australia, Nicaragua* and other countries.
- (8) domination of *U.S.* or *world* production of such metals as molybdenum, tungsten, uranium and vanadium;
- (9) all the diamond mines in *Ghana* and *Sierra Leone*;
- (10) all the nickel rights in *Indonesia* and *Guatemala*;
- (11) smelting and refining plants in *Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Venezuela, El Salvador, Greece, India, Italy, Mexico, Panama, Philippines, Thailand, Britain, U.S., Canada* and other places.

In addition, the Morgan group is the most influential group in the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. This company controls mining in South Africa and several other African nations. It controls

23 per cent of the world's gold production, 7 per cent of the world's copper production and 80 per cent of the world's diamond production. Besides, it is a big South African steel producer, controls 40 per cent of South Africa's sugar production, owns hotels, banks, breweries, lumber mills, cement, paint, fertilizer and other factories, manganese, coal, lumber and other enterprises in southern Africa.

The Rockefeller group's Kencott and Anaconda Copper control mining in Chile and most of the world's production not in Morgan's hands. The Mellon group's Alcoa and Alcan control about one-third of the world's bauxite production. The Cleveland group's Hanna Mining has important iron nickel mines worldwide. Kaiser Aluminum, controlled by the Bank of America group, has huge bauxite mines in Jamaica, Canada, Ghana, Australia and other countries.

The British bank, Barclay's, is influential in the Anglo-American Corporation. Other big British-controlled mining monopolies include Union Corporation, Penarroya S.A., Rio-Tinto-Zinc, London Tin, Broken Hill South and Consolidated Gold Fields. These have major mining operations in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Malaya, Thailand, Nigeria, Spain, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania, Iran, Rhodesia, U.S. and other countries.

Union Minere, a Belgian monopoly with heavy British and French investment, achieved notoriety in the early sixties as the cause of the Congolese (K) civil war when U.S. interests, apparently tried to grab its properties. The company owns 7700 square miles of copper land, 5400 square miles of tin land, forests, bauxite mines, railroad, coal mines, shipping companies and an airline. It produces some 300,000 tons of copper, 200,000 tons of zinc plus substantial amounts of rarer metals like cadmium, germanium and radium. In January 1967 its Congolese properties were "nationalized" by the Congolese government. The "nationalization" agreement calls for the payment of \$800 million in needed capital to the mother corporation which continues to provide the management and staff for the mining enterprises and staffs the "government" company which sells the production, presumably to Union Minere.

This "nationalization" agreement is typical of several that have occurred between the servile governments of such countries as Chile and Zambia and the big mining companies. Capital for mining has often been hard to raise from the big banks; it is cheaper to get the local government to put up the capital in some form of "nationalization" or *Chileanization*. The mining companies retain 49 per cent or even "sell" the whole thing to the flunky governments. But whether they have 51 per cent, 10 per cent or nothing of the stock, the mining companies keep control. The "compensation" payments

mean the companies control all the profits and finances, they provide the management for the mines, they control the sale and transport of the product. Says the President, C.D. Michaelson, of Kencott Copper after five years of *Chileanization*, in *Fortune*, October 1969,

In terms of the mine itself, progress has been heartening... Our new partnership with the government is proving cordial and harmonious, while industrial relations are significantly better. I am convinced that joint ventures are the most promising approach for an American enterprise abroad... in the long run, this is not only one way for American corporations to operate profitably abroad, but for many it may be the *only* way.

### The International Auto War

The most important sector of manufacturing for modern imperialism is motor vehicle production. International investment in auto is only exceeded by international investment in petroleum. Auto exports are the biggest factor in the foreign trade of the U.S., Britain, France, Italy and West Germany, almost the biggest factor in Japanese trade and a significant factor in Soviet trade. Of the biggest 25 non-U.S. corporations, nine are auto companies (Volkswagon, British Leyland, Damier-Benz, Fiat, Toyota, Renault, Mitsubishi and Nissan Motors), while the big three U.S. auto companies (G.M., Ford and Chrysler) dominate U.S. industry.

In petroleum imperialism the contradictions between the various imperialist powers are bound up with the key contradiction between the oil-producing oppressed nations and the oil-consuming imperialist nations. In auto the contradictions however are purely between rival imperialists. Only twelve nations possess a significant nationally-owned auto industry. Besides the seven main imperialist nations (U.S., USSR, Japan, Britain, France, Italy and West Germany) these are Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Czechoslovakia. The possession of a national auto industry is virtually a necessary condition for capitalist independence today. The rest of the capitalist world depends on these twelve nations for almost all of its motor vehicle needs.

All the major auto companies have plant capacity to fill their orders; what they need are markets. Their rivalry is focused on the seizure of foreign markets. Since over 90 per cent of the auto market is in the relatively industrialized nations, it is here that the war is most fierce. In the few nations without a national auto industry, but that provide a large market for autos and trucks, one or several imperialist powers generally have that market sewed up; thus the U.S. auto companies rule the roost in Canada and Mexico. Australia's market is shared between U.S., British and Japanese auto companies;

half of Swiss auto imports come from West Germany with the rest equally shared by Britain, France and Italy; Ireland's imports are mainly from Britain; and South Africa's market is shared by U.S. and British companies.

Actually, it is *inside the seven major imperialist powers themselves that the fiercest struggle is waged for auto supremacy.* The U.S., for example, imports over 1,000,000 cars a year even though it has a national auto industry capable of 10,000,000 cars yearly. Switzerland, without any national auto industry, imports only a fiftieth of the U.S. total market, and Thailand, without any domestic auto plants, imports less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the U.S. total. Where then should Toyota Motors, for example, concentrate its sales? In Thailand where the competition is less but the market is 10,000 cars per year or in the U.S. where the market is 10,000,000 cars per year? Naturally, Toyota will go for the big market, *even though this brings it in a head-on clash with the U.S. auto giants.*

After World War II the victorious U.S. auto monopolies had the "free" world market much to themselves. In return for their own extensive exports to Britain and France, the USA big three allowed the much-weaker British and French companies a very small share of the U.S. market. This cozy arrangement was first challenged by Volkswagen in the mid-fifties. First establishing a base in U.S. enclaves like Brazil, VW then crashed into the U.S. market, elbowing aside the traditional British and French imports. VW carved out a big slice of the U.S. market from the USA big three. There was little they could do about it without disturbing the larger slice of the German market they had. Just as they were learning to live with VW, the USA big three faced a new challenge in the late sixties from Japan. From 1968 to 1970 the share of the U.S. market taken by imports rose from 10.2 to 13.3 per cent; that is, while domestic auto production dropped from 8¼ to 7¾ million, imports rose from 900,000 to 1,200,000. The entire increase is accounted for by Japanese autos. Toyota alone sold 200,000 cars in 1970 compared with only 6000 in 1965, while the big three lost 500,000 in sales from 1968 and even VW faced its first decline in U.S. sales since 1949. The big three have to live with VW because their affiliates in West Germany sold twice as many cars to Germans as VW sold to Americans, but there is no such "reciprocity" with Japan. The big three don't have to live with Toyota and Datsun and don't want to. In the seventies they will do everything to expel the Japanese from the U.S. market or muscle into the Japanese market, or both. GM's *Vega* and Ford's *Pinto* introduced in 1970-71 was aimed at Toyota and not VW, however Toyota is not worried. The Toyota U.S. sales manager declared that Detroit is going to hurt themselves more than anyone else.

"All the *Pinto* and the *Vega* will do is to focus the attention of the American public on the small car field," in which Toyota expects to dominate.

In 1970 General Motors had 47 per cent of the U.S. auto market, Ford 25 per cent, Chrysler 16 per cent, Volkswagon 5 per cent, American Motors 3 per cent, Toyota and Datsun 2½ per cent, British manufacturers 1 per cent, French and Italian manufacturers one-half per cent. Only 25,000 light Volkswagon trucks are imported, the big three have the rest of the U.S. truck market to themselves. Light motorcycles used in the U.S. are "made in Japan," heavy motorcycles are either British or made by independent U.S. companies.



Until the end of the fifties, Japanese auto companies were small, backwards and unable to capture their home market, forgetting competition abroad. This all changed after 1960. In the decade of the 60's \$4.7 billion was poured by the big Japanese banks into the building of new auto factories and equipment, thus giving Japan the most modern and highly productive auto plants in the world. By 1970 Japanese production of cars, trucks and busses was 5.6 million, second only to U.S. production, up 500 per cent since 1962. The Japanese market for autos is now up to 3½ million and completely dominated by the Japanese auto monopolies. Less than one-half of 1 per cent of the auto market in Japan is held by imports. Moreover Japanese law forbids any signifi-

cant foreign investment in auto. The big three have no hope of selling American-made cars in Japan, so they are demanding the "right" to buy into the Japanese auto industry. The Japanese ruling circles however have set up conditions that make it impossible for the Americans to buy a controlling position in any going Japanese auto plant. Nevertheless Chrysler was so eager to get into the Japanese market that it accepted a 35 per cent share (with Mitsubishi) in a venture that will assemble Chryslers in Japan. In return Chrysler distributes Mitsubishi *Colts* in the U.S. Ford and G.M. have a policy of 100 per cent ownership of their assembly plants and they are trying other ways to get their foot in the door, so far without success. Toyota has 40 per cent of the Japanese market; Nissan Motors, *Datsun*, 25 per cent; other Japanese companies 34½ per cent; all foreign imports, mainly VWs, account for one-half per cent of the market. Japan exports more than 1,500,000 motor vehicles but imports less than 15,000 and allows no foreign controlled auto plants in the country. No other imperialist country has such a closed-door policy. This contradiction between Japanese auto and the rest of the auto monopolies, especially the USA's big three is acute, antagonistic and can only worsen with time.

A look at the German auto market producing about 2,000,000 cars per year demonstrates why the big three are willing to compete with VW in ordinary ways whereas their Japanese antagonists require extraordinary measures. Volkswagon has about 35 per cent of the German market; Opel (which is owned by GM) has about 30 per cent, Danier-Benz about 15 per cent; Fordwerke A.G. (owned by Ford) has 12½ per cent; French and Italian imports account for about 7½ per cent. Thus the big three control over 40 per cent of the German market; not a bad deal considering the five per cent of the U.S. market they allow VW.

The big three are well taken care of in Britain as well. British auto companies, principally British Leyland Motors and BMC, have about 60 per cent of the auto market; but 90 per cent of the rest is controlled by the big three's British subsidiaries. English Ford sells over half a million cars in Britain while another half a million are sold by Vauxhall, owned by GM, and Rootes Motors, owned by Chrysler.

The national auto industries in Italy and France have been more successful than Britain or Germany in keeping the big three and other foreigners out, but less successful than Japan. In France, Chrysler-owned *Simca* is the fourth largest manufacturer and has about 10 per cent of the market, while imported VW and Fiats take almost another 10 per cent. However, better than 80 per cent of the French market is in French hands. In Italy almost 10 per cent of the market is represented by imports, main-

ly VW's; the rest is in the hands of Italian auto companies, mainly Fiat. France alone of the major imperialist nations depends mainly on imports to fulfill its trucking needs, importing nearly a quarter million German trucks.

The Soviet national motor vehicle industry was carefully built under Stalin's leadership to satisfy the needs of Soviet industry and transport. But with the total restoration of capitalism following Stalin's death, an inordinate demand for private cars on the part of the unleashed bourgeoisie arose. Soviet industry was unable to fill this demand and the Soviet capitalists invited the foreign auto monopolies to build auto plants in the USSR. Fiat got the first contract for a huge plant producing upwards of a half million cars per year; Renault followed with the contract to redesign the Moskvich factory. In 1970 Ford held top level negotiations for further investment in Soviet auto. It appears that at least two-thirds of the Soviet auto market is now controlled by Fiat and Renault.

#### Rivalry in Computing Machines

With the victory of the U.S. monopolies in World War II a familiar story was replayed in the important field of business machines. IBM which controls 80 per cent of the U.S. market invaded Europe and soon gained a dominant position there. The once powerful Olivetti in Italy and Siemens in Germany were outflanked in their own countries. Olivetti couldn't keep up with IBM and temporarily gave up competing in the increasingly complicated computer industry. And the once powerful Siemens had to settle for only 20 per cent of the German market while IBM took 57 per cent with the other U.S. companies splitting the rest of the German market.

As computers became more and more important to European industry the European ruling circles found the situation intolerable where they had to depend on IBM for their computer needs. IBM as of 1968 has 57 per cent of the German market, 69 per cent of the Italian market and 52 per cent of the market in Belgium and the Netherlands. The ruling financiers poured heavy investments into hand-picked computing firms in order to undermine IBM's position. In Britain International Computers Ltd. (ICL) helped by the government and controlled by four big British electric monopolies (GEC, Plessey, Vickers and Ferranti) managed to wrest 43 per cent of the nation's market from IBM by 1968.

In the late sixties, other European ruling circles followed the British lead. In France, the three main electric monopolies (Generale d'Electric, Schneider and Thomson-Brandt) with lavish government financing, banded together to form *Compagnie Internationale pour l'Information* (CIPI) which expects to get back at least 15 per cent of the French market by 1972. In the Netherlands, *Phillips Gloeilampen-*

*fabriken* received the necessary capital to challenge IBM in modern computers, and German finance capital helped Siemens in its uphill fight against IBM. By 1970 all four firms were competing with IBM for markets around the world, Siemens even entered the U.S. market, IBM's backyard.

But in the highly technical computer field IBM has a huge lead. In order to challenge IBM in the heart of its monopoly, giant computers, it was necessary for the Europeans to band together. In 1969 Phillips, ICI, Siemens, CIPI and Olivetti entered into an agreement to build a giant computer. This machine should be competitive with IBM's best and may well lead to the end of IBM's European monopoly.

The Soviet computer industry fell into disarray after full capitalist restoration. The Soviets, estimated to be 10 years behind IBM, turned to Britain's ICL to help them bridge the gap. ICL set up permanent Soviet offices in 1970 and is collaborating with the Soviets to build a counterpart to IBM's giant computer. In the meantime the Soviets are buying ICL equipment and letting it be known they will deal with other firms as well, including IBM.

### The Imperialist Monopolies

There are some 176 industrial non-Soviet corporations with assets of *over one billion dollars* in the world. There are over 200 banking and other financial institutions with assets that large. There are probably 50 to 100 government and private transport and utility companies with those amounts of assets and there are the various Soviet and Soviet-controlled industrial state capitalist monopolies.

Yet our attention must focus on the 176 industrials. While it is a fact of modern imperialism that more wealth is concentrated in financial rather than industrial capital, financial wealth is fictitious; only industrial wealth is real. Stocks, bonds, money, commercial paper, notes, etc., have no real use to people; their only use is to gain control of industrial wealth. All real wealth is produced in industry. Utilities and transport companies exist to serve industry. Leaving aside the Soviet and satellite monopolies in this study, note that, they operate on the same principles as the 176. Let us examine some of the *big billion* and better monopolies.

Oil companies head the list. The only two corporations with over \$15 billion in assets (more than the total cash holding of the U.S. government) are Standard Oil of New Jersey and Royal Dutch-Shell. A total of 24 of the 176 are oil companies, it is evident why the oil monopolies are the leading factor in Imperialism.

Royal Dutch Shell, a typical example, operates in every corner of the globe. As a member of the *cartel*, it has its share of Mid-East oil. Also, it has producing oil wells in over 25 countries from Canada to Argentina, from Yugoslavia to Malaysia, even in the

U.S. Shell has 44 major oil refineries in 38 nations and Shell gasoline is sold in 100 nations; Shell is the number one selling gas in such places as the Netherlands, Turkey, Ethiopia, Australia, South Vietnam and Thailand among others; is runnerup in such important markets as Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Sweden and Japan; is the most globally oriented imperialist company.

Auto companies are second to the oil companies in importance. General Motors has \$24 billion in sales, \$10 billion more than any other corporation. Besides GM the other auto companies with more than \$1 billion in assets are (in order): Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagon, British Leyland Motor, Fiat, Toyota, Danier-Benz (German), Renault, Nissan, Toyo Koqyo and Mitsubishi.

Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, the fourth largest auto producer in Japan has assets of \$3.5 billion and produces aircraft, ships and other machinery as well as autos. Actually, the company is part of the Zaibatsu conglomerate, a group of closely connected Japanese firms called the Mitsubishi group. The 46 companies of the Mitsubishi group have annual sales of \$16.5 billion, not including the \$9 billion Mitsubishi Bank, the \$4.5 billion trust company, the two insurance companies and finance company. They sell over 7,000 different products from industrial plants and 300,000 ton tankers to raisins, instant noodles and beer. The Mitsubishi tentacles reach into 30 countries with a staff of 3000 imperialist overseers. They're involved in oil and lumber in Indonesia, fishing in Taiwan, machinery service in Europe, auto sales in the U.S., elevators in Hong Kong. The Zaibatsu, like Mitsubishi (Sumitomo and Mitsui are two very similar groups), are among the most powerful of the imperialist combines.

The Zaibatsu are all heavily involved in the chemical, electric and electronic, iron and steel industries. Almost all of the 176 industrials not in oil, mining or auto are in these three fields.

But first we should say a word about those companies not in the 176. There are probably 500 to 1000 companies with less than a billion dollars in assets that operate on a large scale in foreign countries. These firms, while not as powerful as the 176, are every bit as imperial.

The USA's National Lead is a typical example. It has assets of \$700 million produced by its 30,000 workers around the world; offices, plants and mines in 20 countries. The company has 50 plants in the U.S. which account for 85 per cent of its business which produce chemicals, lead, paint, pipe, tools, bearings, batteries, ceramics, fasteners, gold and silver products, etc. In Canada the company has nine plants for lead products, dies, titanium products and oil-well drilling equipment. In Mexico it owns three antimony mines; in Britain there are five National Lead factories. The company owns two factories in

Argentina, West Germany, Brazil and France, at least one factory each in Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Australia, Nigeria, Philippines and Thailand—and this is the operation of a *medium-size* imperialist outfit.

### Interimperialist Contradictions Sharpen

European and Japanese, traditionally strong, chemical trusts are once again flexing their muscles. Once more in complete command of their home markets they are extending their fingers around the world, even into the U.S. and USSR home markets undermining their chemical industries. In the USSR, British and Japanese chemical monopolies are implanting whole chemical factories, exploiting Soviet workers and grabbing the Soviet market.

European and Japanese chemical firms are already well-entrenched in the U.S., making massive investments aimed at grabbing key portions of U.S. markets and firms. Leading the way is BASF, the \$3 billion German chemical monopoly. BASF is planning to invest \$500 million in the U.S. over the next six years (more than one-sixth of its total assets); the initial investment of \$100 million is for a mammoth chemical plant in South Carolina. The Germans plan to use cheap South Carolina labor to produce chemicals, dye-stuffs and plastics. Additionally BASF bought up the multi-million dollar Wyandotte Chemical Corp. from its Michigan owners.



**Sell-out Sukarno: Imperialists' friend**

Not far behind are its fellow Germans: *Farbwerke Hoechst* which already has a \$150 million dollar investment in the U.S., and *Farbenfabriken Bayer* which cornered the lucrative American headache

market. A fourth German monopoly *Jenaer Glaswerk Schott & Gen.* also recently opened a new American plant. The British Imperial Chemicals, which has some \$170 million investment in the U.S., plans another 50 million. The French Rhodia Inc., the main French chemical corporation, plans on doubling its U.S. sales to \$100 million by 1975. Big U.S. investments were also recently made by Mitsui Petro Chemicals (Japan), *Aquitaine Organico* (France) and AKZO (Netherlands); the latter attempted to gobble up the International Salt Co. but is being fought hard by U.S. bankers.

While European chemical monopolies are encroaching into the U.S. thrusting aside such giants as DuPont and Bristol-Myers, U.S. electrical and electronics monopolies find the going increasingly rough in Europe and are faced with a devastating invasion from Japan. General Electric early after the war marched into Europe; in France GE took control of Machines Bull, in Germany AEG and a company in Italy. Westinghouse waited too long, its attempts to follow in GE's footsteps in Europe have all been obstructed. After years of negotiations, Westinghouse seemed on the verge of acquiring *Jeumont-Schneider*, a major French electric monopoly, but the big French banks moved in and blocked the deal in late 1969. At the same time a Westinghouse bid for two Italian electric companies was matched by IRI, the Italian state capitalist combine. Meanwhile GE's fortunes in Europe are sinking; it lost its French affiliate and the growing European electric and electronics companies are overwhelming them.

While U.S. electric expansion into Europe was being checked, the Japanese launched an attack that virtually destroyed U.S. radio and TV manufacture. Japanese radios have so effectively cornered the U.S. market that in 1969 only 2 per cent of the radios and less than 50 per cent of the TV's sold here were U.S.-made. In early 1970 GE closed down the last U.S. radio manufacturing plant. U.S. electronics companies have had to flee to Taiwan to survive. The Chiang-kai-Shek clique chased off the mainland by the Chinese people in 1949, fled to Taiwan Province under U.S. military protection to survive in the shadow of its former history. Now twenty years later, Chiang is able to reciprocate the "favor," offering the imprisoned island as a last refuge for Zenith, Admiral and other U.S. radio and TV companies overwhelmed by their Japanese competitors.

In the steel industry the capitalist world more and more looks to Japan. In 1966 the U.S. produced 134 million tons of steel; Japan produced 52 million. In 1969 U.S. production was 126 million tons; Japanese production was 72 million tons. In the first two months of 1970 U.S. production was still stagnant at a 126 million ton rate, but Japanese production shot up to a 96 million ton rate. In 1968 U.S. steel barons forced a quota on Japanese steel producers for



sales in the U.S. in order not to be submerged by the burgeoning Japanese industry. This was a sign of extreme weakness; the U.S. companies were no longer able to compete "freely" with the Japanese. In 1970 the two biggest Japanese producers merged to form Nippon Steel already the biggest steel exporter; by the end of 1970 Nippon Steel will edge out U.S. Steel as the world's biggest producer. Nippon Steel and its cohorts are going all out to dominate markets traditionally serviced by U.S. steel companies. The latter are being driven from world competition forced behind a wall of quotas to their last stronghold, the home market.

In other fields as well U.S. monopolies are under increasing pressure:

- Japan's Fuji Photo Film is challenging Kodak which controls 70 per cent of the world's photo film market. From a base in Japan that Kodak was never able to penetrate, Fuji is moving out even to the USA. A million dollar ad campaign will tout a superior grade of color film to challenge Kodak's monopoly of the U.S. market.

- Britain's Dunlop and Italy's Pirelli merged recently to provide a major challenge to Goodyear and Firestone;

- Two British international hoteliers recently combined to provide an international competitor to Hilton. The new Trust Houses Ltd. had 1969 sales of \$336 million compared to \$407 million for Hilton, with a building program at least as ambitious as Hilton's.

- Continental Can since the war has been a power in Europe, controlling 75 per cent of the British industry. Its European affiliate, Europem Ballage, controls a third of the can market in West Germany, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands, but Continental Can has now run into trouble; it has become the first and only victim of the Common Market's "anti-monopoly commission."

- And in Italy the state monopoly, IRI, which stopped Westinghouse, prevented two Italian confectionary companies from being taken over by U.S. interests. W.R. Grace was prevented from grabbing Alemagna in 1970 while back in 1968 General Foods and Nabisco were stopped cold when they tried to take over Motta.

### Behind the Trade "War"

How is it that the U.S. electronic companies could be so thoroughly defeated in their home market without invoking state power to prevent the Japanese victory? This involves the question of U.S. trade policies and inter-imperialist trade as a whole. Trade is a two-way street and no independent imperialist power engages in trade policies that are harmful to the major monopolies that hold state power.

Foreign imports into the U.S. receive a lot of attention and the impression is fostered that U.S. workers are thrown out of work by a flood of cheap foreign goods. Workers are thrown on the streets by the U.S. bosses' heavy investments abroad, especially their runaway factories. The U.S. bosses have had a consistently favorable balance of trade since the war. For example, in a recent typical year, \$26 billion of goods were imported to the U.S., but \$31 billion were exported. Moreover, the imports include goods made abroad by U.S.-owned companies like Simca autos, Mid-East oil, GM cars made in Canada, Admiral TV sets made in Taiwan, copper from Chile, etc.

If this fact is taken into account it is clear that the U.S. imperialist companies sell four to five times as much to their rivals as they buy. This explains why the U.S. imperialists are fervent advocates of "free" trade, lowering of tariff barriers, etc.; why they will take losses in such industries as electronics and textiles. Even ignoring U.S.-owned subsidiaries, the U.S. sells more to Britain, France, Italy and the Netherlands than it buys. The balance of trade with West Germany and Japan is only slightly unfavorable. In the German case, if U.S. subsidiaries in West Germany are counted, the U.S. imperialists probably are even. Only with Japan does the U.S. buy more (\$3 billion) than it sells (\$2.7 billion).

Thus, U.S. trade policy is directed toward somehow restricting Japanese imports while promoting the "freest" possible trade elsewhere. This is probably not possible, however.

The U.S. textile manufacturers, for the most part small and medium factories, have complained the loudest, while the electronics manufacturers, that do a big export business in components and have big investments abroad, are opposed to any restrictions on Japanese goods that might lead to the Japanese and other nation's restricting U.S. goods.

The auto makers despite the invasions of VW and Toyota will defend "free" trade since they still sell more U.S. motor vehicles abroad (mainly to Canada and Latin America) than are imported. U.S. exports are concentrated in the powerful business and industrial machinery, aircraft, auto and chemicals industries. These monopolists will reluctantly allow the small textile mills to go bankrupt before allowing the state to do anything to upset their lucrative "free" trade.

The USSR also enjoys a favorable trade balance although their trade is mainly with their satellites and dependencies. Their main inter-imperialist partners are Japan and Britain, but Soviet-Japanese trade has been only one-tenth of U.S.-Japanese trade. However, trade with Japan has been skyrocketing lately. In 1970 the Japanese imperialists got ex-

clusive rights to a new port city in Siberia which will be used for shipping Siberian raw materials to Japan. Already Japanese investment is flowing into Siberian timber, coal and natural gas resources. The Soviets enjoy a similarly favorable balance with Britain. Trade with Italy and West Germany is increased most rapidly, however, gaining 25 per cent in 1969 to the \$550 million level. The Soviets mainly import clothing, footwear, furniture, etc., and export both industrial plants and raw materials.

products, electronics and motor vehicles. Some 30 per cent of Japanese trade is with the U.S.; the rest is mainly with Asia, Africa, Australia and Canada. It is in these preserves that the Japanese make their biggest push. In one recent year in the Mid-East they sold some \$75 million in textiles; in Indonesia \$9 million in radios; in Australia some 50,000 cars; in Thailand some 20,000 trucks; in India \$50 million worth of chemicals.

Britain, which has traditionally depended on trade,



**French auto workers shut it down!**

Japanese trade is very nearly balanced but growing rapidly. Japanese exports rose 224 per cent from 1962-70, compared to 74 per cent for the U.S. But the Japanese import almost exclusively raw materials, fuels and metals, while they export finished and semi-finished goods. Textiles and clothing are the most important exports accounting for 20 per cent of the total; ships are second since the Japanese dominate the international ship building trade. The other important export industries are steel

has had a great deal of trouble maintaining a favorable balance of trade, with imports often as much as 20 per cent above exports during the sixties. Britain maintains a large unfavorable balance with every major imperialist power; they have a net loss of 25 per cent with the U.S., 35 per cent with West Germany and 40 per cent with the USSR. Only by dumping in dependencies like Australia, Norway and South Africa have the British traders been able to keep their net loss down to 20 per cent.

France, West Germany and Italy mainly trade with each other and their other Common Market powers. Within the bloc, the Germans export mainly industrial machinery, while the Italians and French export consumer goods. Outside the bloc they export their cars and trucks, basic chemicals and office machines. The U.S. is the biggest trading partner, and sells more to the bloc than it buys, which explains why in the past the U.S. never opposed the Common Market idea. Britain is the next biggest trader, but she buys more than she sells, which explains why Britain wants in and the others are reluctant.

### The Struggle of the Money-Dealers

An 8.5 per cent revaluation of the *mark* was announced on October 24, 1969 by the newly installed Brandt government in West Germany. This was the second revaluation of West German currency since 1961. The first increased the value of the *mark* by 4.75 per cent. Now, May 1971, the dollar is again being attacked and the Germans once more are considering increasing the value of the *mark*—among other West European currencies.

With the U.S. dollar as the kingpin since World War II, the capitalist world's monetary system all along has remained in an unstable position characterized by frequent devaluation of various capitalist countries' currencies. Main currencies such as the British *pound* and the French *franc* have been devalued several times. Yet the West German *mark* has been upvalued, and more than once at that, in the midst of outbreaks of financial crises in the capitalist world. What does all this mean?

The *mark* revaluation was the outcome of cutthroat rivalry between the Western countries. In less than two years, the capitalist world went through six stormy financial crises with the *pound*, the *franc* and the dollar all taking a pummeling. Because the United States, Britain and France are in mortal fear of a new storm of heavy dollar, *sterling* and *franc* selling, and a rush for the *mark* and gold in the monetary markets, they exerted constant pressure on West Germany to upvalue the *mark* and make what they called "contributions" to restoring the "equilibrium" in the capitalist world's monetary system.

But Bonn's ruling clique took an implacable stance. Instead of agreeing to a revaluation, it threw its economic weight about and turned the serious financial difficulties facing the United States, Britain and France to its advantage. It exacerbated what was already a worsening situation for these countries and encouraged a buying spree for the West German *mark* and gold on the international market, with a view to weakening the position of the *franc*, *pound* and dollar, raising the standing of the *mark* and winning a bigger political and economic say for West Germany in Western Europe. After the mone-

tary speculation crisis hit the Western countries in the spring of 1969, West Germany's gold and foreign exchange reserves suddenly increased by about \$4 billion within a couple of weeks. Countries in Western Europe accounted for half of this figure, with the United States and U.S. firms in Europe providing the rest. This gives some idea of how hard the United States, Britain and France have been rocked.

Why did West Germany decide to revalue the *mark* when it was making the most out of the currency war? Because after its big gains at the expense of others, West Germany realized that the wobbly Western financial and monetary system would become still more chaotic if it allowed *mark* speculation to continue unchecked, and the consequences could only harm West Germany's own finances and its economy as a whole. By upvaluing the *mark*, the Bonn regime availed itself of the opportunity to make a "compromise" gesture to the United States, Britain and France.

In effect, the West German economy had something to gain and something to lose by revaluation. From the viewpoint of strengthening the competitive power of West German goods on the world market and expanding exports, West Germany would profit by not revaluing the *mark*. But since the West German *mark* had been pegged at a rather low parity rate with other currencies and there had been excessive exports of commodities abroad, the home market suffered from shortages and high prices. For the time being, revaluation of the *mark* may go against the interests of the smaller exporters and agricultural capitalists, but the big German monopolies which rely mainly on imports of raw materials benefited from a fall in prices of imported raw materials and lower costs in the export of their manufactured articles. Moreover, revaluation helped the export of West German capital.

The *mark* revaluation of 1969 was the truce that settled two years of open monetary warfare. But the uneven development of the imperialist economies promises to bring forth shortly a new outbreak of the war against the dollar. This time we can expect to see the *yen* (Japan) and the *lira* (Italy), perhaps even the *ruble*, ranged with the *mark* against the dollar and the *pound*.

Preparing for that day the Common Market countries are pushing ahead with plans for a uniform currency by 1980. The new currency will combine the *mark*, *franc*, *lira* and the Belgian and Dutch units. This new Common Market currency will be the most powerful in the world; for the first time since World War I the "almighty dollar" will be a second rate currency.

### The Myth of The "Third World"

The principal contradiction in the world today is the contradiction between the imperialists and the

workers of the world. The secondary contradictions are between the major imperialist nations and groups. A third rate series of contradictions are the contradictions between various imperialist powers and various national capitalist groupings (national bourgeoisie, local capitalists, domestic producers). Despite the third-rate nature of these contradictions they have lately received an inordinate amount of attention in certain Left-wing circles in the U.S. and abroad.

Because a series of wrong and harmful views have been propagated about the nature, role and independence of the "national bourgeoisie" we briefly turn to this question, before returning to the more important struggle between the imperialists themselves. In fact we shall see that what is considered the independent role of the national bourgeoisie is usually only the reflection of the behind-the-scenes struggles of the major imperialists.

