

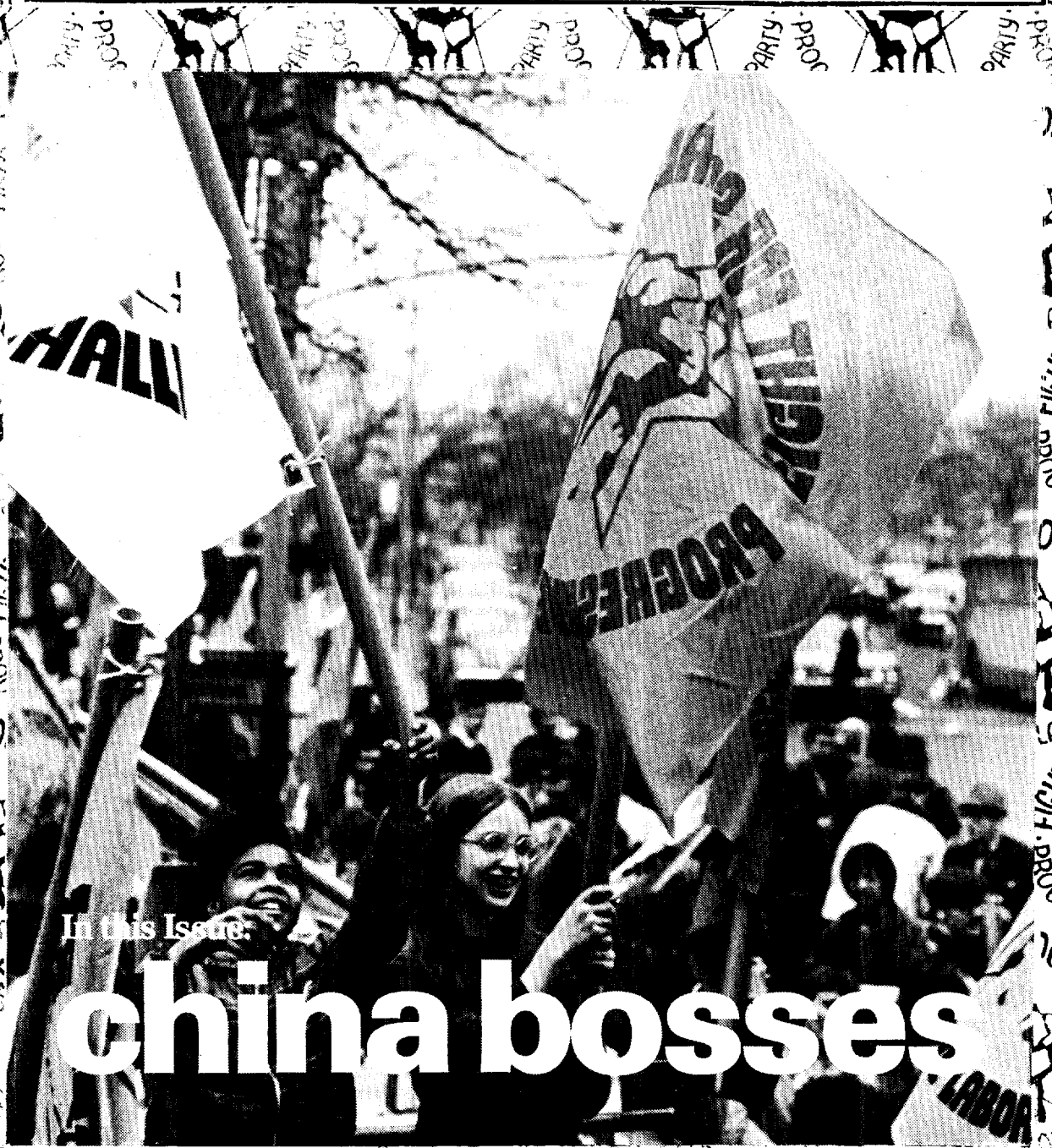
# PL

50¢

PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 10, No. 5

April 1977



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# china bosses

# SMASH APARTHEID!



Black industrial workers during strike  
wave in Natal South Africa in 1972

- \*Rise of South African Fascism
- \*Life Under Apartheid
- \*U.S. Imperialism's Support for Apartheid
- \*The Anti-Apartheid Struggle:  
In South Africa  
& the U.S.

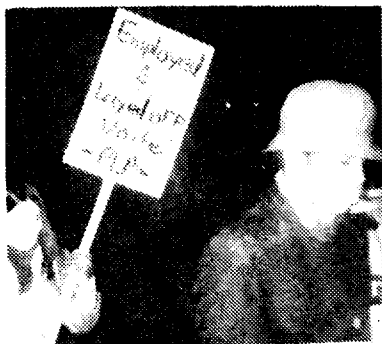
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# notes & comments & notes & comments & notes

## MORE ON "MORE ON FUN CITY"

Dear PL Magazine:

"More on Fun City" in the April 1976 PL Magazine contains a number of very valuable points and should be read by all who want to understand how the decline of U.S. imperialism leads to cutbacks in education, public services, hospitals, and so forth. But one point it makes is wrong.

The article begins with a criticism of the original article on fun city. The author of "More" says that the first article implies that what is good for the bosses is good for the workers when the first says that the decline of the U.S. bosses' position internationally means a decline in the standard of life for U.S. workers. The author of "More" disagrees. He says that workers' standard of living depends on how class conscious we are and how hard we fight.

We seem to be in a bind. If we say that the bosses' troubles mean hard times for workers, we are saying that what's good for the capitalists' is good for us. So why not help them out, work hard, fight in their imperialist wars? On the other hand, if we say, following the author of "More," that the workers' standard of living depends on how hard we fight, then we don't need a revolution, since we can improve our standard of living with harder class struggle under capitalism. What is a communist line on these questions?

The main point is this: no matter what we do, things are going to get worse for workers. Capitalism cannot meet our needs. If we don't believe this, why the hell are we fighting for revolution? Of course, if we don't fight the bosses for reforms things will get **even worse**. But not that much worse (we won't be able to stop most of the cutbacks). Anyway, that is not the main point. If we don't fight the bosses for reforms, we will never build a communist movement to get rid of the bosses once and for all.

Under capitalism, the main thing that determines the welfare of the workers is the ability of a given class of bosses to meet our needs at that time. Of course, if we don't fight, we will get nothing, but workers are always fighting. So the main determinant of our welfare under capitalism is what they can provide. Communism develops as workers, at first individually and then systematically through the efforts of a revolutionary communist party, come to realize that capitalism cannot meet their needs. In this sense, when we are talking about the fight for socialism, the main determinant of the workers' welfare is how hard we fight and whether we make revolution.

We must understand that in the period ahead as we organize and fight these cuts and fight back on our jobs, the conditions we live under will continue to get worse. (Just as, in the thirties, at the height of communist activity, 1937, conditions for the working class were at their worst.) The ruling class will not improve or even maintain our standard of living for one simple reason: they cannot afford to. So to meet our demands (at least for more than two months as in the recent victory against racist pay differentials which was followed by 123 layoffs in AFSCME Local 1006) they would have to commit class suicide. What we have to look forward to is a further decline, more cuts, intensified racism by the bosses, the institution of fascism as our fightback sharpens, and world war. We cannot expect that things will get better. Not at least **until we overthrow the government, seize power for ourselves, and bury the bosses once and for all.**

This is why we are communists; this is how we can explain to our fellow workers why they need to go beyond the reform struggle and join us in the Progressive Labor Party. The conditions of decline of the bosses affect every one of us every day in every aspect of our lives, or will soon in the future. This is why we must

fight for socialism.

A St. Louis PL member  
(Paul G.)

## TRA-ducig

Dear PL:

In the latest issue of PL Magazine (Vol. 10 No. 4) is a letter by Edward C. which purports to be a critique of the magazine, **Toward Revolutionary Art (TRA)**. Inasmuch as PL is seriously attempting to develop a line on culture, the inclusion of this letter in the party's theoretical organ is nothing less than an embarrassment. Written in a style reminiscent of a 6th grade book report where the writer must show he's read the assignment, but is not yet capable of any critical or analytic understanding, the reader of the letter is left as unenlightened as to what TRA is about as the writer apparently was.

More serious are the blatant contradictions and fuzzy thinking within the letter. Firstly, regarding the poems, Edward C. writes, "there are none (with the exception of Pablo Neruda, where two poems of decent quality were reprinted) that absolutely sides with the working class..." Yet later on he states, "Our comrade Brill contributed two poems to TRA. We saw neither of them in our magazine or our paper, and he's in our party." Now, if in the opinion of Edward C., Brill's poetry is neither of "decent quality" nor "sides with the working class," should they be published in C/D or PL Magazine just because he's in the party? I think not. But I definitely do not agree with the evaluation of Brill's poetry, especially his "Operation Zebra" which even Edward C. sums up as "having something to say about the racist super-harassment of black workers in San Francisco." How it does not side with the working class eludes me.

At the end of his letter he writes, "In TRA, there is a montage showing a family all asleep watching TV, with a smiling jar



of coffee with boxing gloves on in front of them. The caption reads, 'Sanka scores by a knockout.' How different the reaction would be if instead we saw a big pile of laid out bosses with all the workers surrounding them, with the caption 'Communism scores by a knockout.' Great! Taking the letter-writer's advice would make that montage the anti-communist statement he accuses it of being. Imagine, it would be seen as a revolutionary act attended by an audience of apathetic workers who are "all asleep." In this connection it is obvious that the tendency many comrades have of trying to artificially tag on revolutionary slogans or solutions can be totally inappropriate and oftentimes backfire. The graphic he here attacks is a statement about capitalist media, and cannot simplistically be changed into what Edward C. would like.

Another example of this type of inanity is his comment on the same artist, "One photo montage shows a giant rubber tire with a huge claw coming out of it chasing two (only two) frantic people down a highway." The implication being that if the tire were chasing masses of people, the graphic would be more meaningful. Why? I suppose he could have made a case by saying that the masses could then turn around, and together begin beating on the tire. Would this have made a more revolutionary montage? Perhaps. Try to visualize it.