How powerful is a particular national bourgeoisie? Marxist materialists must answer that a capitalist class power derives from its control of the means of production, of basic industry. Even if it calls itself "revolutionary," or if its leaders make ten trips to China a year, if it produces no basic steel, it is a very weak class indeed; and from power and power alone comes independence. *Under capitalism the capitalist with the most capital is the most independent.* The Swedish capitalist class owns steel production plants with a capacity of five million tons per year; the Algerian ruling capitalists have no steel mills. Where does the power lie? You hear of Swedish diplomats mediating crises in the Middle East, are Algerian diplomats sent to mediate disputes between Sweden and Norway?

The so-called *third world* is under the system of capitalism and under that system industrial capital spells power and independence. National capitalist groups like the Swedish, Swiss, Austrians, etc., are clearly more powerful than the Algerian, Congolese (B) or Syrian. Yet, it appears on the surface that the latter play a more important and independent role in world affairs than the former. Is Marxism not applicable to the *third world* or are the *third world* bourgeoisies merely the frontmen for various contending imperialist groups? We saw in the Biafran war how the latter was the case, how the war between the Nigerians and the Biafrans was really a war by proxy between the U.S.-Soviet-British bloc and the Common Market bloc.

The idea of the *third world* originated in Moscow as a convenient cover for Soviet imperialist penetration into such countries as India which they claimed was one of a number of independent nations under a national bourgeoisie not tied to any imperialist power. The Chinese Communist Party led the attack on this preposterous theory. Marxists soon saw through the features of the Indian bourgeoisie

as the lackeys of various contending imperialist groups. Other expose's followed. (c.f. Fitch, *Ghana, the End of an Illusion*). But the international communist movement stopped short of denying there could be any real independent national capitalists in the *third world*, of denying that nationalism could be anything but reactionary. Thus new illusions grew—Algeria, Tanzania, Cambodia under Sihanouk, Indonesia under Sukarno, Syria, Iraq, Guinea, Congo (B).

In 1962 after 8 years of bitter struggle and a million lives lost, the Algerian bourgeoisie wrested control of their nation from the French or so it appeared. Yet the Algerian bourgeoisie was unable to declare economic independence from the French. The reason is that the national capitalists were all involved in trade, agriculture or production of consumer goods. They have no capital in heavy industry, production of producer's goods. This is the key to economic independence; without steel, auto, machine tools, basic chemicals, non-ferrous metals and power-generating-machinery industries a capitalist class cannot be independent, for the industries it does possess *depend* on the basic industries. To set up an adequate series of modern basic industries requires a tremendous accumulation of capital. There are only two ways this primitive accumulation can take place:

- (1) do as the imperialists did—plunder other nations for centuries to build up this accumulation, or
- (2) expropriate all property in the nation and rely on the workers' revolutionary will to build up the accumulation, as was done in Soviet Russia.

For a national capitalist class today both ways are clearly closed: it is impossible since the world is already divided up by the imperialists and that means the end of the existence of the national capitalist class. *Thus the national bourgeoisie can seize political power but never economic independence and always inevitably falls back into the lap of one or the other imperialist power.*

Take Algeria today. Who runs the industry?—not the Algerian workers or the Algerian capitalists—*Algeria* but the 10,000 French *technicians* and 4000 Soviet *advisors*. Who does the banking and keeps all the financial strings of the economy in its hands? not Algerians but *Credit Lyonnaise* and *Societe Generale*, the two big Paris banks. And the crucial oil industry, who runs the oil wells? not Algerian capitalists; oil is big money not to be left in the hands of wine merchants, ELF-ERAP and Eurafrep, two French holding companies control 45 per cent of production; CFP controls 25 per cent of production, Shell controls 10 per cent, most of the rest is in the hands of Mobil Oil, Getty Oil and Atlantic-Richfield. The French own Renault assembly plants, fish canneries, textile mills, brick making plants, data processing factories, the TV network and tourist settle-

ments; The Italians have a Fiat plant and the Russians are exploiting iron and mercury deposits. The so-called *revolutionary* Algerian government recently had to beg the U.S. Export-Import bank for a loan so it could buy two Boeing 727's.

Algeria's trade picture tells a lot. France completely dominates Algerian trade; over 59 per cent of Algeria's imports come from France; most of the rest comes from other imperialist powers. Oil accounts for 70 per cent of Algeria's exports and is entirely in imperialist hands, 80 per cent of the oil goes to France, the rest mainly to Switzerland, Britain and West Germany. Wine is the next biggest export, the French control half of the industry, the Soviets control the other half.

Algeria is host to exiles from no less than 23 movements of national liberation but the complete colonial dependence of Algeria is told in the above hard economic facts. Says a recent visitor, "A fleet of aging black Peugeots trundles visiting revolution-

ary delegations around town, but each month the brake linings grow thinner, the gears more spidery and the polish less evident. Meanwhile, shiny big Citroens go out to the airport to pick up foreign bankers and governmental delegations"—the real rulers of the country.

The Congo (B) has a government which outdoes even Algeria in revolutionary rhetoric. Yet, their colonial country is typical of a group of African countries (Zambia, Tanzania, Somalia, Guinea, Mauritania, Sudan) vigorous "*anti-imperialists*," staunch friends of China whose economy is under imperialist control. Actually a closer look at this *anti-imperialism* shows it to be genuinely anti-American but implicitly pro-French, pro-German, pro-Italian and often pro-Soviet. What is happening is that highly vocal militant nationalists are being used by the latter imperialists to oust the Anglo-American bloc from these countries and at the same time throw dust in the people's eyes, making them think they



have a government that is independent, revolutionary or even socialist.

The rhetoric notwithstanding, the government of Congo (B) is made up of a bunch of French stooges. The all-powerful French "ambassador" who has 14 Congolese servants at his command, runs the show; Chairman Ngouabi is the frontman, the behind-the-scenes bosses are the 500 French "advisors." A recent strike at the \$82 million French-owned potash mine where Congolese workers demanded equal wages with European workers was brutally suppressed by the "revolutionary" government. The governmental functions are financed by France which provides five million dollars a year to pay the anti-imperialist army which protects the French-owned mines.

There are four banks in the Congo—none of which is owned by Congolese. One is jointly held by *Societe Generale* of Paris and Bankers Trust of New York; one is held by *Banque Nationale de Paris*, one is owned by First National City Bank of New York and one is owned by *Deutsche Bank* of Berlin. As for trade: 55 per cent of the imports come from France, 13 per cent from West Germany, another 9 per cent from Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands. Exports, 70 per cent of which are either diamonds or lumber, go to Europe.

Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Lybia, Egypt are the Middle East *militants*. Note that these toady governments have never dared touch the *cartel's* oil monopoly. Syria's trade picture is typical—30 per cent of the imports come from the Common Market group, 22 per cent from Russia and its satellites, 13 per cent from Japan, U.S. and Britain. In other words, two-thirds of the trade is imperialist dominated.

Cambodia under Sihanouk was the Far East's typical *national capitalist* state, yet the French were the real rulers. The massive French plantations dominated the country; French trade was preponderant and the French controlled the rubber and rice exports that were Cambodia's lifeline.

In May 1970 a new "leftist" government took over in Ceylon: a coalition of the SRI Lanka Freedom Party, (a *militant national bourgeoisie party*), the Trotskyites and the pro-Moscow "Communist" Party. This coalition supposedly represents the national bourgeoisie and workers against the imperialists who dominate Ceylon's economy. Despite lavish election promises to nationalize this or that the government's only major action by the end of 1970 (besides some meaningless diplomatic recognitions) was to raise the price of rice 50 per cent, causing untold hardships to the workingclass. The "Leftist" government showed its mettle however as defenders of the ruling imperialists, when it violently suppressed a series of strikes on the British tea plantations, which dominate the island. In the spring of 1971 the *revolutionary* nationalists began

open warfare against landless peasants in the interior—aided with military equipment, financial "aid" and "advisors" from the USA, USSR, India and Pakistan (another so-called *militant nationalist bourgeois* nation), among others.

We feel the capitalist world is divided into major imperialist nations, independent capitalist nations, dependent capitalist nations and colonial areas. Naturally, there can't be hard and fast categories, there are *degrees of independence*, but basically there are three conditions for independence.

(1) An independent capitalist class must control the banking and financial structure within its own country. Sweden, Spain, even Portugal, have a national banking structure. Algeria, Congo (B) and Zambia have no such structure. Canada, which on the surface might seem even more powerful than say Portugal, has three of its four big banks as vassals of the U.S. Rockefeller and Morgan groups. Some of the dependent or colonial countries do have a national banking structure, e.g., Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Tanzania and India, but the other two conditions display their dependence;

(2) An independent capitalist class must control its basic industries, the industries that produce producers' goods. In countries like Cambodia, Congo (B) and Tanzania, where such industries don't even exist, the question of an independent capitalist class can't even arise. In countries like Iraq and India where the few such basic industries that do exist are foreign-controlled, there also can be no question of an independent national bourgeoisie. In Canada 70 per cent of the industry is U.S. or British owned, including all the auto, chemicals and machinery industries. Only in East Europe and Scandinavia do we find the least dependent national bourgeoisie of the dependent category controlling local finance and some local basic industry. Only the following condition places them in a dependent category;

(3) An independent capitalist nation has an independent trade policy and conducts a many-sided foreign trade. We saw how Algeria, Congo (B), Cambodia and Syria had their trade completely dominated by one or two imperialist nations. This is of course true of Canada whose trade is dominated by the U.S. The same imperialists that control the financial structure and what basic industry exists also control foreign trade. But even where the national capitalist class is stronger and controls finance and basic industry, if the trade is dominated by one or two imperialist powers, then we cannot rate the national bourgeoisie as fully independent. Thus Norway and Denmark have their trade largely under British control while, Czechoslovakia and the West of Eastern Europe, excluding Albania, are Soviet satellites because the latter dominate their trade so completely as to even dictate how much particular industries will produce.

## DIVISION OF THE WORLD

Nation or region	Population in millions (1968)	Steel production in thousand tons per year (1968)	
<i>Major Imperialist Nations</i>			
USA	201	119,260	
USSR	238	196,538	
Japan	101	66,893	
West Germany	60	41,159	
Britain	55	26,277	
France	50	20,410	
Italy	53	16,964	
<i>Minor Imperialist Powers, Independent Capitalist Nations</i>			
			<b>Major imperialist influence</b>
Belgium-Luxembourg	10	16,407	---
Sweden	8	5,061	---
Spain	33	4,940	USA
Rumania	20	4,751	USSR
Netherlands	13	3,707	---
Austria	7	3,467	---
Switzerland	6	453	---
Portugal	9	313	USA
<i>Dependent Capitalist Nations</i>			
			<b>Imperialist control</b>
Poland	32	11,007	USSR
Czechoslovakia	14	10,555	USSR
Canada	21	10,207	USA
Australia	12	6,505	USA-British
East Germany	17	4,695	USSR
Hungary	10	2,903	USSR
Norway	4	824	USA-British
Finland	5	695	USSR-Swedish
Denmark	5	457	British-German
Ireland	3	67	British
New Zealand	3	—	British
<i>Colonial Areas of the World</i>			
Balkans	71	5,375	<p>Soviet control of Bulgaria, U.S.-British-German control in Greece, Soviet-U.S.-German-Italian contention in Yugoslavia and Turkey.</p> <p>U.S. dominance being overcome by rapidly growing Japanese influence; remnants of British and French control in Hong Kong and Pacific Islands.</p> <p>U.S.-Soviet-Japanese contention; small remnants of British and French influence in Malaya and Indo-China.</p> <p>U.S.-Soviet contention; British influence is secondary.</p> <p>Severe contention between Anglo-American bloc, Soviet bloc and the Franco-Italian bloc (probably backed by West Germany).</p> <p>65 per cent under Anglo-American control; 25 per cent under French control; 10 per cent under Belgian control; 5 per cent under Portuguese control.</p> <p>U.S. control complete in most areas; remnants of British, French and Italian influence in some areas.</p> <p>U.S. control; remnant British influence in Central America and West Indies.</p>
Far East-Pacific area	87	600	
Southeast Asia	212	—	
India-Pakistan area	671	6,550	
Middle East and North Africa	147	100	
Sub-Saharan Africa	256	4,000	
South America	180	7,550	
Mexico-Caribbean area	85	3,300	



Steel production is used as an indication of industrial strength. It reflects relative strength of capitalist nations accurately (except for Switzerland whose financial power places it a few notches higher on the list of capitalist powers).

Rival imperialists will invest and scramble for markets in one another's home countries but there can be no question of getting control of a major imperialist nation. Japanese imperialism, defeated in war and occupied for seven years by U.S. imperialism, kept intact control of its economy. Even under U.S. military occupation U.S. businesses were unable to get a foothold in the Japanese economy. German capital maintained its independence under U.S. occupation as did French capital under earlier German occupation. Even the smaller powers like Spain and Belgium maintain the bulk of their industry in national capitalists' hands. Short of a major imperialist war, the dependent capitalist nations likewise provide no big arena for contention. The U.S. imperialists no more can oust Soviets from Czechoslovakia than the Soviets can oust the U.S. from Canada, without full scale war.

It is in the colonial areas of the world that strife between the imperialists is transmitted into actual attempts to seize power. Today, only in the colonial areas does economic competition lead to political and military struggle. The U.S. imperialists (with their British junior partners) became dominant after World War II. They have achieved at least partial dominance in all eight colonial regions. In three regions, the Anglo-American bloc is under severe

Soviet pressure (Southeast Asia, India-Pakistan, the Middle East); in two regions they are faced with heavy Japanese rivalry (Southeast Asia, Far East-Pacific area); in two regions they are up against strong French-German-Italian opposition (Middle East, Africa). In these areas the imperialist conflict is critical, especially in the two regions (Middle East, Southeast Asia) where three or more imperialist powers contend is the economic struggle completely overshadowed by an increasingly bitter struggle for political and military power.

But the Mid-East is the key area economically and strategically. To Nixon the Mid-East is today's Balkans. A most accurate analysis: World War I broke out over the issue of control of the Balkans—then the lifeline to the Mid-East; World War II likewise broke out over the issue of control of the routes to the Mid-East (North Africa, East Europe and the Balkans). Today air travel has made control of access routes to the Mid-East unnecessary; it is the issue of control of the lands of the Mid-East themselves that is leading to World War III.

That is why Nixon says the Mid-East is the Balkans of today;

why he formulates his Vietnam policy with an eye on how it affects U.S. "credibility" in the Mid-East;

why the Fulbright gang so vigorously urges compromise in Vietnam in order to focus all attention on the Mid-East (there are no *hawks* and *doves* on the Mid-East question);

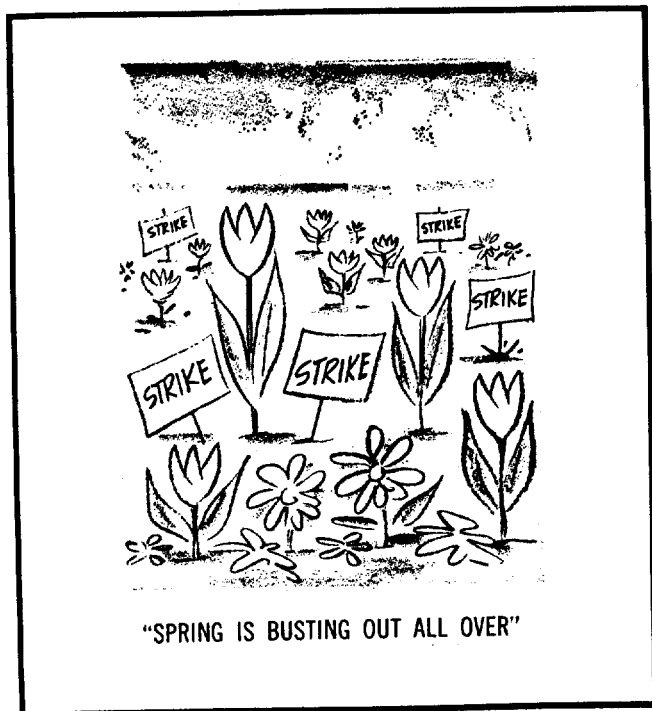
why the Soviet rulers will gladly barter away Vietnam for a bigger slice in the Mid-East;

and why the French will continue at all costs their role as selective arms merchants in the Mid-East.

### The Uneven Development of The Powers

As Lenin and Stalin so clearly foresaw, it is the uneven development of capitalism that *inevitably* leads to imperialist wars. After the first division of the world was complete around the turn of the century, Lenin pointed out that the uneven development of the powers would *inevitably* lead to wars as the only means for major redivision. Two imperialist wars and two major redivisions of the world have accurately fulfilled his prophetic analysis.

The present division of the world so favorable to the U.S. reflected the strength of the major powers in the years 1945-1948. The chart below shows the uneven development of the major imperialist powers. This chart and the above chart on the division of the world show the virtual inevitability of a third world war. Simply it is this: *the overwhelming strength of the Anglo-American bloc in 1948 dictated the present division of the world; today the other powers taken together are stronger, thus a new division of the world is needed to reflect today's relative strengths.*



## THE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF THE POWERS

(all figures adjusted to U.S. = 100)

	1953	1968
<i>Steel Production</i>		
USA	100	100
USSR	38	89
Japan	8	56
West Germany	18	33
Britain	18	22
France	10	17
Italy	3	14

<i>Cement Production</i>		
USA	100	100
USSR	36	130
Japan	20	71
West Germany	33	48
Britain	24	27
France	20	39
Italy	18	44

<i>Electric Power Production/Per Capita</i>		
USA	100	100
USSR	22	39
Japan	22	38
West Germany	40	47
Britain	55	55
France	32	32
Italy	24	28

<i>Motor Vehicle Production</i>		
USA	100	100
USSR	1	3
Japan	0	23
West Germany	6	32
Britain	10	20
France	6	21
Italy	2	11

<i>Gold and Foreign Exchange Holdings</i>		
USA	100	100
USSR	na	na
Japan	4	27
West Germany	2	48
Britain	15	21
France	3	39
Italy	4	28

Moreover the situation continues to change unfavorably for the Anglo-American bloc. Between 1958-1970 Japanese industrial production shot up 425 per cent, Italian production escalated 160 per cent, German production climbed 115 per cent, French production increased 90 per cent, while U.S. production crawled only 80 per cent and British pro-

duction barely crept up 50 per cent. In the early seventies it is quite possible that both the Japanese and Soviets will overtake the U.S. industrially.

Since 1945-1948 only minor changes have occurred in the division of the world, but underneath radical changes have occurred in the relative industrial strengths of the powers. This contradiction between the Anglo-American continued dominance of most of the colonial areas of the world and their relatively declining strength should lead to war. The only questions are when and who will be on whose side.

### The Changing Situation—Military

U.S.-Soviet war has been a threat for 25 years, U.S.-Soviet collusion has been the reality. U.S. and Soviet imperialists contend and collude, often colluding against the other powers. When their contradictions sharpened and war seemed imminent the Soviets backed away from attempting a violent re-division as in the Lebanon crisis (1958), the Berlin crisis (1961), the Cuban crisis (1962), the Mid-East war (1967) and the Jordanian civil war (1970). Not since 1945 has Soviet military power been tested. The Soviet military men claim to be as powerful as the U.S. but they have in the past feared to put it to the test, without imperialist allies. It is the European and Japanese powers that hold the military balance of power.

These other powers on the surface appear to be military midgets beside the U.S. and Soviets. The U.S. has 107 submarines, USSR 400; France 23; West Germany 12; and Japan only 7. The U.S. and USSR each have over three million men in the armed forces; France, West Germany and Italy only 500,000 each and Japan 250,000. The relative strengths in aircraft, tanks and missiles are similar.

Marxism teaches that military strength is a derivative of industrial strength. The U.S. may have 39 times as many submarines as Japan, but with U.S. and Japanese steel production approaching parity and Japanese shipbuilding outstripping U.S. shipbuilding, Japan has the ability to build as many or more subs than the U.S. The apparent military weakness of Japan and the European powers is not reflective of their industrial strength and could if necessary rapidly be built up to seriously challenge the U.S. and Soviets.

Rapidly, at the most, means in two, three or five years. An example is Germany in the 1930s. Hampered by the Versailles Treaty, German imperialism's armed forces were far weaker than its relative economic strength. As late as 1936, it was generally agreed that the French army would overwhelm the Germans in any war. Germany had hardly any air-force or armored units, no conscription, part of its lands were under French imposed "demilitarization." Yet scarcely four years later the Germans conquered France in 40 days, defeating the British

army in the process. Those who scoff at the possibility of a U.S.-Japanese war in a few years should remember this lesson from history.

### The Changing Political Situation

In the period 1949-1952 the U.S. imperialists rigged up a series of alliances directed at isolating the Soviet Union and ensuring that all the capitalist nations would line up with it in any possible war. The NATO alliance enlisted all the major European imperialist powers plus some secondary ones (Belgium, The Netherlands and Portugal); the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty lined up Japan; Spain was conscripted with a bilateral treaty. If alliances were guaranteed to hold fast such a one-sided situation would make a serious inter-imperialist war impossible. But alliances that don't reflect actual material interests are scraps of paper. History has shown that when imperialist contradictions sharpen and war clouds gather, old alliances are abandoned and the friend of yesterday becomes the enemy of today, and vice-versa.

The one-sided alliance situation the U.S. rigged reminds us of a similar diplomatic "triumph" Bismark "won" before World War I. Bismark bound Russia and Austria-Hungary to Germany in the *Three Emperor's Alliance*. Then Italy became part of the *Triple Alliance*, and Britain and Japan became allied to Germany through another series of alliances, thus completely isolating Germany's main rival France. But in the short period between Bismark's retirement and the outbreak of World War I, this paper triumph became undone: Britain, Russia, Japan and Italy one by one broke their "alliance" with Germany and fought on France's side. In each case material interests predominated and the carefully constructed alliances fell to pieces.

Even before World War II there was also a big diplomatic shift. As late as 1935, only four years before the outbreak of war, Mussolini was Hitler's main enemy. Italy was frantically trying to rig up a European alliance to invade Germany, while German and Japanese imperialism were at loggerheads in the Far East. But when war came, Italy, Germany and Japan fought together.

We have shown the extremely acute and growing contradictions between the U.S. and its imperialist allies. As war approaches, can anyone expect these carefully contrived treaties to bind anything? France has already openly recognized this and left the NATO alliance; its Common Market partners remain formally in NATO but their economic interests are far more closely parallel to those of France than the U.S. With French and German finance capital merging can anyone expect that the governments that these finance capitalists control will not take parallel political courses?

Since the 1960s the political situation has changed for the worse for the old imperialists. In the fall of 1970, U.S. chieftain Nixon hoped for a summit conference of the major imperialist powers at the U.N. Only the faithful British sent their top man in the spirit of things. The Japanese Prime Minister came only to warn Nixon against any trade restrictions; the Russians' top man stayed home where he played host to the French Prime Minister, who purposely picked the time of Nixon's proposed conclave to visit Moscow; the Germans stayed home celebrating their recent many-sided treaty with the USSR; the Italians were busy leading their Common Market partners in a stern warning to the USA about the consequences if it continued to threaten the Italian shoe trade. Obviously times have changed from when the Soviets were isolated and the U.S. was surrounded by imperial friends.

The 1963 test-ban treaty was the highwater mark of U.S.-Soviet detente. The full restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the Soviets promised its people "a world without wars" to sweeten the bitter pill. Furthermore the U.S. system of alliances had hardly cracked then. (It was in 1963 that the French defied the USA for the first time over this treaty.) As the 1960s progressed and the Soviet ruling clique became more confident, relations with the U.S. became colder. There was and is still room for deals here and there but the old spirit of "peaceful coexistence" is gone and "peaceful competition" became decidedly less peaceful and more oriented to competition in arms buildup and military adventures, as noted by events in Vietnam, Czechoslovakia and the Mid-East. As the British retreated East of the Suez, the Russians replaced them as the dominant naval power in the Indian Ocean.

But for the U.S. allies there was no chill in Moscow. Toward the end of the sixties the Japanese Foreign Minister could be found more often in Moscow than in Washington. More important, his Japanese monopolist bosses were more often lionized by their hosts. The West Germans made ceremonial visits to Washington that resulted in meaningless communiques; their visits to Moscow were business-like and resulted in important treaties and trade agreements. As for the French, their leaders were hardly ever seen in Washington but their visits to the USSR became practically annual events.

If the wheel continues to turn against the U.S. imperialists, as it seems likely to do, it can only be a matter of time before the USA's enemies launch a war to redivide the world.

This article makes no attempt to deal with the new emerging relations between the governments of China and the U.S. But increasing contradiction between U.S. imperialists and others are behind the rapid attempt by both the U.S. and Chinese bosses to enlarge trade relations. It is also an astute military and po-

litical move by U.S. rulers to try to maintain the balance of power in the world in their favor. Apparently, Chinese leaders rationalize that they need an alliance with U.S. bosses to develop China economically, while fending off Soviet bosses. (In the next issue of PL magazine we will start a series of articles trying to analyze the right-wing political developments by Chinese leaders.)

### Communists and The Imperialist War

The communist position on imperialist war is simple. *We are against it, but we are not afraid of it.* We are against these wars because of the suffering and hardship they cause our class, the workers: we are against workers going to war to kill other workers; we are against workers fighting to strengthen the interests of their mortal enemy the big capitalists; we are against the inhuman tactics, death camps, terror bombings of civilians, etc., that all imperialists use.

But we go beyond a pacifist abhorrence of all war. We part company with the majority of the anti-war movement because we are not afraid of war. On the contrary, despite our efforts, should the imperialists unleash another world war, we see such a war as an excellent opportunity to topple the imperialist government; we will call for turning the imperialist war into a civil war. We will work first and foremost for the defeat of "our own" government because that will weaken them to the point where the workers can rise up and overthrow this imperialist government, for only with the abolition of imperialism will wars be ended. History has shown that only when communists take this stand will they be able to lead the workers in revolutionary insurrection and thus end the war.

In the period before World War I all the Marxist parties took the position of opposing the approaching war by any means necessary. But when the war came most of the parties either joined the war cabinets or supported them. Gusede, the French socialist leader, who time and again swore never to support an imperialist war and acidly denounced any socialist who joined a bourgeois government, cynically justified his new cabinet post with the statement, "When the house is burning, don't argue about it, just grab a bucket." He obviously identified the imperialist "house" as his own. It was with this reasoning that most of the socialist parties lined up behind "their own" imperialist governments and exhorted "their" workers to go out and kill other workers.

Those socialists who couldn't stomach this cynical about-face met in Zimmerwald, Switzerland in the course of the war. But the majority of even those led by the socialist ideologue Karl Kautsky showed they were not seriously interested in overthrowing imperialism since they called for a pacifist peace and a return to the situation before the war—the very

situation that led to the war; Only Lenin and his Bolshevik party called for turning the imperialist war into a civil war, *revolutionary defeatism*, as Lenin called it. And as is well known, while Kautsky and his group returned home issuing pious and harmless manifestoes for peace, Lenin's Bolsheviks worked for the defeat of Russia and led a workers' insurrection against the weakened government, thus ending the war for Russia one year early and establishing the first socialist state.

The communist parties which replaced the discredited socialist parties after the war gave lip service to revolutionary defeatism, but in the main did not learn their lesson well. Wrongly believing that the presence of Soviet Russia in the Second World War changed its nature as an imperialist war, communists in most of the anti-fascist coalitions subordinated their strategy to that of the ruling imperialists. In China however, the Chinese Communist Party refused to hand over its workers' Red Army to the government, but used the war as an opportunity to build workers' power in large areas of China and shortly afterward led the people in expelling imperialism of all varieties. In areas where the Leninist strategy of turning the imperialist war into a civil war was forgotten the imperialists remained in power and the communists lost whatever influence they had acquired during the war.

Those who won't learn from history are condemned to repeat it. Today as a third imperialist war approaches, we of Progressive Labor must learn this lesson well. We must vigorously put forward the Marxist teaching of internationalism: *workers of all countries, unite!* We have to prepare ourselves ideologically and organizationally to be able to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. We have to expose uncompromisingly all forms of opportunism that would lead the workers into supporting *their* government in a war, or that would see one side in an imperialist war as *more progressive* or *less aggressive* than the other. We must remember that, regardless which side starts the war, or whether one side is *fascist* or *democratic*, imperialism's rape of resources and labor is the root cause of war and fascism and only the destruction of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, can end war and fascism. Oppose all forms of nationalism that divide workers; urge soldiers to fraternize with the *enemy*, their fellow workers; urge the soldiers to turn their guns on the generals. And we have to urgently deepen and extend our ties with the U.S. working class so that these ideas can be taken up by the millions of workers. Whether the U.S. imperialists or their antagonists start the war, let the U.S. workers and their brothers around the world end it.

In the coming period our Party can play a crucial role far out of proportion to our present numbers and influence; if we are successful, the next imperialist war *can* be the last.

This winter and spring workers have launched sharp struggles against U.S. bosses all across the country:

- Iowa construction workers, farmers and students angrily pelted Nixon with snowballs and stones;
- East Los Angeles Chicano workers and students attacked a police station in a rebellion against unemployment and police terror;

- New York University maintenance men, teamsters and students battled cops and scabs to win equal pay for equal work and an end to racist pay differentials;

- Boston welfare mothers cash their already meager checks on Saturdays at supermarkets like Blair's. For this occasion, called *Mother's Day*, Blair's jacks up the prices. The mothers and other workers have banded together to fight this price-gouging. Since their demonstrations started, Blair's has lost a lot of money;

- At the Thompson School in Boston a teacher named Boussey frequently beat up students to keep them in line. One day a 9th-grade black student who sells *Challenge* warned Boussey not to hit him because he had just had a kidney operation. But Boussey hit him three times in the kidney, reopening the wound. The *Challenge* corps, joined by many parents, has waged a successful fight to get Boussey fired.

- In Washington, on March 20, 6,000 workers and students demonstrated against racist unemployment. This was the first national worker-student alliance demonstration in decades. It was probably the first time ever that workers and students advocated overthrowing the government and fighting for socialism in the shadow of the White House.

In its demands and its participants—mostly black and white workers—this demonstration differed markedly from the pacifist, pro-liberal politician, middle class anti-war actions of previous years.

This upsurge of working class struggle is characterized not merely by massive spontaneous revolts like wildcats or rebellions, but also by the emergence of united-front fighting organizations like the Mothers' Committee to Smash the Flat Grant in

Boston. These groups include both communists and non-communists but *exclude* all government flunkies, union hacks or liberal politicians. In addition, a revolutionary communist movement—the Progressive Labor Party—has begun to take hold among significant numbers of workers. This development marks the beginning of the end for U.S. imperialism.

In the context of this workers' movement, more than ever students must strive to build up a broad, fighting united-front movement in alliance with workers. The possibility for a militant worker-student alliance has become increasingly clear to students. Students for a Democratic Society is the national united-front student organization that can serve as a vehicle for this alliance. Despite the sharp attacks made on SDS over the past year, it has played a vigorous role in initiating and supporting many pro-working class struggles. For instance:

- At the University of Connecticut SDS led several hundred students in clapping down the racist Foreign Minister of Portugal, Rui Patricio, who has directed U.S. government-backed Portuguese attempts to suppress working people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau;

- At Buffalo and the University of Hawaii, SDS led 250 and 200 students, respectively, in stopping army recruiters;

- At MIT, campus workers and SDS waged and won a two-month campaign against rac-

ist oppression at the MIT Faculty Club, where black workers were being paid 62¢/hour less than whites for doing equivalent work. The manager also attempted unsuccessfully to force them to carry out his clothes and shoes to be ironed and cleaned;

- At the State University of New York at Stony Brook, workers and students held a sit-in, imprisoned the university vice-president, and defied a company-obtained injunction in a united fight against mass layoffs of cafeteria workers;

- In East Los Angeles, a joint SDS-MECHA (a Mexican-American student organization) contingent took part in the rebellion that attacked the police headquarters. SDS also held support rallies on campus afterwards;

## Workers and Students

# 'PEACE' MOVEMENT GOES AS ALLIANCE GROWS

• At Prairie View A&M, an all-black school in Texas, masses of students burned the ROTC building, the campus police office and the administration building to kick ROTC off campus and get a racist dean fired. SDSers in Texas have been organizing support for this struggle;

• SDS held a national demonstration of over 2,000 workers and students, black and white, in support of the auto strike in Detroit on November 3, 1970.