The letter goes on to say about TRA, "The cover itself shows a picture in black and red of what probably is a revolutionary getting shot. There's also a poster-print with the Spanish words 'Attica es Fascismo' and a big

white skull at the bottom... the magazine leans toward a defeatist attitude (the front cover, the big tire, Attica)." For Edward C. to claim it is "probably" a revolutionary, would make it just as easy to claim that it's "probably" a reactionary getting shot. I don't wish to nit-pick, but the letter is full of "seems like" and "probabilities" which make it quite apparent that the writer is befuddled by the task he set upon himself. Yes, it is a revolutionary getting shot, but I don't feel it is defeatist. The cry issuing from the revolutionary is not one of despair or of defeat, but of bravery and hope. The death of one revolutionary is the making of ten others. It is simple-minded to think that death and defeatism are synonymous, and it is certainly, unmarxian. It is interesting that immediately following the letter section in this PL Magazine are the photographs accompanying the article on "Stopping Fascism," two of which are captioned: "German soldiers hang Soviet partisans" and "Dead children at Auschwitz." Included also are photos of Communists defeating Fascists. The point being that Edward C. does not see fit to write about the other graphics in TRA—just those he believes to be defeatist. About the Attica poster—it is not, as Edward C. would have it, "Attica es Fascismo" but an interesting blend of both the English and Spanish, "Attica is Fascismo."

"Workers do not need pseudo left, avant garde, artistic (in the bourgeois sense) culture!" It is difficult for me to disagree with that sentence, but apart from empty sloganeering, what does Edward C. mean? Again, and al-

ways by implication, he infers that TRA is "pseudo left" and "avant garde," but he nowhere proves his claim. The statement simply sits there, isolated, unscientific and therefore itself, "pseudo left."

To go on with my nit-picking. The letter continued, "One article was written by the 'Women Weather Underground.' Next issue, we might see (who knows, there could already be) someone representing the U.S. Labor Party or one of a thousand Trot groups." With all the errors I'm beginning to think that Edward C. did not after all prepare for his book report. It was not an "article" the "Weather Underground Women" had in TRA, but a poem about Boston. Yet does he have something to say about the content? No. Did he understand it? He says, "most poems have difficult to read styles." I suppose that's why he confuses a poem with an article. And then he unleashes the bogeyman—the Trots. Talk about defeatism. Is the mere mention of Trotskyites supposed to send shivers down our spines? It is only mere circumstance that Edward C.'s letter did not appear in the same issue as a reprint of TRA's interview with Lester Cole, (see previous issue of PL Magazine) a writer for the C.P.'s **People World**. Would he feel better going to bed with a revisionist?

Certainly TRA is not beyond criticism, but not in the slapdash, unintelligent manner as is here presented. Give Edward C. an "F" on his book report.

Comradely,  
L. Berilla



## ON CAPITALIST DISEASE

Dear PL,

I would like to raise a few disagreements with your article on pellagra. On the whole the article was quite helpful in explaining the historical relation of mass disease to social development and the forces of production. The major weakness, however, was the narrowness of that historical perspective and a tendency to over-rate the value of pellagra as an example of capitalist disease. Diseases of under-nutrition and vitamin deficiency are not the characteristic mass health problems of the U.S. They are by and large limited to the developing periods of industrial society and life in the imperialist colonies. Capitalism develops too, and even has progressive qualities. Although the more ignorant and backward segments of the ruling class tried to hold back the treatment of pellagra, the development of the forces of production under capitalism have virtually eliminated pellagra as well as all diseases of under-nutrition from the United States.

Like scurvy, which resulted from a lack of citrus fruits on long sea voyages, pellagra is characteristic of early capitalism. Vitamin deficiency and malnutrition is in no way unique to capitalism, in fact, as a general category of social illness, it was certainly more common in pre-capitalist societies. Rickets—lack of vitamin D—is depicted in Greek and Roman statues. Beriberi and kwashiorkor are as old as mankind. Historically speaking, pellagra had a very limited existence, only emerging when corn was produced as the major food commodity for the urban working class. To elevate that disease to the level of the principal example of capitalist disease introduces serious distortions.

Rudolf Virchow, a social revolutionary of the mid-19th century, and founder of the modern medical science of pathology, said, "Mass disease means society is out of joint." Any disease of epidemic proportions, reaching masses of people, must have its

cause in social conditions. In Virchow's time the crowded and unsanitary living conditions of the new cities led to typhoid fever and tuberculosis. Simply recognizing that society causes disease is not the end of the battle for Marxists. By the same token it is not sufficient to recognize that the history of all society is the history of class struggle. We must understand the specific nature of class struggle under capitalism, the historical origins of each class, their strengths and weaknesses, the nature of their internal contradictions, and how to solve them.

What are the mass diseases of imperialism, the society of mature capitalism? Ninety percent of adults in the U.S. die of heart attacks and strokes, cancer and addiction. A historical analysis of those modern plagues brings

---

### Recruit

Struggles and defeat  
Inch to victory  
Then leap with cause  
Revolutionary will  
Trained to fear  
No hunt for method  
Burrowing for Party,  
Marx, Lenin, us,  
Digging the dogma  
Relentlessly lodged  
Out of matter.

Larry Cutler

---

us closer to an understanding of capitalist disease. **PL Magazine** and **Challenge-Desafio** have dealt with the politics of the cause and treatment of those diseases on several occasions, although admittedly only scratching the surface. Commodity production and the repressive control of capitalism, in particular racism, are the fundamental causes of the diseases of capitalism. In fact, heart disease, the number one killer in industrial society, is primarily a disease of over-nutrition (high cholesterol and animal fat intake). Between drugs, cigarettes, high-fat food, alcohol, automobile accidents, industrial deaths, cancer-causing additives, etc., the great percentage of pre-

mature death and misery in the American working class results from the need to sell commodities and make profit. That is the link of capitalist disease to the development of the forces of production.

A further distortion from the use of pellagra as an example of capitalist disease arises in the critique of the "magic bullet" theory in capitalist health science. The view put forward in your article again tends to be rather narrow, almost anti-scientific. The argument can simply be turned around to the disadvantage of the author. What more clearly demonstrates the revolutionary power of the "magic bullet" than the history of the deficiency diseases? Scurvy was the number one cause of death and disability among sailors on long sea voyages so essential to early imperialism. It was truly a great breakthrough to discover that a few limes would completely eradicate that crippling disease. Likewise with pellagra. A 100% effective antidote can now be had in a bowl of Wheaties. That's why pellagra is a poor example; the important diseases of capitalism can never be cured with a "magic bullet," only social revolution will accomplish that. Let us not deny capitalism its just place in history, both its success and its failures. Only a scientific understanding of society will make it possible for us to seize the future as our own.

Despite whatever shortcomings it might have the article was a valuable contribution to our understanding of health and the class struggle. The need for progressive and communist health workers to come forward and build a movement for better health care for the working class is greater now than ever before. There is an aching void of materialist ideas and leadership in health. I see no reason why we couldn't use **PL Magazine** to initiate the discussion and struggle necessary to build that movement. Perhaps the editor of **PL Magazine** (whomever that might be) would consider the following proposal:

1) A regular health column be established.

2) Through that column a debate be opened on popular health issues like the following—addiction, nutrition, smoking and health, high blood pressure, etc.

3) A program for working with mass health organizations be worked out through the health column. The article on doctors and the American trade union movement was a step in that direction.

4) Trends in the health industry be analyzed. For example, national health insurance, unions for professionals, etc.

Lest anyone think I am so naive as to believe that all these good ideas have not been thought of before, and that the problem, as always, is lack of manpower, I would be willing to volunteer to help guarantee such a project. Hopefully the author of the pellagra article would join me.

Which brings me to my last point. After a good deal of careful thought, I have come to the conclusion that the practice of withholding names from all but editorials and policy statements is counterproductive. I would prefer some flesh and blood in the health column.

Richard Cooper

### **RACIST NEWS: SOUTHERN AFRICA**

Henry Kissinger has just finished briefing president-elect Jimmy (Peanut-brains) Carter on international affairs. Kissinger, who Carter derogatorily called the "lone ranger" of foreign policy during the campaign, has now become a "good and old friend." In a joint press conference, they assured all foreign powers that there would be no substantial change in foreign policy during the Carter administration. (While Kissinger has been dumped, his replacement "Vietnam Vance" is of the same capitalist cut.)

And what has the bulk of Kissinger's time been occupied with the last few months? Almost exclusively on his vicious "shuttle diplomacy" to assure the continuance of U.S. imperialism in Southern Africa. He has or-

ganized the Geneva conference in the hopes that he can engineer the emergency of the sellout nationalist leader Nkromo (or the like) and thereby defuse the growing guerrilla movement in Zimbabwe (called by the colonialists Rhodesia). After the U.S. defeat in Angola to the Soviet supported MPLA, steps have to be taken to shore up the declining fortunes of U.S. imperialism in that area and, in particular, to assure the safeness of the huge U.S. investment in racist, apartheid South Africa.

It should then be no surprise that the Seattle area papers have been dishing out incredible amounts of the most racist, fascist tripe about the South African and Zimbabwean black populations in the last three weeks. Hardly a day goes by without an interview with Vorster (prime minister of South Africa), Ian Smith (prime minister of Rhodesia) or some fascist commentary by Hearst (the infamous, anti-communist, racist-rag magnate).

This type of racist propaganda is inevitable under the U.S. imperialism. It prepares the U.S. people for whatever the bosses consider necessary to protect their investments in crucial South Africa, even if it means military intervention should their diplomatic efforts fail.

This particular wave of propaganda began on November 5 with a front page article in the **Seattle Post-Intelligencer** entitled, "The African Dream—and Nightmare." It was written by two U.S. blacks recently returned from Zambia. Both seemed to be working for the CIA, as they secured their release from Zambia jail through the efforts of U.S. bigwigs, including Senator Percy of Illinois. One, Whitfield, is known to have been a local community pig before he left for Africa and the other, Yates, a "retired U.S. Army man."

One section of the article stands out for its brazen racism and crust. It reads:

They (black Africans) seem to be jealous of an American black's education and ability to earn

money, said Whitfield. They appear to feel that they should have all the same advantages without working for them.

PLP immediately held a demonstration in protest to this article, refuting it point by point. At that time, we presented a letter to the editor of the **PI**, which read in part:

From one point of view, your front page headline of Friday, Nov. 5, was correct. The "African Dream" for U.S. bosses in their pursuit of billions in profit is indeed becoming a "Nightmare" for the bosses, as rebellions in South Africa have been spurred on by the defeat of U.S. and Portuguese imperialism in neighboring Angola. But the bosses' nightmare (which shows their weakening power) is encouraging to workers U.S. and world wide, but only if we workers prepare now to defeat the looming prospect of war and fascism with revolution for socialism.

Instead of publishing our letter, the **P-I** saw fit to publish a letter from the Rhodesian, Diana Hirsh on Nov. 12. The thrust of the letter can be seen from the following excerpt.

One fails to see why colonialism, or rule by the educated minority, has become so distasteful to the western world and the vogue for majority rule so fervent. Hasn't law and order, and progressive education prevailed under the former and chaos under the latter? This has been the history of all Africa.