These struggles and others represent the considerable progress made by the worker-student alliance in the past year. PLP has played a key role in building many of these struggles and has won increasing numbers of students to fight for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bosses' press describes the present period as one of retreat for the student movement. Its "analysts" often depict students as antagonistic to workers. Furthermore, they seek to portray workers as crude reactionaries who despise radical ideas. The ruling class press systematically plays down the daily struggles of workers and students against the U.S. bosses.

The old anti-war movement made a weaker response to this winter's invasion of Laos than to the invasion of Cambodia last spring. With the exception of Prairie View A&M, there have been no mass burnings of ROTC buildings since May 1970. There have been demonstrations of a few hundred students at some schools, in contrast to previous actions at 50 per cent of all U.S. colleges (1454 out of 2551), shut-downs at 20 per cent (550), and militant actions at 4 per cent (60). There have been regional demonstrations of a few thousand in some cities in contrast to the march of 100,000 on Washington last May 9 (figures on last spring from Clark Kerr, as reported to the Carnegie Commission). Students still deeply hate the war, but the old middle class, pacifist, *ally-with-liberal-politicians-and-administrators-to-end-the-war* leadership that sold out the Cambodia strike no longer commands a large following.

### PLP and the Movement

The massive student movement that mushroomed as a result of the war in Southeast Asia has not kept pace with the recent growth of working-class militancy. On the contrary: except the Cambodia rebellion that rocked hundreds of campuses in May-June 1970, the student movement entered a period of regression about the same time that working-class struggle began to increase. Although certain "objective" factors contributed to this decline, they were secondary to a number of key weaknesses within both the student movement and, most significantly, our own Party.

In the first place, PL did not succeed in winning the broad mass of students who participated in the anti-war movement to an anti-imperialist outlook. Over the past few years, millions of students have

engaged in various forms of action directed against the war. However, most of these actions were led by either liberal politicians or revisionists. As a result, the slogans put forward ("stop the bombing and negotiate," "peace now," "bring all the troops home," etc.) were essentially pro-ruling class in content.

When the opportunists in North and South Vietnam agreed to negotiate with U.S. imperialism, the main response of the American anti-war movement was to support the negotiations. We in PL said that the only correct slogan for the anti-war movement was "U.S. imperialism out of Southeast Asia—no negotiations." We said that the imperialists did not have the right to negotiate a single blade of Vietnamese grass; that the only difference between the *hawks* and *doves* concerned the best method of controlling Vietnam; that the *hawks* wanted to rely on the tactic of expanded military operations and support for Rightwing nationalists and that the *doves* wanted to minimize the military aspect of the war and emphasize negotiations with Leftwing nationalists.

We distributed literature, held rallies and conducted on-campus actions and campaigns with this outlook. But we won only a minority of the movement to our ideas. We did succeed in persuading the majority of the membership of SDS to oppose negotiations and to demand that the U.S. get out of Southeast Asia now. In itself, this was a positive accomplishment, because SDS is the only significant anti-imperialist mass student organization in the U.S. today. However, at the present time, its membership comprises a minority of the U.S. student population. It has considerable possibilities for growth and is in fact growing, but this growth has not been rapid enough to change the political outlook of the student movement as a whole.

We believe that the masses of students who continue to support the negotiations can be won away from their illusions about the U.S. ruling class and can participate in an anti-imperialist movement.

No student movement can sustain itself unless it makes alliances. Specifically, students can join forces with either the ruling class or the working class. When the majority of the anti-war movement accepted the Paris negotiations, it also accepted the leadership of the U.S. rulers. The only alternative to this leadership is a worker-student alliance, under the leadership of the working class. For years, we in PL have advocated the worker-student alliance as the only strategy for developing a progressive student movement. We began by popularizing the concept and we won many to superficially support this idea or aping it.

We attempted to introduce pro-working class ideas into all struggles in which we participated. We helped develop a summer "work-in" project, in which hundreds of students across the country took factory jobs to learn first-hand from the working class. We initiated the idea of a campus worker-student alliance because we believed that students could most



**Workers and students march in Washington: smash racist unemployment**

readily participate in struggles with workers whom they could get to know on a day-to-day basis. All of this work produced positive results. In many cities, SDS committees engaged in strike support. On dozens of campuses, workers and students fought together against racist exploitation and other forms of working class oppression.

In November 1969, when the liberals, Trotskyites, and "Communist" Party revisionists led a pro-negotiations *be-in* in Washington, SDS sponsored a rally of 7500 at the Labor Department. This action called for unity between the anti-imperialist movement and the struggle of 150,000 striking General Electric workers. In May 1970, when the same troika led another Washington cakewalk over the Cambodia invasion, SDS sponsored another Labor Department rally calling for an alliance between the anti-imperialist movement and all workers in struggle. This time 15,000 attended. In both actions, PL's ideological and organizational leadership played a significant role.

However, here, as in the case of the anti-war movement, the worker-student alliance has to date achieved results that only begin to scratch the surface of its potential. Many more workers would now be involved in on-campus struggles with SDS if our efforts to reach out to them had been more vigorous and consistent. Many more students would see and act upon the need to support working-class actions if we ourselves had given them better leadership by integrating with workers and by taking a mass approach with students.

Our efforts at agitation were only partially successful. On many occasions, workers suffered from and rebelled against racist-pay differentials, layoffs, harassment, speedup, or dangerous working conditions—but we were slow to respond. Our attitude

did not reflect the class hatred that students must acquire if they want to defeat the rulers. We took our own commitment to the working class for granted.

Since we did not attempt seriously enough to overcome our own middle-class prejudices against workers, we did not set an adequate example to the masses of students who share many of these prejudices. For instance, in the early spring of 1970, hundreds of thousands of postal workers defied the government, stood up to the National Guard and conducted a heroic strike that brought U.S. big business to its knees for more than a week. We and SDS could have organized thousands of students to support this strike. We could have attempted to lead solidarity strikes on campus. We could have led masses to join the picket lines. All the necessary "objective" conditions were present. The majority of students already sympathized with the postal strikers. In most cases, however, we dawdled. Too often, we waited until the strike was several days old to issue a leaflet or call a rally. By the time we finally succeeded in mobilizing a few small actions, the momentum of the strike had already begun to shift back to the ruling class. We lost a golden opportunity to lead large, militant actions, and SDS lost an opportunity to move ahead.

The blame does not lie with Nixon, Rademacher or the college administrators. When they attempt to smash or reverse working-class rebellions, they are only "doing their job." Our job as communists is to build and support these actions. During the postal strike and on many other occasions, we acted at best as part-time communists. We organized a number of positive actions, sold and distributed a certain amount of agitational literature, and involved a number of new people in the worker-student alliance.



But we were too easily satisfied with our own efforts, too ready to sit back and congratulate ourselves. On every campus, in every struggle, we could have done more.

### Racism and Nationalism on Campus

Another—and perhaps the most significant—factor in the temporary decline of the student movement was the effect of racism on the student membership of PL. At no time in 1970 was our Party able to develop significant unity with minority students. Here and there a few black, Latin, or Asian students joined PL study groups; some began to sell *Challenge-Desafio*; a number participated in PL or SDS-led actions; and a few joined SDS or other united front committees against racism. But this trend did not come close to reversing the racist divisions that are mass phenomena within the student movement.

At first, we implied that these divisions were insurmountable. We put forth the idea that because of racism, separatist organizations (like Black Student Unions or Puerto Rican Student Unions) were necessary. While it is true that these organizations often reflect a nationalist response to racism on the part of many black, Latin, and Asian students, it is also true that wherever racism has been fought and defeated among white students, nationalism virtually disappears as a serious obstacle to communist political work. Our initial response to this question made it impossible for us to succeed in fighting racism. In effect, we were claiming that organizational unity between white and non-white students was not feasible because white students were hopelessly racist. Our approach was a cover for our own unwillingness to provide ideological leadership in the struggle against racism and to set an example for the masses by winning minority students to revolutionary communist ideas.

Finally, we changed this approach. We said that we would no longer in any way encourage the separation of white and minority students. Organizationally, we fought for the idea that SDS should make a massive effort to involve black, Latin and Asian students as members and leaders. Some changes have been made in this regard. In the recent period, more minority students have joined SDS and are helping lead it than in the past. Hundreds participated in the March 20 demonstrations against racist unemployment in Washington, Sacramento and Houston; a number of minority students are joining or coming closer to our party.

But this development must increase geometrically if it is to have a qualitative effect on the student movement. If nationalism is a paper tiger, we must never underestimate racism, either among ourselves or in the mass movement. Every time we have done so in the past, we have hindered struggle against the ruling class. Hundreds of thousands rebelled last spring against the Cambodia invasion and the Kent State killings. At the same time, the bosses' cops were gunning down black workers and students in

Augusta and Jackson. Mass outrage at the Kent State killings far outstripped the reaction to the racist murders in Georgia and Mississippi. As communists, we should have made an enormous effort to conduct militant actions specifically aimed at racism. However, we exhibited the same weaknesses in this situation that we had already shown during the postal strike. We organized a few rallies and handed out a few thousand leaflets, but what we did came too little and too late to make anti-racism a significant feature of the Cambodia rebellion.

At this writing (May 1971), there are still many campuses where PL members have yet to make a serious effort to win minority students to communist ideas. We are not defeatist on this score because we believe that black, Latin and Asian students are the most militant and potentially revolutionary in the U.S. and that we have begun to improve our relations with them. However, we must reject all complacency. Racism persists in the student movement to the extent that communists fail to lead the struggle against it. We believe that PL can lead this struggle, but we also know that the masses are watching us closely to see if we put our ideas into practice. Those who refuse to fight racism and who persist in their isolation from minority workers and students do not belong in a communist party.

Taken together, our weaknesses in winning the mass movement to an anti-imperialist, pro-working class and anti-racist outlook have led us to vacillate in putting forth our party's goal of working-class dictatorship and socialist revolution with sufficient vigor. As in the other aspects of our work, we have advanced these ideas to a certain extent and with a limited amount of success. We now sell *Challenge-Desafio* with greater consistency and in larger quantity than ever before. Many workers and students whom we know have come to regard the paper as the red flag of the working class. Often, however, our own inadequate efforts at involving workers and students in struggles led by the ideas presented in *Challenge-Desafio* corresponds to political opportunism on our part. Our anti-working class, racist fears cause us to sell the masses short. If a misleader attempts to betray a militant fight, we are often unwilling to attack him because our attack "will only alienate" his supporters. We deceive ourselves into thinking that the revolutionary communist concepts of proletarian dictatorship, serving the people, no aid from revisionists, no negotiations with revisionists and imperialists, support for only the broad revolutionary masses, and drawing a clear line between the masses and their enemies are ideas that can be understood only by a few revolutionary experts, and that masses of workers and students either cannot understand them or will not support them. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Every time we fought in the old Rightwing-led SDS for the dictatorship of the proletariat and attacked the opportunism or racism of the organization's powerholders, we won many people to mass struggle and our Party. Every time we raise these ideas now,

workers and students—particularly minority students—respond to them with unbridled enthusiasm. The number of people who adopt our Party's revolutionary principles depends entirely on the effort we make to make the Party's line a mass line. Most student movements led by liberals or revisionists have either collapsed or become outright tools for the ruling class. These movements have fallen far short of calling for the destruction of the capitalist system by the working class and its allies.

But capitalism cannot solve the problems of millions of workers and students. Only socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat can, and only a movement led by a communist party can win the fight for socialism. The objective situation in the U.S. is ripe for winning thousands to socialism now. As communists, we must help to launch countless mass struggles against the rulers.

But mass struggle alone is not sufficient. The bosses can reverse any fight that is not led by communist ideas. We must redouble our efforts to make the violent overthrow of the bosses' government, the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class, and the establishment of socialism emerge as the primary political lessons that the masses draw from every campaign and action in which we participate.

In the context of our Party's weaknesses, the student movement fell prey to a two-pronged attack. In the first place, it was forced to look to the revisionists and liberals for leadership. Because we did not win a sufficient number of students to oppose negotiations, most still support them. Because we did not win a sufficient number to a militant worker-student alliance, most still entertain illusions about the system and the various clowns it periodically puts on display as the *saviours* of the moment. Because we did not win enough students to engage in militant struggle, many still believe in pacifism. Because we did not adequately overcome our own racism, many students either remain indifferent to racist attacks on minority people or are lured into revisionist-inspired schemes that pretend to fight racism but in reality support it by building nationalism.

Many of the students whom we did not win to fight racist terror, racist exploitation or racist lies in the classroom, but who nonetheless had attained a certain level of anti-racist consciousness, were lured by the "Communist" Party into joining "legal defense" committees for the Black Panther Party. Both these committees and the Panthers opposed the struggles of the black masses and concentrated instead on allying with liberals and building a movement around the trials and tribulations of a few Panther superstars. By now, this movement has virtually collapsed. Because we did not win many of the honest students who participated in it to a revolutionary working class outlook, many of them, as well as many of the students who participated actively in the anti-war movement, have temporarily succumbed to cynicism.

In the second place, the government has taken advantage of our weaknesses to launch a campaign of political intimidation against the student movement. On the one hand, police attacks, longer jail sentences and expulsions from school are being used against student activists much more frequently than in the past. On the other hand, the government has sought to justify these attacks by consciously portraying student demonstrators, radicals and communists as dope smoking, bomb-throwing freaks. It is a well-known fact that most of the supposed "Weatherman" bombings were directed and supervised by the police. The Nixon administration understood that our Party was still isolated from a large number of students and sought to increase this isolation. Nixon attempted to make "terror bombings" the main issue of the 1970 congressional elections. By and large, he failed because of his own political clumsiness. Millions of unemployed workers saw through his ploy and understood at the very least that student communists were not their enemy.

If we had not been guilty of all the errors described above, if we had been able to qualitatively alter the ideological content of the mass movement by winning tens of thousands of students to our Party and its ideas, this ruling-class attack could easily have been reversed. No revolutionary movement has ever been defeated by external forces. Outside attack can have a disastrous effect only when the movement's own inadequacies leave it open to attack.

At the present time, class struggle among students is growing again. We believe that the decline in student activism that has characterized the past year is a temporary phenomenon. In addition, we believe that we can absorb the lessons of our previous errors, correct our weaknesses, and move ahead. Numerous developments indicate that this process is already underway.

### PLP and SDS Move Ahead in Struggle

Many *peace* groups that have allied with liberal politicians or failed to criticize them, have fallen apart on most campuses: Student Mobilization Committee, *Revolutionary Youth Movement II*, November Action Coalition, etc. Even militant nationalist forces like the Panthers who put forward allying with liberal rulers, are splitting apart. (Supreme Commander Huey Newton carries the Panthers' hatred for working people to an extreme. He sits in his \$650 month Oakland penthouse apartment, relying on his rich neighbors as the main *democratic forces* who would be upset if the police broke in to arrest him.) The main following of the Panthers for over a year has been middle class white students. But even this is waning. In addition, as we shall see below, the present direct attempts by the government and liberal politicians to create some leadership for all these faltering forces, have a feeble character.

Kingman Brewster, the president of Yale University, nervously described the "mood on campus" as a kind of "eerie tranquility" (*Time*, Jan. 22, 1971). This is a more accurate description than apathy for the combination of cynicism and hatred for the rulers that characterizes the decline of the old kind of activism.

In contrast to the reactionary leadership of liberals, pacifists, revisionists and nationalists, SDS and PL have moved ahead. The emergency of a fighting worker-student alliance gives a new perspective to the class hatred many students feel. Now students do not have to ally with rulers or go it alone. The march for jobs in Washington demonstrated, a broader fighting movement exists.

The key focus of this new, anti-imperialist movement is no longer the war taken by itself, but racist unemployment, which is the sharpest attack on working people in this country. SDS and PL are also beginning to do serious work in the community colleges, which are largely composed of minority workers spending two years at school.

In addition, this new movement will raise internationalism—the idea that working people worldwide conduct the same fight against the same bosses and should support each other unconditionally. What an advance over the pacifism of the old "peace" movement!

The factors that have caused the decline of the liberal middle class anti-war movement have also affected the worker-student alliance at some four-year schools. Many agree with some of SDS' and PL's ideas (e.g., that liberal politicians are no good, that workers are oppressed and fight back hardest) but do not yet see worker-student alliance as a real alternative.

But wherever we take a bold approach to building struggle, we begin to turn *eerie tranquility* into a bosses' nightmare. In "The Cooling of America," *Time* emphasized that only 50 students had come to an anti-Marine recruiter demonstration this fall at Harvard-Radcliffe. The Harvard Administration and its Young Americans for Freedom lackey took these subjective estimates of student militancy too seriously. They decided to invite the South Vietnamese and Thai *ambassador*, State Department expert on Far Eastern Affairs, Dolf Droge, and I. Milton Sachs of the Institute for Defense Analysis, to speak at a pro-Nixon teach-in. Aside from the general credentials in mass butchery held by these rats, Mr. Sacha has contributed his own leopard spot theory to modern American social science. Sachs feels that U.S. terror bombings drive too many troublemakers into urban refugee camps. He wants them separated out and sent back to the bombed-out land, which will then be cordoned off. Thus, these militants will be isolated in a "leopard spot," dependent on the tender mercies of the U.S. Army for survival.

SDS and PL called for clapping these executioners down and 1200 black, white and Vietnamese students and campus workers showed up to do it (the Harvard

police had to turn many more angry students away at the door). Despite hypocritical implorings about *freedom* (read: freedom to exploit and wage imperialist war) from Archibald Cox—chief Administration hatchet man—the crowd chanted, "U.S. out of Southeast Asia—butchers out of Harvard," and "fight for socialism—power to the workers" drowning the rats out. After an hour of this, the ruling class representatives slunk out in defeat.

The sharper we are about launching these struggles, especially on working class campuses, the more students will unite with us in striking blows like this one against U.S. imperialism, adding their strength to the struggles of the international working class.

### Refuel the Doves Say Rulers

Faced with growing militancy among workers at home and abroad, the U.S. bosses are disconcerted by the disarray of the liberal anti-war movement. Recently they have tried to stress the difference between the *good* liberal bosses ("our saviors") and the *bad* rulers (the cause of all "our" problems). In addition, the rulers are trying to revive the old anti-communist radical movement by dredging up the National Student Association—they hope that this group can still serve as an ideological prop for the liberal politicians.

Despite tactical differences, all U.S. bosses want to exploit the labor and resources of Southeast Asian working people. They also seek to turn around and defeat the heroic mass struggle of these workers. Their hope is that other workers will cease to draw inspiration from Vietnamese people's war.

Liberal World Bank head Eugene Black, President Johnson's long-term planner of future imperialist *peace* in Vietnam, put it this way:

Disengagement almost certainly will mean finding ways and means of using U.S. influence to evoke responsibility and responsiveness among the nations of the region so that they can, preferably by working together, cope with more of their own problems themselves. This theme pervades the report recently presented to South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu by David Lilienthal, who has been working with a group of South Vietnamese officials on the problems of postwar reconstruction in that country. He has explored in great detail the difficulties and opportunities that Vietnam will face in converting to a peacetime economy after more than two decades of war. He and his South Vietnam colleagues found that Vietnam has great economic assets, which can be used to bring about a strong recovery in a relatively short time. They estimate that perhaps \$2.5 billion in external finance, spread over ten years, will be needed to bring about such a recovery....

... Suffice it to say that the Vietnamese economy is now totally dependent on U.S. finance. The U.S. military is injecting hundreds of millions of dollars each year to pay for services it needs. The Agency for International Development is supplying hundreds of millions of dollars each year to stem inflation and

to pay for contractors' fees and technical assistance services of various kinds....

The major development scheme proposed by Lilienthal is a thirty- to forty-year program of water control in the Mekong delta....

Development of the lower Mekong basin offers the most dramatic kinds of prospects. Even one large hydroelectric dam on the main stream would permit the building of a power grid connecting the capitals of the four riparian countries—including Hanoi, if North Vietnam were interested.... For the future of Vietnam, Such a development would mean the creation of a hinterland market without which much of the war-born investment in that country, particularly the investment in harbors and airfields, will simply have to be written off. (Eugene R. Black, *Alternative in Southeast Asia*, pp. 122-125)

U.S. and Japanese companies have invested millions in prospecting for oil off Southeast Asia.

The June issue of *Petroleum Engineer* summed up this perspective:

—If and when the U.S. wins its objectives there, oil exploration conceivably could be successful enough to turn that part of the world into another South Louisiana-Texas type producing area. This would be one of the biggest booms in the industry's history. It all depends on the Vietnam war, how long it takes to get the job done and how well the job is done.

As one boss put it, "compared to the oil fields off Southeast Asia, the deposits off Louisiana are like a postage stamp upon the back of an elephant."

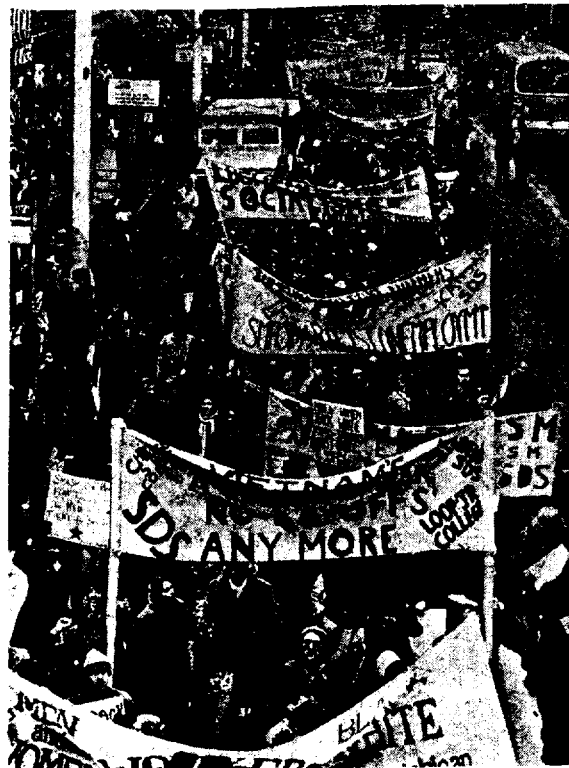
In a color centerfold, *Fortune* recently advertised the advantages for U.S. bosses of exploiting cheap labor: in the textile mills of Taiwan, women make \$29 per month and in Saigon men make \$40.

All U.S. imperialists view the war as a means to help secure their control of these resources. The only difference between the *hawks* and the *doves* is over how best to suppress Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian workers. Nixon and the *hawks* want to negotiate a deal that will keep right-wing nationalists like Thieu and Ky in power. The U.S. government created these "patriotic heroes," and U.S. money and armed force alone support their following in Vietnam, their army and their publicity on the world scene. Vietnamization is a U.S. government plan to build submission to these "leaders" among the mass of Vietnamese working people. Like Johnson before him, Nixon chose to use tactical military escalation of the war, as in the invasions of Cambodia and Laos, to gain this deal.

The *doves* stand for quicker settlement with the Leftwing nationalists; North Vietnamese so-called *communists* and the National Liberation Front. Racist Fulbright, for instance, stated that North Vietnamese *communists* would provide an *acceptable* bastion against revolutionary China. The *doves* see that the NLF's approach relies on negotiations, not on mobilizing people's war and fighting for socialism. They see that the NLF and PRG have already made key programmatic concessions to imperialism: they would accept U.S. aid and investment

after the war, and guarantee protection for South Vietnamese nationals who have cooperated with the U.S. government.

The *doves* would not impose outside leaders on the Vietnamese working people, they try to build bourgeois leaders *within* the Vietnamese movement. Such leaders push bosses' ideas like nationalism (*our* bosses are good and *foreign* workers are bad) in order to undercut people's war from within. The *doves* know that people's war is class war against all exploiters. Fully aroused working people will crush "their own" national exploiters as surely as they will defeat foreign imperialists. The *doves*



have learned that all-out attacks on working people, like Diem's activities between 1954 and 1956, breed revolt. They fear that the invasion of Cambodia and the terror bombing of Laos will produce similar rebellions. The rout of the South Vietnamese army by Laotian working people shows that this estimate is accurate. The liberals understand that this kind of armed revolt restricts the revisionists' ability to sell out and thereby prolongs the war. Finally, as these rebellions spread, the revolutionary political understanding of the people increases, and the possibility emerges that the Vietnamese working class will overthrow its revisionist leadership. Needless to say, U.S. liberals do not want this development to materialize.

Through a negotiated settlement, liberals hope they can buy time and secure some kind of peaceful coexistence between Asian working people and U.S. imperialism. But as 26 years of people's war have shown, Vietnamese working people are irrevocably antagonistic to imperialist domination.

At home, the *hawks* and the *doves* have the same tactical differences in dealing with the student movement. Nixon launched the Cambodia invasion, which many *doves* would have avoided. When the National Guard gunned down students at Kent State, Nixon blamed the killings on the militant students who provoked them. Subsequently, Nixon made the key focus of the mid-term elections *terrorism*. (Even liberals pointed out that Nixon was leading the terrorists and that many of the bombers were cops (James Wechsell, *N.Y. Post*). In addition, he and Agnew tried to blame university presidents for campus uprisings. Agnew once went so far as to call these administrators *lunatics*.

On the other hand, liberal university presidents, opposed the invasion and the shootings because they felt them unnecessary for U.S. victory in Southeast Asia, and because these actions resulted in the burnings of ROTC buildings. In order to prevent these struggles, these officials often had to lead temporary shutdowns of the universities, in feigned sympathy with the anti-imperialist aspirations of masses of enraged students. The *doves* professed great shock at the Kent State killings. They felt that the best method for preventing student rebellion was *community self-policing* or *Vietnamizing the universities*, (statement by Spiegel, head of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, in *Cambridge* magazine.) As President McGill of Columbia put it in a speech to the 67th banquet of the American Institute of Banking, *New York Times*, February 7, 1971. "If we are dealing with manipulation of opinion through mass communication, then violence used by society to put down campus disorders is not only unnecessary, it gives special advantages to campus revolutionaries who seek to foster violence."

The *doves* take the concept of *student power* to some lengths. For instance, at the University of California at Santa Barbara, students burned the Bank of America last spring. This year the Regents have permitted students to set up a completely self-elected governmental structure. "The operation cost \$75,000. The largest contributor for \$25,000, is the Bank of America," noted the *Boston Globe*.

The liberals encourage these students to set up *harmonious* counter-institutions like Food Co-ops, Free Breakfasts, etc. These boss-funded islands of cooperation within capitalism foster temporary illusions that some special people can escape from imperialist domination.

The bosses also nourish other cultural forms of escapism through the revival of mystical novelist Hermann Hesse, sentimental films like *love story*, and plain old decadence. At the University of Chicago, for instance, 2,500 students were encouraged to participate in a male chauvinist *Lascivious Ball*, whose high point came when several hundred people crushed grapes beneath their bare feet!

Liberals, however, definitely are out to get militant students. The *Scranton Report on Campus Unrest* said:

Perpetrators of violence (a small minority of politically extreme students and faculty members and a small group of dedicated agitators) must be identified, removed from the university as quickly as possible, and prosecuted vigorously.

Despite appearances to the contrary, Nixon has the same basic policy. In his first address concerning student disorder Nixon went on record for "increased student participation in the governance of the universities and ethnic studies programs." Similarly, Nixon has been shuffling troops around to try to cool off student anger against the war.

Liberals are concerned more openly that the situation among students is out of their control. Guilford Dudley III, Associate Dean of Students at the University of Pennsylvania (where he helps administer research on chemical and biological warfare) says:

I believe that the decision to invade Laos reflects another dangerous miscalculation of the mood on college campuses in this country. The full-scale invasion, followed by the statement from the White House that it is "not an enlargement of the war," is insulting to the intelligence and sensitivity of young men and women who are striving with all the encouragement our academic institutions can give them to value truth, reject the spurious and expose the deceptive and inhumane.

... For a government either to ignore or manipulate the nation's youth, even if the immediate calculations of "apathy" are correct, would be a far greater tragedy than any short-run tactical improvements of our military position in Southeast Asia could ever rectify.

Richard W. Lyman, President of Stanford University, where the Stanford Research Institute develops schemes for counterinsurgency in Thailand, says:

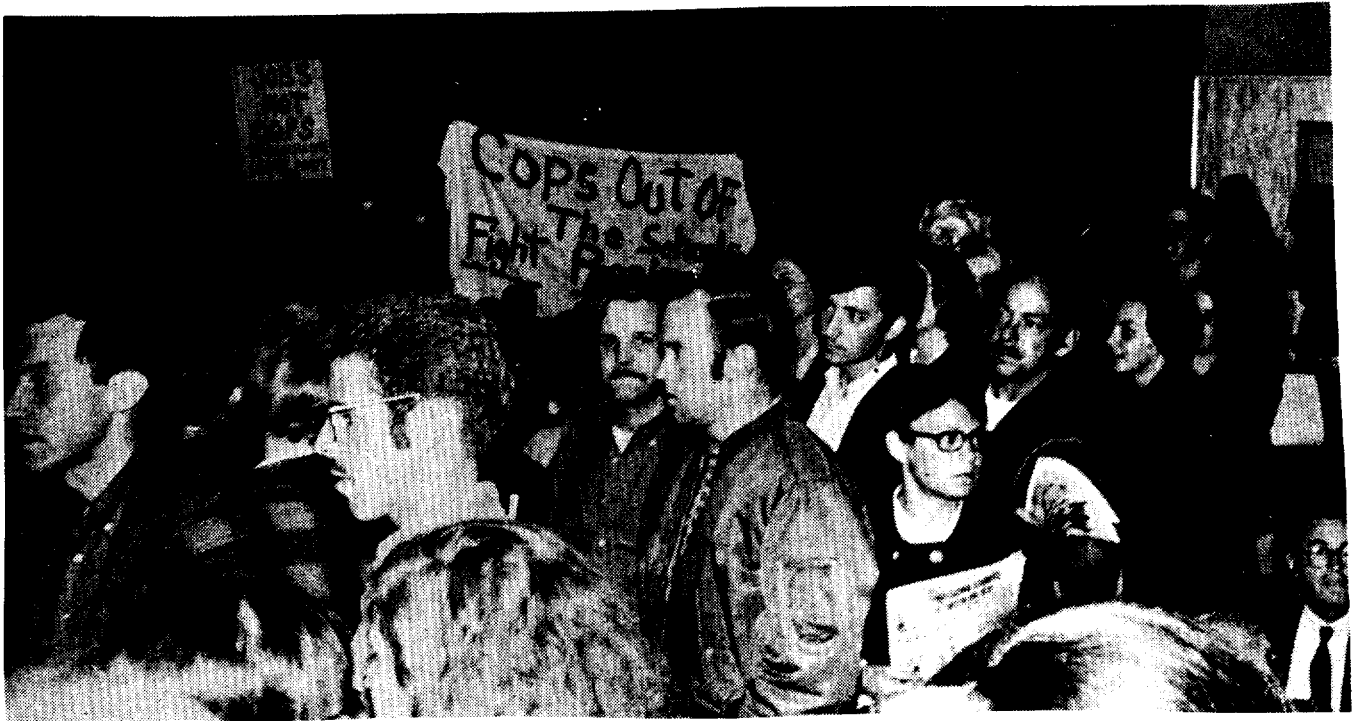
If the war in Southeast Asia could be ended by the anguished cries of university presidents it would no doubt have been over long ago.

... eight years of war abroad have produced a marked deterioration in the political life of our own country. This deterioration is nowhere more marked than on the leading campuses where the argument that only force counts is heard from young people whose cynicism in this regard is a deadly threat to the future of a democratic policy.

That's right—students hate the oppressors who run this country and its schools, and will join more and more with the working class to fight them.