Since November 12, nearly everyday either the **P-I** or the **Times** contains a prominent article justifying U.S. imperialism, apartheid and racism. These articles have become so brazen that they occasionally even re-



"...An 'ah'd like to apologize for any promises ah made durin' the campaign!"

veal the naked strategy of the fascist regimes of Smith and Vorster and their imperialist masters in the U.S. and Britain:

- In an interview published November 12, Ian Smith let the cat out of the bag when he said, "At present we are getting enough arms from South Africa to keep going" (**Seattle P-I**).

- In an interview published November 16, Vorster defended the fascist homeland plan.

Vorster also said that blacks who are designated to become "citizens" of the planned homelands will have their South African passports taken away... If the blacks become independent, the prime minister added, "it stands to reason that they will exercise their political rights in their own countries, and consequently the question does not arise about whether they will get...political rights in my country."

... And then he added a little "cultural racism" to justify apartheid.

You can agree with me... when I say that the black man in America is an American... He has no language of his own. He has no tradition or culture except for local tradition... But the black man in Africa is a man who speaks his own language, who has his own distinct culture, his own traditions, his own way of life, who has his own everything. Consequently you cannot equate the American black with the south African Zulu or Xhosa or Venda or Tswana

Tribesman. (**Seattle P-I**).

- In his front page editorial in the **Seattle P-I** of November 14, editor William Hearst reveals why the U.S. imperialists will never give up Southern Africa, even if it means tons of our blood.

The stakes are great here in Southern Africa. The United States gets 47 percent of its chrome imports from South Africa and Rhodesia, which together have more than 80 percent of the world's known reserves. We are also heavily dependent on South Africa for other metals, including vanadium (51 percent of our imports of that vital metal) platinum (31 percent), and manganese (14 percent). American investments in South Africa total approximately a billion.

Apart from the economic importance of South Africa and Rhodesia to the United States and the Free World, the strategic importance of southern Africa can hardly be over-estimated. If the Soviets gained control of the Cape sea route they could blockade the big tankers which now bring most of the Middle East oil from the Suez Canal around the Cape to the West.

Not above throwing a little racist mud, Hearst praises the white minority regime in South Africa with having "built one of the most economically advanced countries in the world. Not a word that this "economically advanced country" was built with the blood of thousands of super-exploited

and super-oppressed black workers.

As for Ian Smith, Hearst considers him a "rational and intelligent man," who "sincerely wants to give black majority rule... within a framework of a reasonable plan that will protect the interests of the white inhabitants who have built that country into one of the most prosperous in all Africa." In fact, Hearst's only criticism of the Vorster regime in neighboring South Africa is that it is not as "reasonable and intelligent." He fears that black rebels in South Africa may turn to Soviet arms if the Vorster regime is not more careful.

We could go on indefinitely listing the propaganda articles that have appeared in local newspapers during the last few weeks.

Our party has resolutely fought this wave of hysterical, fascist propaganda. Beside the rally at the **P-I**, we have conducted a picket at a local Boeing plant demanding "Boeing and All Bosses Out of South Africa!" It is interesting that the cops saw fit to make a special attempt to stop this demonstration, but were unsuccessful.

Our party will continue to respond vigorously. On January 8, we will show the movie "Last Grave at Dimbaza," an underground film smuggled out of South Africa that depicts the despicable conditions of South African workers. In addition, PLP and CAR will be holding a rally at the local inaugural ceremonies, with a march to the **P-I** office following.

As has been often said, this type of fascist, imperialist propaganda can only be a prelude to war and fascism. It points out even more clearly that we workers must take the organs of state power, including the press, out of the hands of the only group of people that benefit from war and fascism—the capitalist class. To do that our class, the working class, must have the strongest possible revolutionary leadership, the type of leadership that only a mass revolutionary communist party can provide. Join our party, so we can work for the day when we choke these imperialist bosses on their own filth.

## Replies to 'Fascism Crushed' . . . And an Assessment of Stalin

### COMRADES:

The articles "Fighting Fascism" and "Fascism Crushed" make many important points for our party's struggle in the current period. The articles reaffirm the Comintern's definition of the fascist state as a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie characterized by the direct, unrestricted, terroristic rule of the monopoly capitalist class. Liberal democracy and fascism are two different forms of capitalist dictatorship. The fascist movement and the fascist state are the fullest expression of certain historical tendencies of capitalism in its imperialist stage. Sellout union hacks, social democratic leaders, and revisionists are the bourgeoisie's surest allies in the working class—they pave the way for the victory of fascism. Liberal democracy is no viable alternative to fascism—the working class struggle against fascism has to be a struggle for socialist revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "Fascism Crushed" article is unfortunately seriously weakened in a key area: The article does not explain why the Communist International (Comintern) urged communists to co-operate with the bosses in fighting fascism. The Comintern's response to fascism was contained in the Dimitrov line of the Seventh World Congress in 1935. This line's effect was to urge the various communist parties to seek admission to anti-fascist capitalist governments led by liberals or by social democrats. Communist fractions

in the trade unions were disbanded, and agitation for revolution and for the dictatorship of the proletariat effectively ceased. The right opportunism of this line was ably criticized in one of the articles accompanying Road to Revolution III. That article also charted the disastrous results of the Dimitrov line, as does "Fascism Crushed." Neither article, however, can explain the internal weaknesses of the pre-1935 Comintern that made the communist movement so prone to revisionism and to right opportunism.

The only way that the "Fascism Crushed" article can explain the Comintern's shift from the "political dynamite" line of Dutt (before 1935) to the revisionist line of Dimitrov is by posing Dutt as a "good guy"—i.e., a revolutionary—as opposed to Dimitrov as a "bad guy"—i.e., a right opportunist. But one year after the appearance of his book, "good guy" Dutt accepted "bad guy" Dimitrov's line at the Seventh World Congress, and the PL writer is unable to explain why. It is not enough to label Dimitrov as a right opportunist; it is necessary to explain why the second most prestigious figure in the communist movement of the time could fall into opportunism. If we can't explain the crucial weakness in the anti-fascist line of the old communist movement, then how can our party hope to transform the anti-fascist struggle here into a revolutionary struggle, into the seizure of state power and the establishment

# MAY DAY

**March for Socialism with PLP**

**Rio Grande Valley, Texas**

**New York City      Detroit**

**San Francisco      Seattle**

*Sat. April 30*



of the dictatorship of the proletariat?  
In a revealing footnote, the PL article says:

The book (by Dutt) was not a work of individual genius, by any means, but a summation of the experience of the revolutionary line of the Comintern. When we speak of the struggle between Dimitrov and Dutt, we mean the clash between the erroneous line of the 7th Congress vs. the earlier revolutionary line of the Comintern.

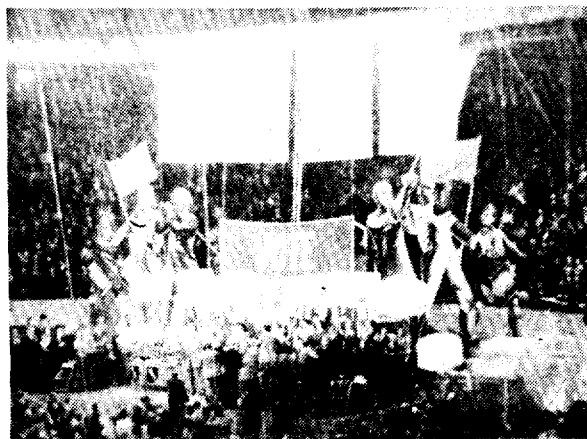
The conclusion we draw from these sentences is that the PL writer believes that prior to 1935 the line of the Comintern was truly revolutionary and therefore correct. We would argue, quite to the contrary, that:

1. The pre-1935 line of the Comintern was not genuinely revolutionary; it was permeated with revisionist theory. In particular, the Comintern thought that workers will spontaneously and automatically put forward communist ideas, that communists don't need to win workers away from bourgeois ideas because the workers will reject those ideas by themselves (This is very similar to the error criticized in the National Committee report on "Reform and Revolution.")

2. The pre-1935 practice of the Comintern was incorrect. The Piatsinsky report reprinted by the Party describes how, among other errors, communist parties ignored the need to build fractions in the factories. The incorrect practice of the Comintern was a big part of the reason why fascists were able to come to power in Germany and Italy by 1933. The results of the pre-1935 line were almost as disastrous as the results of the Dimitrov line.

3. The weaknesses in the Comintern's theory and practice before 1935 laid the basis for the revisionist, opportunist theory and practice after 1935. Unless we can understand the weaknesses in the Comintern's line throughout the 1930s, then our party will be forced to swing back and forth between ultra-leftism and opportunism just as the old communist movement did. If we are to lead the struggle against fascism and for socialist revolution, we must develop a better understanding of the weaknesses of the old communist movement than that presented in "Fascism Crushed."

We have not done an in-depth study of the history of the international communist movement in the 1920s and early 1930s, but we can make a few preliminary comments about



'36 C.P. rally - 'Spirit of '76' theme

the Comintern's line during that period. Before 1935, the Comintern put forward a left-sounding line. They denounced the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and rejected any alliances with the Social Democrats. In many places (including the USA), CP's set up communist-led trade unions separate from the Social-Democratic led trade unions. In many countries, CP's called for the immediate overthrow of capitalism and did a lot of agitation for revolution.

But underneath this left-sounding line, there were some very rightwing ideas and practice. The reason the Comintern thought that revolution was an immediate possibility in many countries was that the Comintern thought that capitalism had decayed so much that it was falling apart, that workers were going to rapidly become communists, and that revolution could be made easily. In other words, just go out and agitate a bit and then the masses will rise spontaneously to make revolution. This line was based on the "theory of productive forces," which says that when capitalism becomes a barrier to the development of production, then capitalism decays and falls apart. When the productive forces have developed to the point where capitalism is thoroughly decayed, then the masses will rise spontaneously and make revolution.

The Comintern did not understand the workers have to be won to revolution; they don't come to it spontaneously. The Comintern was surprised that most European workers continued to support the Social Democrats and their unions instead of joining the Communists and their unions; the Comintern did not under-

stand the grip that reformism and revisionism have on the working class. In other words, the Comintern did not understand the crucial role played by ideology. Through many means (through schools, media, etc.), capitalism drills anti-communism into the working class. A very important form of anti-communist ideas that is held by many militant workers is reformism: the idea that society can be changed fundamentally (that socialism can be achieved) without a revolution led by a communist party. Communists have to **fight** against capitalist ideas that workers hold: against reformism, against racism and nationalism (the idea that some other group of workers are to blame for your problems), etc. These capitalist ideas won't go away by themselves; workers don't spontaneously become communists. Through participating in reform struggles workers may become more open to communist ideas, but there must be a communist party to put forward these communist ideas.