### Rebuilding the "Peace" Movement

As the war continues and unemployment mounts, the liberals' promises sound like plain old hot air. Therefore, the rulers have renewed their efforts to construct a peace movement that will channel militancy among students back into the old clean with Gene electoral course. Right now, the liberals have launched a twin offensive. One part consists of *Operation Rolling Thunder*, a series of eleven teach-ins at big-name campuses, featuring McCarthy, W. Averell Harriman (former U.S. negotiator in Paris), Cyrus Vance (former deputy negotiator in Paris),



PLP fights for jobs and socialism

James Thomson (former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs), Tom Wicker of the *N.Y. Times*, and other notables. In addition, certain pseudo-radicals like Noam Chomsky bemoan the "awesome power of U.S. technology," underline the "opportunity" to ally with the *doves* and attack SDS. The purpose of these teach-ins is to string students along until the 1972 presidential elections. So far, the teach-ins have drawn some crowds (2,000 at Harvard-Radcliffe, 800 at Yale) but have produced little sustained activity.

These teach-ins have merged with another trend. In December, 1970, a National Student Association delegation of nine student body presidents and six editors of campus newspapers met in Paris with representatives of the North and South Vietnamese student associations where they agreed on a *people's peace treaty*.

This document, proposed by the NSA as "a device to mobilize anti-war sentiment in the U.S.," is very Right-wing. It says that the U.S. government should not withdraw immediately but should set a date for "total and unconditional withdrawal." This clause, just like the liberals' promises, is a slippery way of permitting the U.S. government to say it will withdraw while prolonging the war. Following this withdrawal, the treaty states, elections will guarantee the *freedom* of the South Vietnamese people. This tired old song was also heard in 1954, when the U.S. government used *free elections* to install Diem and shore up imperialism. No exploiting class has ever given up power peacefully. The history of rebellion and people's war in Vietnam proves that only mass violence can overthrow the bosses.

Another point pledges "to enter discussion of

procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported regime." Playing its role of "impartial arbitrator" to the hilt, the treaty calls for a *joint cease-fire*. In the American tradition of "good sportsmanship," the Vietnamese masses are thus called upon to abandon their struggle against the imperialists. The peace treaty leaders push the idea that it is wrong for Vietnamese working people to kill their oppressors. Their document sucks the life out of people's war. By the principles of the peace treaty, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS was also wrong in clapping down the South Vietnamese ambassador because we abridged his political freedom to speak, not to mention his *freedom* to murder working people to secure U.S. profits. This "peace" treaty is a gift to U.S. imperialism.

Senators McCarthy and Goodell have already come out for the treaty. The treaty bends over backwards to appeal to Nixon by guaranteeing "humane" treatment to U.S. prisoners of war. In fact, Nixon could sign it!

On its own, the peace treaty would have little appeal to American students. But the treaty has been endorsed by Madame Binh, the Provisional Revolutionary Government negotiator in Paris. Its main political appeal stems from the cry that it is "what the Vietnamese (read: the revisionist leaders) want."

The treaty is mainly, however, what the CIA wants. About four years ago, the story broke that the National Student Association, spearhead of the anti-communist International Student Congress, was controlled and funded by the CIA. Publicly, President Johnson issued an order stopping the activities of the



CIA in the organization. The CIA, however, has never been noted for operating through easily-inspected contractual agreements. The NSA has continued to play a big international role in the student movement, especially around the treaty.

The NLF and PRG leadership study U.S. politics very carefully. These sellouts are so cynical and corrupt that they are trying to use the prestige of Vietnamese people's war to strengthen the Central Intelligence Agency as a force in the "peace" movement. This tactic complements their "dovetail-with-the-doves" strategy.

Local opportunist forces like the *Guardian* have developed a new analysis of the NSA: "The National Student Association has moved gradually Left." Not a word, of course, about the CIA. The "Communist" Party and other "radical" fanciers of the *doves* have also hitched their fortunes to this new star.

Let us look more closely at the activities of NSA president David Ifshin, the leading U.S. student signer of the peace treaty. Last spring, during the student uprising at Syracuse, student leader Ifshin met secretly with the president of the University. Ifshin offered to stage a symbolic sit-in with nine other student government leaders until things cooled off. For the next four days, these *leaders* sat in the building. The president put a cordon of cops around it to ensure that other students did not turn this symbolic protest into a real fight!

This spring Ifshin, along with long-time operator Rennie Davis, has proposed a more militant tactic of civil disobedience. On May 1, every anti-war student was asked to drive to Washington, stall the car and jam up traffic. This action would not affect Nixon, who can fly in and out by helicopter—but it would certainly be an attack on the black and white working people of Washington. For this scheme, Ifshin will undoubtedly get a medal—from U.S. imperialism.

Even if the U.S. government has stopped direct payment to the NSA, the organization still gets its money from the bosses, mainly the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. But in reality, the CIA is probably still contributing its share. Before the story broke, Sherburne, then NSA president, got scared. So he went from the covert lower echelons of the U.S. government to more "neutral" higher ones. He got as far as Vice-President Hubert Humphrey.

According to *Ramparts*:

Sherburne told the Vice President about the CIA ties and the NSA's financial predicament. Humphrey promised to help the NSA get other independent sources of financing.

Humphrey kept his word and wrote to Roger Blough, Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel, David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Henry Ford, among others. In a typical letter (the one to Roger Blough) Humphrey said:

I have been very much impressed by the work done over the past few years by the National Student Association. I know the officers of the Association well.

As with other such groups the NSA has had a continuing financial difficulty.

I believe that this organization should be able to find support in the private sector, which will enable it to continue its work independently and in the best spirit of private initiative.

Despite Humphrey's entreaties, only a few hundred dollars rolled in from "the private sector."

Through the main CIA conduit, the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, the NSA had obtained \$292,753.60 for October 1965-October 1966. As for NSA's efforts abroad, the Foundation poured \$1,826,000 in grants into the International Student Congress between 1962 and 1964. Since the NSA had such difficulties in securing these large amounts even before the story broke, the CIA is probably still a big contributor.

At the national NSA conference around the treaty in February, the atmosphere was not too open. Robert Williams, the well-known nationalist, was a keynote speaker. Last year, Williams gave lengthy, secret testimony to the Senate Internal Security Committee about his travels in Cuba and China and Africa. A member of the subcommittee said, "It's not accurate to say Williams is cooperating with us. He's simply telling the truth." ("Subcommittee Protects Robert Williams," by Saul Friedman, Washington, D.C., *Free Press*). When an SDS member heckled Williams at the conference, a strange man came over to him and warned, "You'd better not say anything more about Robert Williams or you'll get hurt," and disappeared. Mission Impossible? No, NSA!

### The Labor-University Alliance

Ifshin is also the leading "student" in a new coalition, the "labor-university alliance." This organization is a sell-out-union-leader/student-politician/university-administration parody of a worker-student alliance. It has some grandiose schemes: 15 locals and 100,000 members within a year! But it has no accomplishments except approval for the peace treaty. Its collection of stars includes union mis-leaders Leonard Woodcock, sellout president of the United Auto Workers; James Matles, former member of the "Communist" Party and sellout president of the United Electrical Workers; Ralph Nader, publicist against pollution and a big fad in the bosses' press (Nader never complains about hazardous factory conditions—he, union leaders, and bosses have a common interest in focusing on classless ecology rather than unemployment and on-the-job dangers); George Wald, Nobel Prize-winning biologist who thinks he has a special mission "to bring peace to the younger generation"; and Jerome Wiesner, President of MIT (he was a leading opponent of the fight against racist pay differentials at the MIT Faculty Club and accused SDS of "conning the black workers into it").

*Science* magazine reports that this august collection of dignitaries is hostile to taking a stand on issues:



Suggestions by academics that the group adopt specific stands on political issues ran into opposition. "You're living in a different world," said Tony Mazzochi, legislative director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, "if you think that the workers think the way some of us do on issues of existence! It would be counterproductive." Some of the labor people and many of the students were adamant that group pronouncements on national issues would cause a loss of confidence in the organization among the rank and file.

The unions in this alliance also have a history of working with the U.S. government. Union leaders like Woodcock and Victor Reuther have often been portrayed by liberal and "Communist" Party publicists as "progressive" forces. For instance, George Morris, in *The CIA and American Labor* (an International Publishers book printed by the "Communist" Party) says George Meany and Jay Lovestone are the bad guys who work with the CIA while the UAW leadership, particularly Walter and Victor Reuther, are good guys. For many years Walter Reuther served on the Board of Directors of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in Latin America. J.R. Grace of the Grace Shipping Lines and representatives of nearly every imperialist corporation that invests in Latin America sat with Reuther on that board. AIFLD's purpose was to develop anti-communist trade union leadership in Latin America, the CIA provided the funds. Reuther also served on the similar African-American Labor Council to shore up U.S. imperialism on that continent. Reuther's brother Victor, leading theoretician of the "labor-university alliance," cooperated with Jay Lovestone through the first eleven years of the AFL-CIO's International Union Department. Then the *Washington Post* ran a four-part series on Lovestone's connections with the CIA (Dec. 30, 1965-Jan. 2, 1966). So a few days later Victor Reuther *courageously* blew the whistle on Lovestone in order to protect himself. Morris, this revisionist author, supports the Reuthers because they become pro-Soviet revisionist peace forces. These parasites stand for the "peaceful" imperialist exploitation of workers at home and abroad.

The labor-university alliance is the U.S. government's attempt, with the help of the "Communist" Party, to create some liberal sellout leadership to coopt any further outbreaks of anti-war rage. The government also hopes to present a "progressive anti-communist" alternative to an anti-imperialist movement among workers. So far, however, the labor-university alliance has barely gotten off the ground even around the people's peace treaty—workers and students internationally and here at home, are still fighting U.S. imperialism.

### Progress of Cop Ansara

Michael A. Ansara is a well-known *radical* figure around New England. He has always stood for alliances with liberal politicians, "subtle" behind-the-

scenes negotiations with college administrators, and other similar maneuvers. Lately Ansara has been pushing the peace treaty, and was the keynote speaker at a recent NSA conference. In addition, Ansara has become a full-fledged, open fink. In return for personal immunity, he testified in closed session before the Senate Internal Security Committee represented by racist Strom Thurmond.

Ansara's outlook in finking was simple: "as long as I, the Great Ansara, emerge unscathed, who cares about what happens to everyone else?" But the implications are even deeper. The prime target of this spring's House and Senate Internal Security Committee investigations is the Progressive Labor Party. Ansara, a professional anti-communist, would not hesitate a second to make any verbal attack against PL that the government required of him.

Ansara has a long career of working with the government. In October 1967, about 2,000 students staged a pacifist sit-in at the Pentagon and were attacked by the police. This attack set off a wave of anti-Dow recruiter sit-ins on campuses. At Harvard-Radcliffe, one of the "leaders" of the sit-in was Michael Ansara, editor of *Ramparts*, recently returned to campus. During the sit-in Ansara claimed that various Harvard professors worked for the CIA. So many Harvard professors work for the government openly as top advisors (Kissinger, Moynihan, Bundy) and covertly that today this charge seems unassailable, but at the time it seemed startling to most students. There was a great stir about whether or not SDS could back it up.

Though everyone in SDS pressed Ansara to release his information, he staunchly refused. He claimed that his career at *Ramparts* would be jeopardized if he released his expose before publishing it in the next month's issue of the magazine. So what if everyone else gets thrown out of school; so what if anti-imperialist struggle is set back by my selfishness—my career at *Ramparts* comes first, was Ansara's altruistic theme song. Despite promises to publish his information in the *Crimson* (Harvard-funded student paper), Ansara never released it.

Five days after the sit-in, a mass meeting of 800 people took place. The chairman, whom Ansara helped choose, was a suspicious customer named Sam Brown, a former NSA official—from the organization's pre-exposure hey-day, later to become coordinator of the McCarthy campaign and the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. Ansara had given yet another promise to tell everything he knew to a friend. Instead, Ansara set his friend and SDS' up for a fall. His friend related the skimpy information then publicly available: business school graduate and dean Richard M. Hunt, who was very interested in SDS, was the head of a CIA conduit fund. After Ansara had finished, Brown called on Martin Peretz, another former student politician and later a Gene McCarthy supporter, who denounced "(Joe) McCarthyism of the Left" and defended Hunt.

After this meeting, most people in SDS were furious at Ansara. He had to leave Harvard again, never publishing his story in *Tamparts*. At the time, many of us write him off merely as a braggart who had gotten carried away with his own self-importance. But we had not made a very shrude estimate of Ansara's character.

A year later, Ansara re-appeared as a leader of the Rightwing of SDS and was elected regional fund raiser. Shortly thereafter, hippie millionaire and



*"If you're interested, Senator, we could begin grooming you as a lesser evil."*

financier of black capitalism Ralph Hoagland gave Ansara \$100,000. (Ansara claims to have received only \$25,000) This money was given him personally. Hoagland expected Ansara to push student power politics and counter-institutions, and to attack pro-working class forces and especially PL.

Hoagland is a big-time operator of the very sort who were CIA conduits in the past. He owns the mod culture-center called the Orson Welles Cinema, the Consumer Value Stores chain and has direct interests in Chess King, a mod clothing store which at least in one case (Waterbury, Conn.) is known to have dispensed drugs to local teenagers. He raised the money for FUND (Foundation for Urban Negro Development) from \$1000-a-plate breakfasts for such notables as Ted Kennedy, Henry Cabot Lodge and Phil Spiegel (head of the Lemberg Center at Brandeis University, which studies "riot control" and "student disorders": he was cited earlier for his concept of "community self-policing"). His imperialist ventures include Green Shoe, of which Thom McAn, whose shoes are made in the sweatshops of fascist Spain, is a subsidiary. Ansara has since used the money for a spate of "radical" anti-communist papers—the *Old Mole*, *Volunteers for America*. *The*

*People First, For the People*, etc.

At that time, Hoagland was interviewed by several members of the SDS regional interim committee. He bragged to them that he could always tell "when a black man is a good dancer" and that Mike Ansara would be "my bridge to the white community." We thought that Hoagland chose Ansara just because Ansara was such a viciously self-serving, racist, anti-working class misleader.

There is a more plausible theory, however: Hoagland gave Ansara the government's pay-off for keeping his mouth shut about Harvard professors and the CIA.

Some might ask: did Ansara really know anything about the CIA? Ansara co-authored *Ramparts'* "expose" of the CIA's role in the National Student Association. He knew exactly what he was and was not talking about.

But how then can PL suspect him of working for the government, after all, he helped blow the whistle on the CIA at least once? The *Ramparts* article, however, is not an expose of the CIA, but a cover for the liberals. It argues that the CIA controlled NSA's international policies, but that domestically, the NSA was a wholesome "progressive anti-communist" force. The domestic NSA was manipulated by the U.S. government, even the *Ramparts* article gives abundant evidence to substantiate this theory. Consider the following description. Two *Ramparts* editors spring the story on Ed Schwartz, then NSA's National Affairs vice-president:

Schwartz, talkative and quick-witted, had been the leader of the liberal caucus in NSA. He was in Berkeley working as a behind-the-scenes student political advisor-negotiator during the student strike at the University of California campus [much like Ansara, who always talked covertly with the college administration while posturing as a "militant leader" —Ed.].

It seems a direct, ironic result of Cold War politics that Schwartz had to drop his liberal Berkeley activities and cross the Bay to discuss his organization's cooperation with the CIA. Through a long and tiring discussion that lasted most of one night, Schwartz did not deny NSA's relationship to the CIA. Instead he pleaded that great damage would be done to the good work of NSA by revelation of this relationship.

Mr. Schwartz hardly sounds like a disconcerted innocent, shocked that his noble ideals were being dragged through the mud by the CIA. He sounds more like someone who was very well prepared for the question and was trying to protect his masters.

Ansara, much like Morris, performed a service for the CIA by shielding its *dove* connections, first in the *Ramparts* article and later at Harvard. Ansara used to hold out like crazy on giving information about the CIA or about Hoagland's money to anyone in SDS. But small wonder that the "great man" now spills what beans he has left to Strom Thurmond!

With the help of the press and the government, these Rightwing forces were able to draw several

thousand students to their next all-class unity, pro-liberal, pacifist extravaganza in Washington on April 24, but the middle class anti-war movement is past its peak.