Because the Comintern expected workers to flock to communism almost spontaneously, CP members were encouraged to "shout in the factories and mills that we are Communists and while shouting thus, not always conducting Communist work" (Piatnitsky). In other words, CPers did not engage in day-to-day struggles on the job; they just accused the union leaders of being sellouts without explaining how and why and what could have been done instead. One of the reasons the Communists did not build fractions was that they did not understand the need to painstakingly win workers away from reformism and revisionism; they thought that mass agitation in the community would do the trick. The errors that Piatnitsky discusses did not fall from the sky; they were rooted in a theory—the revisionist theory of productive forces—that when capitalism has decayed enough, workers will spontaneously leave the Social Democrats and flock to communism.

The Comintern thought that capitalism was decaying because of some "natural" law, so there was no way that capitalism could get out of the crisis. There was a sharp crisis in the 1930s (even earlier in some countries), but there was a way that capitalists could get out of the crisis: if the capitalists dramatically increased the exploitation of the working class, then the crisis could be solved (as far as the capitalists were concerned). The capitalists wanted to seize the state for open terroristic rule over the working class; the capitalists in each country wanted to use the state to shift the burden of the crisis on to

other countries.

The capitalists therefore began to move towards fascism. The Comintern expected capitalism to keep on decaying; they did not realize that the bosses were preparing to junk bourgeois democracy and institute a new form of bourgeois dictatorship. The Comintern did not understand the significance of fascism; it thought that capitalism was going to more or less break down, with a little shove from the CP's. We can't rely on the development of capitalism to bring about revolution—we have to rely on class struggle led by a communist party.

In its practice, PL has gone a long way toward rejecting the kinds of revisionist theories and practice that have marred the international communist movement in the past. We must be clearer about the theoretical roots of these revisionist ideas, so that we can avoid falling into left-sounding revisionism ("spontaneity") as well as the more obviously right-wing revisionism.

What were the theoretical roots of the Comintern's theory that workers would spontaneously become revolutionary? The roots lie in what is known as "economic determinism" or, as the Chinese Red Guards called it, the "theory of productive forces." Going along with this theory, it is the development of production which determines history—the more advanced the technology, the more advanced the society. Feudal society was based on horse-drawn plows and artisans working with hand tools; the invention of steam-power and modern machinery meant that feudalism had to give way to capitalism. Similarly, capitalism is now a barrier to the rational use of economic resources, and it will have to give way to a planned society (socialism) which can develop production faster.

Or so the revisionists say. In the above paragraph, the revisionist "theory of productive forces" is summarized. Notice what's missing: any class analysis, any concept of class struggle! Feudalism did not give way to capitalism without a great deal of struggle (the bourgeois revolutions, such as in France in the late 1700s). Nor will capitalism fall apart on its own—there must be a communist party to win the workers away from bourgeois ideology and then to lead a workers' revolution for socialism. In other words, class struggle is the driving force of history, above all other contradictions. To use Marxist terms, the "relations of production" basically determine the character of a society, not the "forces of production."





*Russia - In the 'Lenin Generation'?*

The revisionist theory of productive forces implies that technology is a wonderful thing that science keeps improving; it lessens the work we have to do and makes life easier. True, this is one aspect of technology. But there is another aspect of technology: technology is also a tool which the ruling class uses in the class struggle. For example, the assembly line makes it easier to assemble things—but the main aspect of the assembly line is that it gives the boss control over the speed of work. If he wants workers to work faster, he just turns up the speed of the line; under the old system, the boss could only yell at the workers to work faster. After we seize state power, we will have to transform the old capitalist forces of production into socialist forces of production—the worker will no longer be an “appendage to the machine” (Marx’s phrase), but rather the machine will now serve the worker.

The theory of productive forces guts Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary essence, which is why it has been the favorite theory of revisionists since Bernstein in 1900. If the development of the productive forces is going to cause capitalism to decay, then all the socialists have to do is wait: eventually capitalism will decay to pieces and the socialists can easily take over. In this scheme, there is no place for a party or even for class struggle. This theory goes so far as to say that communists should not try to seize state power until the productive forces have developed sufficiently. In other words, don’t make socialist revolution in the Third World: the Third World is too backward and needs to be developed by capitalism (the two-

stage theory of revolution).

There is both a right-wing and a pseudo-left form of the theory of productive forces. In its right-wing form (put forward by social democrats), the theory says, “There is no need for revolution. As production develops, capitalism will slowly evolve into socialism. Socialists only need to push for reforms; they don’t need a Leninist party.” In its pseudo-left form, the theory of productive forces says, “Capitalism is in an advanced state of decay; it can no longer increase production. Revolution is therefore at hand; the workers will rise spontaneously and make revolution.”

The article “Fascism Crushed” begins with a long quote from Dutt in which the rise of fascism is “explained” by means of the revisionist theory of productive forces:

Two alternatives, and only two, confront existing society at the present stage of development of the productive forces and of social organization.

One is to throttle the development of the productive forces . . . Capital can no longer utilize the productive forces. Capital can no longer utilize the full labor power of the productive population. Monopoly capitalism is more and more visibly choking the whole organization of production and exchange.

The other is to organize the productive forces for the whole society by abolishing the class ownership of the means of production, and building up the class-less communist society which can alone utilize and organize the modern productive forces.

Dutt describes fascism as the “most complete and organized expression” of capitalism’s tendency to retard the productive forces. It is unfortunate that Dutt fell into this hole, since the latter chapters of his book give an excellent explanation of the sources of fascism—grounded in an analysis of the class struggle after the Bolshevik Revolution. Both Dutt’s book and “Fascism Crushed” have two explanations for fascism: one very good explanation based on the history of the class struggle and one revisionist explanation based on economic determinism, the “theory of productive forces.”

In the old communist movement, the revisionist understanding of fascism was dominant. Before 1935, the Comintern said, “Capitalism is decaying; fascism is the most ad-

vanced form of this decay. Workers are now forced to choose between socialism and barbarism. The workers will soon rise up spontaneously and overthrow capitalism." This theory meant that communists neglected to win workers away from bourgeois ideology and to socialism; the communists did not actively fight the nationalism, racism and chauvinism that the fascists were pushing. The Comintern claimed capitalism was "decaying" (which led to a whole theory about "bourgeois decadence"). Actually, the bosses were figuring out a way to reorganize their system to boost their profits and get out of a crisis. There is no "natural law" that says capitalism will "decay"; capitalism is doomed because the working class will inevitably smash it. Fascist ideology and culture should not be fought as signs of "bourgeois decadence" (which makes us sound like the Church, upholding "moral decency"). They should be fought because they are tools in the bosses' struggle to divide and disarm workers and therefore they hurt all workers.

After 1935, the Comintern did a flip, but it still based its line on the theory of productive forces. Now the Comintern said, "Fascism retards the productive forces relative to liberal democracy, so liberal democracy is progressive relative to fascism." This theory led to uniting with the liberal bosses and abandoning the struggle for socialism. Fascism is not bad because it holds back production (in fact, fascism gave a big boost to production in some places); fascism is bad because it is the open terror of the biggest monopoly capitalists over the working class. We don't want just to increase production—we want to end all exploitation. Therefore we have nothing in common with any boss.

In our practice we have gone a long way toward rejecting these revisionist practices of cooperating with the bosses, of reform over revolution, and of counting on the workers to accept communist ideas spontaneously. We must take care to purge these revisionist ideas from our theoretical work as well.

## COMRADES:

The articles on "defeat of fascism," and on "Anti-Stalinism" shared a common flaw which looks strange in contrast with the rest of these excellent articles. This is the idea that "the working class won

World War II." Frequently we read statements like "ultimately the fascist overlords were smashed," or "the crushing of Hitlerite fascism is one of the great victories of the Communist movement."

But the working class did not win World War II. In August 1945, after V-E and V-J days, it was not the working people, but the U.S. imperialist class which ruled most of the world. True, "socialist" governments were set up in Eastern Europe, but most of them soon lost whatever socialism they had and fell under the sway of Russian imperialism. Second, the Communist parties of America and Europe sold out and became rotten and useless. The CPUSA broke strikes and agreed not to talk about Communism. The CPs of France, Mexico, Italy etc. became the reform-minded, pro-capitalist organizations they are today.

Third, Socialism was overthrown in the Soviet Union itself. In 1942, the leadership disbanded the Communist International. In 1944, the "Internationale" was dropped as the Soviet anthem and a tune called "the Hymn of the Soviet Union" replaced it. Khrushchev, Malenkov, and other traitors to the working class came to hold power. It was declared that "classes and class struggle do not exist in the USSR." This has been made part of the USSR constitution. (See "Khrushchev's Phony Communism" by the Chinese CP.) In 1939 Stalin signed a pact with Hitler even while Communist and Jews were being put into the camps. Incredibly, the author of "Stopping Fascism" calls this "great foresight" (more on this later). The crippled Russian economy was rebuilt along capitalist lines under revisionist control. The Stalin leadership refused help to Mao and strongly advised **against** revolution in China. The Chinese CPs disastrous "alliance" with Chiang Kai-shek's fascists was the Communist International's policy. So was "New Democracy. Class collaboration (cooperating with the bosses) became the policy of the International "Communist" movement, including the Russian movement. Nationalism replaced Socialism.

Fourth, fascism was not really defeated in World War II. Only Central European and Japanese fascism was. Fascism remained in power in Spain, Portugal, South Africa, and most of South America. But, more important, the lords and master of Fascism, Krupp in Germany, Ford, and Kennedy in the U.S., the ruling classes of

all the Fascist countries except China and Eastern Europe, kept power after the war. Indeed they are more powerful now than before World War II, all internal competition having been wiped out.

On the plus side, the new Eastern European governments were better than the fascist ones they replaced. The same for Greece, Japan, Turkey and the Philippines. But note that all these except Japan have since fallen under Fascism again. The only real plus was the Chinese revolution in 1949. This one plus outweighs most of the minuses, but possibly the Chinese would have overthrown capitalism anyway (without World War II). Other pluses were the weakening of European imperialism in Asia and Africa. Most of these countries are now free of Colonialism. This is a big achievement, but in most cases the American, European, or Russian neo-colonialism has been almost as bad. (U.S. imperialism frequently worse.)

So where is the victory? The fascist front men were killed, but the real fascists live on. Socialism was destroyed where it already existed. The International Communist movement was turned into a Nationalist sell-out movement. And 100 MILLION WORKERS WERE KILLED. (How many bosses died? 100? 500? Not many, I'm sure.) So the victory was, at best, mixed.

For various reasons the USSR had accepted many basically capitalist elements in the Communist party. (Reasons included the industrial backwardness of Russia, constant war threats by European countries, America, and Japan, widespread illiteracy among the workers and peasants, the incorrect line that the peasants could not be won to Socialism, the influence of Trotsky and other petty-bourgeois people.) But for whatever reasons Socialism was greatly weakened. Its fighting Internationalist spirit was weakened. So when fascism came along, the Comintern was not in good shape to meet it. Many of the European and American parties had never really believed in or organized for revolutionary war. And the Russian Communists were no longer able to lead them towards it. This led to the adoption of the National or Popular Front—giving up class struggle in favor of alliance with the ruling classes of different countries. Revolutionary Socialism was replaced by Nationalism. And Nationalism is a capitalist idea. (This is the 7th Congress, Popular Front, or Dimitrov line, never repudiated.)

Note that on the cover of **PL** the soldier is raising the **Russian** hammer-and-sickle flag over Berlin. Why not a plain red workers' flag? Because socialism had not really won! The workers had not really won. And Eastern Europe has been under the Russian capitalist flag ever since.

The most glaring example of this turn-about was the Nazi/Soviet pact of 1939. The **PL** article approves this move because: 1) it forced Britain and France into a war with Germany; and 2) it gave the Soviets two years to get ready. The article also states how long and hard the Stalin leadership tried to get England and France to fight Hitler before 1939.

This revisionist reasoning (which Trotsky would have been in full agreement with) is not Communist. Look at what **Challenge** has said about Mao for his pact with the USA. Yet because Stalin did it, it shows "great foresight." The article says: **FIRST THE SOVIETS TRIED TO ALLY WITH THE OTHER CAPITALISTS TO FIGHT HITLER. WHEN THAT FAILED THEY HAD TO SIGN A PACT WITH HITLER TO GAIN TIME TO BUILD THEIR OWN DEFENSES.** This reasoning leaves out only one element—the workers of the world! The hundreds of millions of oppressed people. This "minor" omission helped set the working class back 30 years! Consider the effect on honest people trying to fight Fascism. Suddenly Communists and Fascists are friends. Suddenly the line is "stay out of the imperialist war." Russia announces to the world's workers—"We're going to de-



*"I'm as aware of the evils of Communism as anyone, but good God, when you think of eight hundred million Chinese in terms of franchises..."*

fend ourselves; sorry about you-all.” In short this pact, far from representing a return to the idea that only Communism could beat Fascism, represented the full triumph of the line that Nationalism could best defeat fascism. It signaled the end of Socialism in Russia.

This was followed, after the Nazi invasion, by a switch to the slogans of “Everything for the war effort,” and “People’s front,” etc. under which the CPs of the West were smashed. So it seems to me there is some liberalism in the Party’s line on Stalin. Mao never pulled anything as bad as the Franco-Russian or Nazi-Russian pact; yet Mao is a “revisionist” while Stalin is a “true Communist.” Ho Chi Minh rode a bicycle to work and lived in an apartment; the Russian leadership lived in the Kremlin and had dachas besides. So why is Ho worse than Stalin? The Popular Front line of class collaboration is beautifully analyzed as a sell-out in **Road to Revolution III** and in the present articles. Stalin led the Comintern at that time, yet Stalin is not a sell-out. It is even suggested that he was against this line; but to quote Medvedev, World’s No. 2 anti-communist on this is ridiculous. A man who almost single-handedly held back revisionism in Russia (as the Solzhenitsyn article a few issues back said he did) could certainly have done something to avoid this disaster, if he had opposed it.

If the foregoing analysis is correct, then we have to admit Stalin was the founder of modern revisionism—Khrushchev just brought it into the open. Some older workers and Leftists still remember the sell-out deals of the CPUSA during the 30s and 40s—many soured on Communism. Most of us young folks weren’t alive or aware then, so these issues may not seem so important to us. But why carry around the illogical revisionist baggage of the 30s and 40s? Why saddle our growing, fighting party, the hope of the U.S. and much of the World’s working class with tortured, flawed reasoning to support the old dead CPSU of the 40s?

An anti-revisionist song published by the IWW in 1935(!) gives a good idea of how much anti-communism and confusion was created by the CPUSA class collaborationist policy (approved by the Communist International under Stalin).

OUR LINE’S BEEN CHANGED AGAIN—  
 to the tune “Them bones Shall Rise Again.”

United fronts are what we love,  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 From below and from above,  
 Our line’s been changed again.

Bourgeois tricks we’ll have to use  
 Our line’s been changed again.  
 Our women must not wear flat shoes  
 Our line’s been changed again.

We once had unions by the score  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 But now those unions ain’t no more  
 Our line’s been changed again.

Imperialist wars we once attacked  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 But since the Franco-Russian pact  
 Our line’s been changed again.

While France is fighting you will see  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 The revolution must not be  
 Our line’s been changed again.

We’re now a party with finesse  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 With bourgeois groups we’ll coalesce  
 Our line’s been changed again.

Religion was an opiate  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 Since church groups with us demonstrate  
 Our line’s been changed again.

We’re simply Stalinist devout.  
 We don’t know what it’s all about.  
 Kaleidoscopic what I mean  
 Now we’re red and now re’re green.

The New Deal was a Fascist plan  
 Now Roosevelt is the people’s man.  
 The League of Nations we used to hate  
 Our line’s been changed again  
 Now with it we’ve linked our fate  
 Our line’s been changed again.

Class against Class our slogan true  
 Our line’s been changed again,  
 The People’s Front, Red, White, and Blue  
 Our line’s been changed again.

While I do not feel that the question of World War II and Stalin represents a major factor in our line, it does seem to me to be an inconsistency, one that could need to be ironed out. All Power to the Working Class!

## COMRADES:

This letter is our club's collective assessment of the article several issues ago in **PL Magazine**, "Fascism—Past and Future? Part I."

On the whole, we thought the article very good. However, we had two specific criticisms of the politics put forward. The first few pages deal with the horrors of fascism and the way it rode to power in Italy and Germany over millions of dead and beaten bodies. We understand the necessity of presenting an objective appraisal of what fascism is. However, the article is one-sided and pessimistic in that it emphasizes the horrors while not convincing the reader that **we can win**. Perhaps this is because the article is just the first in a three-part series. However, we think the article doesn't stress enough how revolutionary, anti-fascist consciousness leads to victory—there is too much of an air of tragedy about the article here.

The other point we would like to make concerns racism. It is certainly true that there is no room for liberalism in the anti-fascist movement. Even more important is a vigorous, all-out fight against racism, to prevent the growth of fascism under bour-

geois democracy. However, it is our club's feeling that one reason the fight against racism wasn't stressed was because of the CPG's line from 1928 to 1935 that offered socialism as the one and only alternative for anti-fascist fighters. There was no attempt to fight for a mass anti-racist, anti-fascist group (like the Committee Against Racism, for example) for non-communist, center forces who opposed racism and the Nazis but did not opt for socialism.

As a result, the Nazis created their own mass organizations and smashed the CPG, which was isolated from millions of potential members. The Communist International in turn created the "United Front Against Fascism" concept which, as a reaction to sectarianism, was fatally opportunistic. We think the dialectics of the United Front was not fully understood by the CPG. While open unity with the Social Democrats was disastrous, a United Front which was communist-led, but attracted millions of center forces (including social-democratic workers) could have provided the necessary medium between sectarianism and opportunism.

Comradely,  
A PL Club

## Toward a Correct Assessment of Stalin's Role

Over the years there has been considerable debate among Marxist-Leninists regarding the historical role of Josef Stalin. This debate has taken place within our Party as well. We have shown that the heaps of garbage piled on Stalin by bourgeois historians and journalists, the Soviet "dissidents" Sakharov and Solshenytsin, and their "left" sidekicks the Trotskyists, are motivated by common fear of that which Stalin represented to millions of workers in the Soviet Union and around the world: socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

We've identified the main accomplishments of the Stalin Era as 1) the development of socialism in one country, 2) industrialization and collectivization, and 3) the defeat of the Nazis (roughly 85% of the Nazi troops were lost on the Eastern Front.

This article is an attempt to elaborate upon what I believe to be a central weakness in Soviet policy under Stalin. In Road to Revolution III, PL analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of this period. One of the "wholesale errors" we point to is the failure to win the workers and peasants to Marxism-Leninism.

...an elite held power without much participation by workers and peasants. Socialism was for Party leaders. The masses were only involved in carrying out this or that policy. Because these policies seemed progressive at the time, there was little resistance to them.

It seems to me that this criticism is correct and that this was the **control error out of which all other errors flowed**.

Failure to win the masses to M-L ideology and

politics in the Soviet Union was due to two related factors: 1) an ideological failure on the part of the Bolsheviks, including Lenin and Stalin, to recognize the full potential of the peasantry as a revolutionary force and 2) a tendency toward economic determinism.

Understanding the peasant question is central to understanding the Bolshevik revolution and the Stalin Era. The Bolshevik revolution was more than the workers and soldiers seizing power in Petrograd and Moscow. It was a revolution in the countryside as well. Poor and middle peasants—about 75-80% of the total population—battled the big landowners, seized their land, and divided it up among themselves. In addition, national minorities (over 200 in Russia as a whole) revolted against the Czarist regime. This was progressive because it greatly weakened the ability of the Czars and their stooges to hold power. Without the movement of the peasants and national minorities, the revolution in the cities would have failed.

The Bolsheviks were never able to sink any deep roots among the peasantry. In part, this was because the Bolsheviks and the Marxist movement in Russia in general, had sharply repudiated the Populists (Narodniks) who placed their revolutionary hopes **solely** on the peasantry. In addition, the Bolsheviks arose out of the old Socialist movement which had gone revisionist. It should be remembered that Marx, writing in the **Communist Manifesto**, said that the peasants were reactionary because they mainly wanted a return to the good old (pre-capitalist) days.

The Bolsheviks were greatly influenced by these ideas. So was Trotsky for that matter. But since they had little practical experience in organizing among the peasantry, the Bolsheviks had little practice to contradict and enhance their "theory." In the early 1890s, however, Lenin observed the mass peasant uprisings. In a book entitled **What are "Friends of the People" and How They Fight Against the Social Democrats** (1894) Lenin pointed out that the peasants could be an ally of the proletariat. He distinguished between poor and middle peasants on the one hand, and rich peasants on the other. He said that, even though the peasants would essentially fight only for land, the effect of their rising up would greatly weaken the Czarist regime. In this sense, the peasants could ally with the revolutionary proletariat. Lenin was criticized as a "revisionist" by various "Marxists" including Trotsky, but he stuck to this basic strategy and it became the basis on which the Russian Revolution was waged. Rosa Luxemburg criticized the demand "Peace, Land, and Bread," claiming that the peasants would just grab up land and become little capitalists. She claimed that the peasants should have been told to seize the land and give it to the State to be collectivized. But if such a policy had been attempted, the peasants would undoubtedly have divided up the land anyway, with or without the Bolsheviks. It should be noted that when the workers and soldiers seized power in Hungary in 1918, they attempted to collectivize the land

without having any base among the peasantry. This was a gross error and allowed counter-revolutionaries to rally the support of the vast majority of the peasants against the Hungarian Soviet.