Imperialist war, however, sharpens contradictions within the imperialist country. Inflation and unemployment have driven workers to a series of spontaneous mass actions like rebellions from Cairo to New Bedford to Augusta, and the postal wildcat, against U.S. bosses. Racist unemployment is now the cutting edge of the rulers' attack on American working people. In response, a new anti-imperialist movement—different in composition and outlook from the old anti-war movement—can be built. In composition, the new movement will consist of workers and students, black, Latin, Asian, and white, and will exclude liberal politicians and other imperialists. In outlook, the new movement will fight imperialist exploitation on an internationalist basis (i.e., an injury to working people anywhere in the world is an attack on U.S. workers and students also and must be answered) rather than on the liberal-pacifist basis of "end the war now," "bring the boys home," "peace now," etc.

The rulers have nothing to offer this movement except hot air, more layoffs, and increased terror. For February the liberal papers put up big pro-administration headlines that the unemployment rate went down from 6.0 to 5.8 per cent. This *decrease* did not, however, mean that more unemployed workers found jobs. In fact, the number of jobs available and the average work week both *declined* in February. The reason for the *decrease* was that a large number of workers despaired of finding jobs and stopped signing up on the unemployment rolls. Hence, the actual number of unemployed workers went up for February while the official figures *dropped*. "Decreases" like this breed revolt.

Official figures also understate the problem: they do not count those who have "stopped looking for work," welfare mothers, workers in the army, etc. Among some groups unemployment even by official figures is much higher than 6 per cent. Among black workers the official rate is 9.3 per cent and for black ex-GIs aged 19-20, 66.7 per cent (Chicago *Tribune*, Dec. 27, 1970). Since these workers are most oppressed they are also the most militant.

But unemployment also hits ex-students and students hard. There is now a record 3.7 per cent unemployment rate among white-collar workers, and 3 per cent among professionals. Even college professors are being hit. Several hundred college presidents just had an exclusive one-week meeting at railway magnate Edward Henry Harriman's old mansion (now Columbia University property) in upstate New York. Dr. Johns, president of Stetson University in Florida summed it up: "The theme that's developed is to use the cost squeeze to cut away the fat and get faculty approval for it." Company recruitment at all colleges is down 45 per cent in the last two years.

The Boston *Globe* reported that 229 workers, including some Ph.D.'s applied for a single, \$115-a-week clerk's job in a bookstore (Feb. 4, 1971). The New York *Times* described the "Hardluck Class of '70." Charles Jones (B.A. from University of Illinois in space engineering) had 40 fruitless interviews. He now works as a welder at Chrysler. Another student (B.A., University of Washington) wanted to be an historian but couldn't find a job. So he sent out 150 fruitless applications to publishing houses, radio and TV stations. Now he has found work as a department store trainee. In general, many former engineers and Ph.D.'s are taking low-paying working class jobs like cab driving. In a masterpiece of bosses' journalism called "The Uses of Adversity," *Newsweek* tells us how much "happier" these people are. It cites some peculiar examples—people who switched from being engineers to being lower-level managers or cops. For *Newsweek*, serving the bosses is paradise! Similarly, *Time* ran a column about the "cooling off" effect unemployment supposedly has on radical activity. Six thousand-five hundred workers and students just marched on Washington, and two thousand marched in Sacramento against the war and racist unemployment, but whistle to keep your spirits up, gentlemen...

#### Community Colleges: Focus of Revolt

Rising unemployment lays the basis for a massive worker-student alliance. Among students, the leading fighters will come from the two-year schools. There, students come from the working class; many are black and Latin; most work to get through school and will soon become full-time workers again.

The community college program, pushed by the government Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the Carnegie Foundation, has always been linked to unemployment. For instance, the catalogue of Los Angeles City College (20,000 students) stresses that the school has "waxed in recession and depression."

Despite promises of *glowing futures* and *better jobs*, the community college program is a hoax. A recent survey of Manhattan Community College graduates over the past several years reveals that of the *top-paid* 75, two earn \$18,000; no more than 25 earn \$10,000; and the remaining 47 earn no more than \$7,500. Not included in the survey are the hundreds of graduates who earn less—and in some cases far less—than \$7,500. Nor does this survey include the many students whom MCC deliberately *contrived* to flunk out or the hundreds who study part-time in the usually vain hope of obtaining a job promotion.

These schools give the appearance of the bosses' vaunted "democratization" of higher education. After the students graduate or drop out, the rulers thumb their noses at them and say, "see, it's your fault. You had your chance to escape from the working class and weren't good enough."

Using the community colleges as showcases, the rulers seek to portray themselves as the benefactors of humanity and the partisans of "equal opportunity

for all Americans." In reality, however, they don't believe a word of their souped-up sales talk. After the wave of working class ghetto rebellions that began in 1964 in Harlem, they instituted the community college program for three reasons: to make the unemployment rate seem lower than it is without digging into their profits to expand the job market; to keep the most militant working class youth—many of whom participated actively in the rebellions—temporarily off the streets; and to contaminate these same youth with an anti-communist, racist, nationalist and male supremacist *education*.

Behind the closed doors of their inner sanctums, the rulers tell each other the truth about this scheme, as they congratulate themselves for its most "creative" (read: racist) features. In an article written for fellow college administrators, Dean Richard Laughran of Bronx Community College expresses his horror at the "savagery of today's (working class) youth." He goes on to assert that the community college system is the last outpost of civilization in the battle against this "savagery," and that the prime function of community colleges must be to take "belligerent" or "criminal" teenagers and remould 'hem into "constructive citizens" (Community College and Civilization, *Schools and Society*, vol. 96, pp. 176-7, March 16, 1967).

With this unabashed statement, Laughran reveals the full extent of the rulers' racist hypocrisy: despite their claim to "serve the people," they intend to use the community colleges as "correctional institutions" to reverse the growing struggle of working-class youth against them. But as hundreds of community college students proved by demonstrating against unemployment in Washington and Sacramento on March 20, this ruling class scheme cannot work. It will turn into its opposite as thousands of community college students begin to rebel against their administrations.

High unemployment and low-paying jobs undermine the illusion of escape which these schools seek to instill. In addition, the cost of education is very high—and community colleges rob students daily and hourly. At New York City Community College, PL and others are organizing a fight against the 1,000 free hour system. Students in training for jobs like X-ray technician "donate" 1,000 unpaid hours of labor to the bosses. Capitalism isn't good enough for community college bosses. They prefer to make their students indentured servants for two years before "liberating" them on the job market. Exploitation like this before, during and after college, coupled with racist police harassment, will make these schools the main center of the new anti-imperialist movement among students.

An education at the four-year schools is also increasingly harmful—not only do you get the same job as high school graduates but you are also several thousand dollars in debt. More and more students realize that the only purpose of college is to train the student in bosses' ideas. Already nearly 50 per

cent of all college students leave or flunk out before earning a degree. As one high school senior put it, "there's no point in going to any college just for the sake of going. One of my brother's friends majored in physics at Haverford, now he's a carpenter. He could have done that without wasting all that money," wrote *Time*, February 22, 1971.

Even professionals have begun to see that bosses' education is no guarantee of security. A spokesman for a group of unemployed engineers said: "we don't want a new race for the moon. We want an economy that will no longer be subject to boom and bust" (*Boston Globe*, January 30, 1971).

Only one answer exists for unemployment and this "boom or bust" imperialist economy—crush the bosses, fight for working class dictatorship, and build socialism!

### Need to Smash Racism

The rulers have always pushed racism as a key way to divide the student movement, and especially to separate white students from the militant struggles of black and other minority students. Revisionist and liberal misleaders also sought to keep the old middle class anti-war movement isolated from black students and especially all-black schools. As a result, a whole part of the recent history of the student movement has been suppressed.

For instance, contrary to publicized mythology, the first major student strike around working-class anti-imperialist demands took place, *not* at Columbia in spring 1968, but at Central State, an all-black school in Ohio in late 1967. Viciously harassed and exploited, the cafeteria workers went out on strike. Students organized to support them, joined militant picket lines and kept out scabs and cops. The governor called in the National Guard, the school was shut down, and a reign of terror, including room-to-room searches, was instituted. Nonetheless the strike won some of its demands. This struggle was never mentioned in the bosses' press.

Many other militant working-class fights have occurred at all black schools in the South. These fights have been met with the sharpest attacks (shootings of students as at Orangeburg and Texas Southern were the rule, not an exception) and with silence in the press. The fight against ROTC at Jackson State last spring and the police murder of two demonstrators were given some national coverage in the midst of the student strike. But the racist press covered it up by saying "there was no apparent reason for these disturbances" or that the demonstrations were the result of an outside agitator: "a white anti-war leafletter." The revisionist-liberal-led *student-movement* did nothing about Jackson State. Even though PL and SDS found out the truth about this struggle, our demonstrations in support of it were several days late. PL and SDS in Texas and nationally have had a sharper approach to allying with the anti-ROTC struggle at Prairie View A&M. Launching anti-racist struggles and building a united

anti-imperialist movement is key to defeating the rulers' efforts to divide us.

While suppressing working-class actions, the rulers publicize nationalist struggles and figures. In general the rulers have pushed black studies. They have also subsidized nationalist student misleaders who cooperate with them and oppose pro-working-class fights. Now, however, most nationalist demands like black studies have been granted. The nationalist movement on many campuses is at a low ebb. Many black student organizations have dwindled to small social clubs with a larger circle of sympathizers who hold some nationalist ideas, but who want primarily to fight racism and do not see the nationalists leading this fight.

But the rulers and revisionists have made the names of the Panther leaders and Angela Davis household words. These *leaders* build nationalism, terrorism and alliance with the liberals; and they oppose rebellions and the struggles of black and white workers (in "spontaneous 'riots' black people are just hurting themselves," says Bobby Seale in *Seize the Time*). The rulers also use the decadent squabbles between Cleaver and Newton to try to discredit militancy and revolutionary communism.

In addition, the NSA pushes unity with the government-funded National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) rather than with workers who organize to fight the bosses and their government. The Mothers Committee to Smash the Flat Grant and other workers launched the struggle against "Mother's Day" at Blair's Supermarket. But Blair's gives the Panthers some food for their breakfast program to buy their silence about its vicious exploitative practices toward workers. So the Panthers said, "don't fight Blair's. Blair's are good capitalists."

At one demonstration, the Boston Police Department threatened to call in the National Guard if the mothers entered the store. The Panthers, however, not only broke the mothers' picket line, but walked through the riot police into the store selling their paper. Students can ally with either the welfare mothers or the Panthers. Rulers and revisionists push the Panthers; SDS held rallies supporting the mothers.

As SDS and PL launch more struggles around the racist oppression of workers, a black and white anti-imperialist movement becomes more and more a reality. SDS held a national march of 2,000 in support of the GM strike in Detroit on November 3, 1970. At least one-fourth of the marchers were workers; another fourth were black and other minority workers and students. After this demonstration SDS and PL started sustained work in the community colleges (e.g., the fight against the 1000 free hour program) and built more anti-racist struggles at the four-year schools (e.g., the fights against racist pay differentials at Harvard-Radcliffe and MIT). A much larger number of black and other minority students are now building these anti-imperialist struggles and came to the March 20 demonstrations in Washington, Houston and Sacramento.

Though nationalist organizations among black students have declined, a strong organization has emerged among Chicano students on the West Coast, called MECHA. MECHA is *both* nationalist and pro-working class. These ideas are contradictory—nationalism pushes reliance on "good" bosses and undercuts unified working class struggle. But MECHA rank and filers and SDSers had a joint worker-student alliance contingent at the recent East Los Angeles rebellion against police brutality. Although MECHA does not engage in on-campus struggles against the administration, most of its members support the fight SDS initiated against the police institute at Cal State. As SDS continues to ally with Chicano workers, a joint anti-imperialist movement can be built on unity around pro-working class issues.

### Need to Fight for Internationalism

Workers and students worldwide have the same enemy—all bosses—and should support each others' struggles. March 4 was the anniversary of the mass burning of the ROTC building at the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras, led by militant women. On that day SDS led anti-war demonstrations on campuses all over the country. Although most of these actions were small, SDS helped give the U.S. anti-ROTC movement a broader, deeper internationalist character. Similarly, actions like suppressing the "freedom of speech" and polite conversation about imperialist butchery of Portuguese Foreign Minister Patricio at the University of Conn. or of I. Milton Sachs, the Thai ambassador, et al., at Harvard-Radcliffe, embody genuine solidarity with the working people of the world. These acts say: when we are strong enough, we will wipe all you imperialists out for your crimes against working people. On March 20 in Washington, a major theme was internationalism: this worker-student alliance will strike crushing blows against imperialism.

The lifeblood of this movement is mass work. Through skyrocketing sales of *Challenge-Desafio* involving thousands of workers and students all across the country, the influence of communist ideas has penetrated deeply into struggles vastly beyond our numbers in the past years. In addition, workers contacted through *Challenge* sales have become communists and are helping to forge united front organizations for struggle against the rulers. As a result of this policy, PL is becoming a party of the working class.

The influence of the student movement has grown remarkably as a result of open agitation. In the old SDS, handing out leaflets or canvassing around a campaign was most chapters' maximum contact with the masses of students. Today, despite weaknesses, mass sale of *New Left Notes*, posterage, and Radical Arts Troupe performances drawing anti-imperialist lessons through variants on popular songs, have a much deeper and more thorough-going effect. For March 20, SDS and PL set up tables daily on many campuses. People went to classes wearing

sandwich boards. We raised money through cake sales and by asking many other students for contributions. Given the blackout in the rulers' press, mass agitation was the way in which thousands of workers and students learned about and participated in building this demonstration.

SDS conventions used to be several day-long debates on major issues. This past December in Chicago, however, we not only discussed how to build a fighting movement, but also did mass leafleting, sold thousands of *New Left Notes* and *Challenges*, and put up posters for the concluding demonstration of 1500 against racist unemployment. Contact with the previous ones. Every SDS meeting could benefit from combining discussion with mass work at the end of the meeting.

The rulers agitate against us daily and hourly in a thousand ways—through anti-communist articles in the press, movies on campus revolt, books, etc. But we had not made a very shrewd estimate of An-fold attacks on working people, we gain a tremendous response. Developing this new mass approach is a fundamental method for turning around the rulers' attacks.

### Becoming Communists Among Students

Many organizers in the old SDS did not take being a student very seriously. Students in the four-year schools came out readily to join SDS. These organizers could have a base without being fully integrated with other students.

In the present situation, this style of work is a complete loser. Students are skeptical of the value of going to college. But once they enroll, they are forced to take their studies seriously. At University of Connecticut, a working-class four-year school, for instance, the tuition is about to be raised from \$300 to \$1,000 per term. The administration sent a letter to the faculty instructing them not to "lower their standards" (read: flunk out 50 per cent of the students). Now the administration also requires attendance at courses. Thus students have to attend several hours of lectures in bourgeois ideas daily. In addition, they have to spend more time working to make up the extra tuition. To win these students to communism means exposing these ideas and be-

coming a full-time communist both in class and at work.

In going to class, our aim should be to turn the classroom into a battleground between the bosses' ideas and proletarian ideas, just as the aim of a communist in a shop is to expose and make war on the bosses. Some professors are big-time enemies of working people: for instance, Samuel P. Huntington at Harvard who expounded the "urbanization" theory (when the U.S. government terror-bombs Vietnamese villages, Huntington says that the peasants who leave for the cities are being "voluntarily urbanized") or racist Arthur Jensen or Milton Friedman at Chicago ("the social responsibility of business is to increase its profits") or Galbraith (his demand for wage-price controls by the government will only attack workers' already declining living standards). We should aim through questioning, talking with other students and leafleting to build a movement like the one at Chicago which fights for the demand: "no layoffs of workers—layoff Friedman instead!"

Many other teachers are honest people who believe a lot of the bosses' ideas. Agitation in their classes should be geared to exposing their ideas and influencing and winning over other students and perhaps even the teacher to build struggles on campus. We should especially concentrate on large introductory social science and humanities courses which "introduce students to the great cultural traditions of Western (read: ruling class) civilization." In *Introductory History* at Harvard, for instance, a guest lecturer put forward the argument that "slavery declined in Greece and Rome because animals do not breed well in captivity." Most students in the class were stunned, but nothing was done about it. We should make it impossible for schools to get away with that kind of crap!

If we combine the classroom struggle against bourgeois ideology with mass fights against racist unemployment, alliances with campus and off-campus workers against layoffs, speedup, racism, and general oppression, and campaigns against U.S. imperialist exploitation of foreign workers, we can build a revolutionary student movement that will help workers and students worldwide to crush U.S. bosses once and for all!

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