During the civil war in Russia, the peasants rallied to support the new socialist government. However, given the fact that the Bolsheviks had weak ties with the peasantry and given the fact that they produced all the food, a number of concessions were necessary to maintain the support of the peasants. Had the Bolsheviks believed in "the worse, the better" or rigidly clung to an idealistic view of "no compromises," they would have lost the support of the masses and basically turned Russia over to the imperialist powers and their capitalist friends in Russia. On the other hand, concessions to the peasantry were the main justifications for the policy of NEP and the period up to 1928 when the Party told the middle peasants (who had profited the most from the seizures of land and in many cases became **kulaks**) "enrich yourselves"—i.e. produce a lot of food and become rich.

The concept of socialism in one country was developed by Stalin. This was a creative development of Marxism. It meant that the people of Russia would begin to construct socialism in their lifetime. Trotsky denounced this idea as bogus. He said that it was impossible to build socialism in Russia without a revolution in the western capitalist countries, which, in turn, could lead "backward" Russia (especially the "primitive" peasants) grudgingly toward socialism. Yet, it had become painfully clear by the mid-1920s that European revolutions would not occur in the near future. Is it any wonder that people rejected Trotsky's "analysis" which pinned all hopes on an abstract, miracle revolution in Europe?

In 1929 the Party pushed for collectivization of the land. But it was administered by cadres from the cities—25,000 were sent out. In many cases these cadres made serious errors because they didn't understand the objective conditions of the rural areas. These errors were serious, as Stalin noted in his "dizzy with success" speech in 1930. But the root of the problem was that the struggle for collectivization in the countryside did not involve mass political discussion and struggle by the peasants. It was more or less a top-down operation. There is little indication of mass political-educational campaigns that directly involved the poor peasants directly. One looks through the writings of Stalin in vain in search of theoretical and organizational discussion relating to the central problem of winning and mobilizing the poor peasants—the vast majority—against their **kulak** bosses. Again, we can trace this to weak ties between the Party and the peasants.

By the time collectivization began, the Bolsheviks had had ten years to win them politically. That this essential task was not accomplished seems less the result of "objective conditions" (i.e. the "backwardness" of the poor peasants) than of an under-estimation of the ability of the

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peasants to be won, over a period of time, to communist ideas. The subjective factor, the factor of ideas and politics, was under-estimated.

The autocracy of the subjective factor leads to idealism. The autocracy of the objective factor leads to economic determinism and, as the Chinese Left showed, to revisionism. It is the opposite of "putting politics in command." The Chinese Left, including Mao Tse-tung, contributed much to our understanding of the nature of revisionism when they showed that the failure to combat bourgeois ideas, methods of organization, and styles of work within in the superstructure led to the restoration of capitalism in a new form (modern revisionism). This is what the Chinese Left meant by the "revenge of the superstructure."

Virtually all the errors of the Stalin Era can be traced to this tendency of economic determinism. The use of wage differentials and other hierarchies and privileges was expanded during this period. Of course there was a drive as well as arms to defend their State and revolution.

But Stalin showed a great interest in various "piece-rate" systems. While it is certainly true that Stakhanov was a hero of socialism and a great worker, Stakhanov donated his many bonuses back to the State—back to the people. Host workers didn't and in fact were not really encouraged to, for fear that they would not produce as much. Couldn't workers and peasants have been won politically to reject bonuses for political and moral reasons? Or did they have to be coaxed with promises of "moving up the ladder" in material goods and prestige?

As RRIII points out, there was little opposition to these policies since they seemed progressive. The negative aspects, however, became primary. Leaning toward economic determinism, manifested by such slogans as "technology decides everything" and "cadres determine everything," the political struggle within the Party and within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat gave way to administrative fiat and commandism which, in turn, promoted servility and an "employee mentality." Stalin and the Party tried to correct this by purging the cadres of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois origins and replacing them with thousands of Party cadres from working class backgrounds.

Yet there is little indication that the masses of non-Party forces were ever really involved in selection and training of cadres. Who did the "secondary" leaders of the Party owe their "promotion" to, their superiors in the Party or the masses? Leaning toward economic determination, to the detriment of communist politics and revolutionary will, promoted a growing gap between the Party and the non-Party masses.

Related to this problem was the fact that Party life (inner-Party struggle, criticism and self-criticism, etc.) was greatly reduced. Without the active role of the non-Party masses, the Party cadres tended to become servile to the point that the Party was dominated by non-struggle attitudes.

The leadership, including Stalin, never really solved this problem and in fact it seems to have gotten worse with time. For example, between 1934 and 1952 there were only three Party congresses (1934, 1939, 1952) and a few conferences (e.g. 1941). When one considers all the crucial events that occurred throughout this 20 year period, it is difficult to understand how the Party could function properly without major meetings.

As far as I can tell, there was little real inner-Party struggle. Bourgeois historians attribute this to the Leninist concept of the Party (democratic centralism). But it seems to me that this problem was directly related to the failure to win the masses to M-L. If the masses had played an active role in studying M-L and putting it into practice (politics in command), the masses would have forced the Party leadership and membership into sharper inner-Party struggle.

Stalin believed that once the material conditions were changed, then consciousness would change. As he wrote in **Dialectical and Historical Materialism**,

First, the productive forces of society change and develop, and then, **depending upon these changes, and in conformity with them**, men's relations of production, their economic relations change. (emp. added)

Thus Stalin was able to claim in 1938 that socialist construction had been completed and that there were no longer exploiters and exploited. Khrushchev carried this out to its logical conclusion by dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat in favor of the "state of the whole people."

Applied to foreign relations, this tendency of economic determinism accounts for many of the weaknesses of the Communist International (CI) during this period.

Until the Chinese Communists won in 1949, there were no successful revolutions since 1917. Yet, at several points of time and in several countries, the possibility for revolution was opened. Why wasn't revolution successful? It seems to me that the Soviet line in foreign affairs was critical in the formulation of the line of the CI. At what points did the Soviets actually promote revolution in its foreign policy?

Bourgeois historians, including Trots, assume that Stalin was just a nationalist—a modern-day Czar. But there is more to it: Stalin didn't believe that revolutions were really possible in these countries or, if he did, such revolutions, for one reason or another might jeopardize the security of the Soviet Union.

From the early 1930s on, the Soviets made few attempts to move other CPs toward revolution. In Spain, during the 1930s, the CP fought the fascists but didn't fight for socialism. They followed the revisionist 2-stage theory (bourgeois democratic "revolution" first, socialism later). This strategic error, not the strength of the fascists, was the critical factor in the victory of the fascists.

The most glaring sell-outs occurred after World

War II when workers and peasants were armed and behind the leadership of their CPs in Italy, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, Indo-China, and China. For workers in these countries, the anti-fascist struggle was an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle rolled into one. It was impossible to attack the fascist invaders and occupiers without attacking the indigenous bourgeoisie and its lackies who were fronting for the fascists (for their own capitalist reasons). But the line of the (now dissolved) CI—the “united front against fascism”—stopped short of revolution.

In these countries during and after World War II, the workers and peasants had waged peoples' war against fascism. They captured arms and routed fascist armies. They controlled huge areas of land with the support of the people. They gained control of most of the State apparatus in many areas by throwing out old officials and replacing them with workers and peasants. These workers and peasants didn't want a return to the old system. Yet in Italy, France, Greece, and Vietnam the CPs buried the red flag in favor of the “patriotic” flag and told the workers to hand over their arms to the old bosses, who re-emerged with the help of the western imperialist powers of Britain, France, and the U.S. (This of course did not happen in Eastern Europe which was dominated by the Soviet Red Army.)

The Soviets argued that support for revolutionary movements in these various areas could unleash the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. And the facts were that the U.S. was extremely powerful and that the Soviet Union had been greatly weakened by the long war. But would not the Soviet Union be better defended by revolutions in Europe, Indo-China, and China?

The dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 was a Soviet concession to the alliance between the Soviet Union, Britain, and the U.S. On the other hand, if the Soviets had given ideological and some type of material support to these revolutionary movements, they could have won in several countries. (In fact, in some areas, material support from the Soviet Union might not have been that crucial since the liberation forces had captured large amounts of weapons and material from the fleeing fascists.) However, the Soviet Union did little to help these movements and in fact urged these forces to form coalition arrangements with the old bosses. This strategy, as we have shown, was an utter and complete failure.

This means that the many errors in Soviet foreign relations, which have been noted in several PL articles, stemmed not simply from nationalism, but rather from a **failure to put politics in command**, at home and abroad. At home, the Soviets relied on nationalism as a substitute for Marxist-Leninist ideology and practice. This was carried over in the foreign arena where it was felt that other Communist Parties should make whatever sacrifices seemed necessary in

order to protect the Soviet Union.

Often this characteristic of Soviet policy has been characterized as simple nationalism or “national interest. But perhaps the Soviets did not believe that any of these revolutionary movements could succeed. In Greece, the Soviets believed that the peoples' war strategy would never work, and they counselled positional warfare and all-out attacks on urban centers. The Greek Communist leaders used Soviet military manuals written in 1930 in which guerrilla tactics and the strategy of peoples' war was criticized as adventurist. (It is interesting to note that the Chinese, who began to develop a real theory of peoples' war in the 1930s, used Soviet manuals, but admitted that many of the ideas of these manuals wouldn't work in China because a different war had to be fought. The fact was that between 1940 and 1949 peoples' war was waged in several countries despite the fact that there was no overall theory of this type of war except in China and to a lesser extent, Albania. Peoples' war evolved out of the experience of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle and is one of the great contributions of this period.)

The leadership of the Greek CP remained in the urban areas. It attempted to apply the line of the CI—the united front against fascism—in a period when the masses clearly understood that making alliances and coalitions with the old bosses would only bring them back to power. The Greek CP counselled the Party militants and the mass movement, to turn in their weapons. The Greek CP mistrusted the strategy of peoples' war. It favored positional and conventional warfare. Thus, between 1946 and 1949 tens of thousands of militants were lost in futile attempts to defeat larger and better armed reactionary forces (backed by Britain and the U.S.) **on their own terms**. In part, this problem was military. But at root it was political. The leadership of the CP distrusted the rural movements, the partisans, and the strategy of peoples' war.

To sum up. Our analysis of history should be aimed at strengthening our political understanding by examining the strengths and weaknesses of the movement. As Marxist-Leninists, we consider ourselves to be the only forces capable of correctly assessing the role of Stalin. Our recent writings on the role of Stalin have, I believe, become rather one-sided. We don't have to throw out the baby with the bathwater. During the Stalin Era, the role of the subjective factor was underestimated. This greatly affected and harmed both domestic and foreign problems.

The central error during this period was the failure to win the masses to Communist ideas. These ideas, once they have reached deep into the consciousness of the masses, can become a material force, capable of altering and shaping objective conditions. Above all, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that we can win. And we will.

—D.H.

# NEW CHINA BOSSSES CONSOLIDATE POWER

As Chairman Mao has said, the entire period of socialism is a period of class struggle. During this period there takes place a fierce and continuous struggle between those who want to move forward to communism and those who want to freeze the revolution at some particular stage and then reverse it. Any time the revolution ceases to move forward towards communism as its clear goal, it will turn around and begin to restore capitalism. Communists can never be content to rest on their laurels; they must ever move forward into new struggles. We cannot expect communist society to magically appear the day after workers seize state power; it will take a long, hard struggle to bring forth communist society.

If we want to evaluate the class nature of a society, one of the most fundamental questions we must ask is: In what direction is that society heading? In particular, we must ask: Is China moving towards communism or capitalism? We think that China (and all other countries) will eventually be a communist society. The path to communism is not smooth, however; there will be times when the working class and its allies are temporarily defeated. If revisionists seize control of the Party and the state from the revolutionaries, then the great victories of the past will be betrayed and the society will temporarily move backwards towards capitalism. The working class won many gains during the Cultural Revolution. But the fact that there was a Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960's does not necessarily mean that China today is a socialist society. China would be on the socialist path only if the gains of the Cultural Revolution were being extended and broadened, only if the struggle for communism were continuing.

There is no simple set of criteria by which we can determine if a society is socialist or capitalist. Since the fundamental aspect of socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most important criteria is: does the working class hold state power? The answer to this question depends largely upon the character of the leadership being given to the society. Under socialism, where leadership is exercised by the Communist Party, we must investigate the character of the Party. Four basic questions which we must ask about the Party, the society's leadership, are:

1. Does that leadership display by its actions a strategic commitment to narrowing the eliminating income differentials and all privileges, particularly between itself and the masses? Or does it only make an initial movement in this regard to consolidate popular support, and then say that

further progress is impossible until the productive forces are very developed because production would be disrupted by alienating the higher-paid strata?

2. Does the leadership maintain a vanguard position with respect to the development of embryonic communist forms in society and support any movement from below towards communism? Or does it retard the tendency to replace the standing armies and police forces with popular militias, to eliminate reactionary culture and education, etc.?

3. Does the leadership put "politics in command" by initiating and leading struggles to eliminate the division of labor (especially the division between mental and manual labor, all private property, the hierarchical control of the labor process, etc.)? Or does the leadership put "economics in command" by emphasizing increased production and ignoring the struggle for communist relations of production (This is an extension of the previous question)?

4. Does the leadership purge from its ranks all revisionists and win the masses to do the same? Or does it unite with open "capitalist roaders" or promote their rehabilitation if the masses force their removal?

In this article, we shall answer these questions for China today. We will show that China has been on the capitalist road ever since the Cultural Revolution. Since the defeat of the left in the Cultural Revolution, the new Chinese bourgeoisie has been consolidating its rule over the working class (For more details, see "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Reversal of Workers' Power in China," *PL*, November 1971, Volume 8, Number 3). The gains won by the workers, peasants, and students during the mass rebellions of the Cultural Revolution have been steadily eroded. Time and time again, the workers have struggled to maintain these victories (and to extend them). But they have been defeated by a combination of severe repression and ideological confusion. The Chinese bosses have launched a "Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius" campaign in which they hypocritically mouth left slogans in order to divert attention from their accelerated restoration of capitalism. As the Red Guards used to say during the Cultural Revolution, they 'wave the red flag to oppose the red flag.'

## I. THE STEADY RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

While information about internal developments within China is limited, we can see that in many areas the gains of the Cultural Revolution have been wiped out and the policies of the early Sixties have been restored. There is plenty of information to give general answers to the questions we asked above about the character of the Party. We shall discuss four particular areas: (1) the huge wage differentials between workers and managers, between Party lower-level cadre

and Party leadership; (2) the rise of private production in agriculture; (3) the restoration of purged rightist officials; and (4) the new emphasis on rapid growth without regard to revolution, on making China a "powerful modern socialist country in twenty years."

(1) We pointed out in *Road to Revolution III* that one of the lessons Marx, Engels, and Lenin had drawn from the experience of the Paris Commune was that under the dictatorship of the proletariat work for the state must be performed at average worker's wages. In the period right after the seizure of state power, there will of course still be differences in wage levels; it will take time to win people to the idea of eliminating those differences. The Party must constantly struggle to move towards the communist distribution principle, "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need." As the ideological vanguard of the working class, the communist Party members—especially the Party leaders—should be willing to apply communist distribution to themselves even while the masses as a whole continue to cling, in part, to material incentives.



*Teng Hsiao-ping*

But in China the 30-grade wage scale for cadres which was adopted in 1955 (over twenty years ago!) is still in effect. "According to the pre-Cultural Revolution cadre ranking system which is still in effect, a grade one cadre receives up to 278 yuan a month while a grade 30 cadre starts with 20 yuan... It is not entirely clear to what extent these differentials vary from the pre-Cultural Revolution situation, but changes do not appear to be very great."<sup>1</sup> Top cadre actually receive more than 278 yuan: Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping recently revealed that he and about 100 other top officials have a monthly salary of 400 yuan. In 1960, his salary was 404 yuan, so it has dropped 4 yuan in 15 years! Further, Red Guards reported in 1968 "that on top of their

regular salaries, senior ministers could receive special subsidies equivalent to 50% of their monthly pay."<sup>2</sup> In other words, top officials can make as much as 600 yuan a month—30 times the lowest cadre! This is as high a pay differential as that for "cadre" employed by the U.S. government. Moreover, if one were to compare the income of top cadre to the income of the poorest peasants, the differential would be much higher.

The new bosses in China are less afraid than before to show their wealth. Trade with the West has had its advantages for the bosses: "A few luxury items are imported for top cadre. For example, watches worth 39.5 million Swiss francs (US \$15.2 million) were imported into China last year, for sale at 100% markup, even though local production is climbing. Other consumer items imported include Albanian cigarettes, Cuban cigars, cameras, tape recorders, and color film."<sup>3</sup>

There are also substantial wage differentials among workers. At the Nanking Petrochemical Plant (with 3800 workers), production workers begin at 35 yuan a month while technical personnel (NOT including managers, whose salaries are unknown) get as high as 150 yuan a month. Production workers at Soochow Silk Factory (1600 workers) start at 30 yuan a month—less than 1/13th of the top cadre's salary.<sup>4</sup> Top income in a rich commune is about 50 yuan a month, and the Chinese have done nothing to reduce the differences among communes (which in 1965 meant that the richest communes made 3.4 times as much as the poorest).

Not only has the new Chinese bourgeoisie moved to increase its own income, but it has turned the screws on the workers. On top of a work week of 48 hours, workers often must work overtime, but, "There is no overtime pay. Overtime work, when needed for, say, quota fulfillment, is expected to be done as a matter of socialist consciousness."<sup>5</sup> As we shall show, it is really a matter of capitalist exploitation. And workers are not simply accepting these rotten policies; they are fighting back for higher wages and better conditions.

(2) Private production in agriculture is flourishing once again. Not only is the reactionary 1962 Charter for communes still in force,<sup>6</sup> but the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975 adopted a new Constitution which states, "People's commune members may farm small plots for their personal needs, engage in limited household sideline production, and in pastoral areas keep a small number of livestock for their personal needs."<sup>7</sup> Reynolds, among other recent visitors to China, reports that private plots are about 7% of total acreage; "output can be sold in free markets set up and regulated by the municipality."<sup>8</sup> As we pointed out in **Road to Revolution III**, private plots were 7% of the total acreage in the early 1960's. Once again, there has been no move towards socialism in fifteen years. Prybyla reports that at a commune he visited, he talked to one family for whom private plot work produced 16.7% of total household income.<sup>9</sup>



*Chiang Ching, Chang Ch'un - ch'iao*

Since spring, 1975, there has been a campaign in China to "study the dictatorship of the proletariat." Mao has called attention to Lenin's statement, "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale."<sup>10</sup> Chang Ch'un-ch'iao thought to be General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, wrote an important essay, "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie"<sup>11</sup> in which he attacks "bourgeois right" such as small-scale production.

Yet for all this hoopla, there have been no changes in policy. In fact, this left-sounding talk is a smoke-screen to cover up for the move to the right. After the new constitution was issued in January, there were reports of resistance from Hunan and Heilungkiang Provinces, among other places. "The implication was that some elements had sought to overthrow the Constitution promulgated in January and abolish all rights to private property."<sup>12</sup> In order to deflect this mass opposition to the restoration of capitalism, the new bourgeoisie in China launched this campaign to study Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bosses hoped that people would buy their revisionist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism which says that socialism comes from increasing production. Also the bosses hoped that people would get so caught up in study that they would do nothing.

The "capitalist-roaders," or revisionists in the leadership, have used this trick before. They turned the Socialist Education Movement of the early 1960's into a study campaign in order to keep the left from attacking revisionist policies. They tried to do the same thing to the Cultural Revolution, by focusing attention solely on certain revisionist literary works (e.g. **Hai Jui Dismissed From Office**).

(3) Nearly every rightist purged in the Cultural Revolution has resurfaced by now. The Chinese Party makes the phony claim that the rightists have been "re-educated." If we made a revolution in the U.S. and then brought Nelson Rockefeller back into power on the excuse that Rockie had been "re-educated," that would show that the revolution was going revisionist. The same thing holds in China. It turns out, however, that not many people were purged to begin with: Chou En-lai told Edgar Snow in 1971 that only 1% of the cadres were purged in the Cultural Revolution.<sup>13</sup> The most prominent person to be restored to power is Teng Hsiao-ping, who was attacked during the Cultural Revolution as the number two capitalist-roader (after Liu Shao-chi). Teng is now First Deputy Premier of China, one of five Deputy Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Mao was the chairman until his death), and Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army.<sup>14</sup> By the fall of 1973, 26 former provincial party secretaries (there are only 29 provinces) had reappeared.<sup>15</sup> In fact, about the only official purged in the Cultural Revolution who has not been restored is Liu Shao-chi.

China's new rulers are moving as fast as they can to restore to power their friends who were forced out during the workers' and students' rebellions in the Cultural Revolution. China's "red" bourgeoisie is showing its class solidarity. The new bosses are willing to risk the workers' anger in order to restore purged officials. be-



cause the current bosses sympathize with the "plight" of those purged. In addition, those purged in the Cultural Revolution have long experience in pushing capitalist-road policies—experience highly valued by their class brothers such as the current Party leadership.

(4) The most important way in which China has moved to the right since the Cultural Revolution is that economics has been put in command

over politics, "experts" over "reds." Lenin pointed out, "Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism."<sup>16</sup> Socialism can only be won through the conscious action of the working class and its allies, led by the Party as its vanguard. This theory, Marxism-Leninism, is opposed to the revisionist theory of Bukharin and Trotsky which Lenin was attacking. The revisionists see socialism as something which naturally emerges from the growth of the economy. For example, Bukharin and Trotsky said that communist distribution can only be instituted when the level of production is so high that "scarcity" no longer exists. Lenin opposed this revisionist theory. In "A Great Beginning," he said that communist distribution can only be established when masses are won to communist ideology.<sup>17</sup>

Of course, there must be an adequate material base, but there is no level of productivity that will bring communism. Bourgeois society creates ever-expanding "needs" such that scarcity is never eliminated.<sup>18</sup>

Revisionists like Bukharin and Trotsky (and the modern Trotskyists and "Communist" Parties) base themselves on the "theory of productive forces." According to the theory of productive forces, social development is simply the natural outcome of the development of the productive forces, and in particular of the development of the means of production. This theory is the essence of revisionism. It says that highly developed productive forces naturally give rise to a new social system. Consequently, if the productive forces are not yet highly developed, the advanced revolutionary class must not and can not possibly start a revolution.<sup>19</sup> The revisionist theory of productive forces denies the importance of class struggle, of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the party. It perverts Marxism into technological determinism.

It was the Chinese who developed the first systematic critique of the theory of productive forces.<sup>20</sup> They criticized Khrushchev's theory of "goulash communism" in "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World."<sup>21</sup> In the early Sixties, Khrushchev pushed the idea that the U.S.S.R. would make the transition from socialism to communism by increasing per-capita production to a higher level than in the U.S. Class struggle and Marxism-Leninism made no difference! He made fun of the communist distribution principle, "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need." He said the state would never wither away. He openly called for putting "economics in command"; he wanted the U.S.S.R. to increase production rapidly so that the U.S.S.R. would have higher production levels than the U.S. by 1980.

Liu Shao-chi pushed this revisionist theory of productive forces. He said it was impossible to establish communes on a country-wide basis before tractors and other advanced techniques had become widespread. The events of 1956-1958 (the Great Leap Forward) showed that communes

could be established as soon as the mass of peasants had been won to socialist ideas. Liu argued that "experts" had to take first place over "reds." The Cultural Revolution showed that red workers can run factories **better** than experts. Liu wanted to remain friends with the Soviet revisionists in order to import their "advanced" technology. Liu said that the primary task after the seizure of state power was "to develop the productive forces as quickly as possible" because "in China, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is already solved."<sup>22</sup> Liu tried to smash the Cultural Revolution on the grounds that it was interfering with production, but the workers fought back. They realized that Liu's line of "economics in command" was an ideological justification for the rise of a new bourgeoisie.<sup>23</sup>

While they continue to mouth attacks on the theory of productive forces, Chinese leaders have moved rapidly to put economics in command. Chou En-lai's speech at the Fourth National People's Congress in January, 1975, is instructive. It is worth quoting at length to show how much emphasis be placed on increasing production as rapidly as possible. Economic growth is a fine goal, but it must be secondary to the goal of making revolution. Chou, however, did not speak of the need to fight inequalities in income distribution and to eliminate petty production; he only made passing reference to the struggle against bourgeois ideas and practices in the cultural field, in education, and in social services. He went so far as to imply that the pre-Cultural Revolution policies of "economics in command" were correct.

On Chairman Mao's instruction it was suggested in the report on the work of the government to the Third National People's

Congress (in 1965) that we might envisage the development of our national economy in two stages beginning with the third five-year plan: the first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is, before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world....

In order to keep on expanding our socialist economy, we must persist in the general line of **going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism...**

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have worked energetically, surmounted all difficulties and hazards, and turned a poverty-stricken and backward country into a socialist one with the beginnings of prosperity in only twenty years or so. We can certainly build China into a powerful modern socialist country in another twenty years or so before the end of the century.<sup>24</sup>

Chou rarely referred to the need to make revolution, and when he did, he said that making revolution is good **because it increases production!**

While tackling economic tasks, our leading comrades at all levels must pay close attention to the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and keep a firm grasp on class struggle and the struggle between two lines. Only when we do well in revolution is it possible to do well in production.





Chou's line was too reactionary for many lower-level cadres who remain influenced by revolutionary ideas. "Until Premier Chou's death, many radical elements with the Party's lower echelons hoped to reverse the decisions made at the National People's Congress (China's parliament) in January 1975. They disliked the Premier's stress on a development programme to accelerate growth from 1976 to 1980 as the foundation for a massive modernization drive thereafter."<sup>25</sup> After Chou died, the new leaders all rushed to call for higher production. **Peking Review** urged workers to mourn Chou by overfulfilling their work quotas.<sup>26</sup>

The other major theme of Chou's speech was the slogan "stability and unity"—a slogan said to have been coined by Mao.<sup>27</sup> Bourgeois China-watchers welcomed Chou's speech as a call to stop making revolution. "The key to the spurt forward was to be 'stability and unity'—a remark that seemed to warn against political squabbling that would undermine economic advancement."<sup>28</sup>

Just as revolution is being abandoned in pursuit of growth on the social level, so too in the factories and in the communities. After the Cultural Revolution, "three-in-one" committees were set up to run factories, cities, and communes. The committees were to include cadres, People's Liberation Army soldiers, and representatives from mass organizations. Now, even the pretense of workers' control is being abandoned. The formula for three-in-one committees has been changed to uniting young, middle-aged, and veteran cadres. There is no reference to the representatives from the mass organizations these days. This is not surprising, because in fact the mass organizations are withering while the old managers and technicians are restored;

Throughout the year (1973), the move continued to bring back into positions of authority trained managers and skilled technicians. Kwangtung Province, in pressing for general technical improvements in industry and the use of qualified personnel, felt constrained to unearth a slogan used during the 1958 Great Leap Forward. This touch of radicalism indicated the opposition latent among the workers to renewed control by 'specialists.'

In January, **Kwang-ming Daily** explicitly referred to the need for experienced men in industrial administration in the oil industry. The same paper reported the following month how an individual plant had reinstated 98% of its technical personnel in their old jobs. The same percentage had been cited by Shensi Province in January in describing advances made in 1972 by its machine-building sector.<sup>29</sup>

Workers have not stood still in the face of the swift rightward moves. The Chinese bosses try to suppress any news about workers' rebellions, but occasionally these rebellions became so massive that they cannot be ignored. In the summer



*Pre - 1949 young communist workers*

of 1975, there was a major uprising in the city of Hangchow, an industrial town of 700,000 near Shanghai (200,000 work in the factories). More than 5,000 soldiers had to be sent in to occupy the factories after the local authorities lost control. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee had to intervene personally. A meeting of 8,000 provincial officials was called at which the Central Committee's demands were spelled out. 13 of the 19 people who had ruled the province were dismissed. Another meeting of 15,000 Party members in Hangchow was called: "unity and discipline were the catchwords."<sup>30</sup> The Chinese press said the workers revolted because of "economism," which probably means that they objected to forced overtime without pay, to speed-ups, and to the unequal income distribution.

We mentioned above the mass opposition to the new Constitution's protection for private production and Chou's call for "economics in command." we will see below that workers are fighting on many fronts to protect the gains won in the Cultural Revolution and to oust the new revisionists. These struggles have remained fragmentary. Not only does the left in China lack the kind of leadership that a communist Party could provide, but the left is also subject to tremendous repression. Over 12,000,000 young people have been sent to the countryside from the cities since the Cultural Revolution (the **hsia-fang** movement); 2,700,000 were sent in 1969 alone.<sup>31</sup> Many of these people were Red Guards who were sent out of the cities in order to smash their organizations and to disperse the militants.

## II. THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF THE "CRITICIZE LIN, CRITICIZE CONFUCIUS" CAMPAIGN

Beginning in early 1973 and really gathering steam in the winter of 1973-74, there was a cam-

campaign to "Criticize Lin Piao, Criticize Confucius." (Lin Piao was the Defense Minister and heir-apparent to Mao before his death under mysterious circumstances in 1971). The campaign was portrayed by the Chinese press as a miniature Cultural Revolution. It was said that once again, the masses were coming forward to criticize policies and cadre, to participate in making basic decisions, to continue the revolution. This picture is totally false. The Criticize Lin, Criticize Confucius (CLCC) campaign has been used to divert the anger of the masses and to provide a cover for the restoration of capitalist-roader officials and policies.

Even bourgeois scholars in the West have seen through the phony attempt to paint the CLCC campaign as another Cultural Revolution:

Some western observers and even the Chinese themselves in the opening stages of the anti-Confucian campaign called it another Cultural Revolution. Here again, it might have started out as such, but it obviously became something quite different. Instead of swelling into a full-scale offensive against specific political figures such as that against Liu Shao-ch'i and P'eng Chen in the Cultural Revolution, its only victims were dead. It was not an emotional, uncontrolled movement as the Cultural Revolution, but a directed, nationwide study movement carried out through reading and commenting on ancient texts, and discussing their current interpretations. There were no rampaging Red Guards and no independent factions such as the Cultural Revolution Group that usurped the direction of the campaign. There were wall posters which denounced some members of the regime, but their impact seemed minimal. **Thus, this was not a rebellion against authority in which the Party was the target, but an effort to impose the authority of the Party.** (He means the capitalist-roaders in the Party.) **Rather than focus attention on ideology, it focused attention on production. Instead of inducing decentralization and factional disruptions, it sought to produce centralization and unity. This campaign was not to continue or even consolidate the Cultural Revolution as claimed, but to discontinue it.**<sup>32</sup> (italics added)

The CLCC campaign (which is now largely over) was never allowed to endanger production: there were only scattered reports of workers seizing control of their factories (the "Criticize Confucius" meetings were even held after working hours so as not to disrupt production). A major theme of the CLCC was the need to boost production. The ancient anti-Confucian scholars were praised for "fully tapping the productivity of the land."<sup>33</sup> Lo Szu-ting stressed that because they increased productivity, the rising feudal forces of Confucius' time were progressive.<sup>34</sup> Lo said that the "immutable laws" of history "inevitably" determine historical stages; he played down the

importance of conscious action by people, such as class struggle. If Lo's message is applied to today, the strong implication is that communism will come about as productivity increases. In other words, the Party and Marxist-Leninist ideas don't make any difference.

The CLCC campaign resulted in very few concrete reforms. "For example, many wall posters and acres of newsprint were devoted to the methods of selecting students for further education; yet recent instructions on this issue, which at one time seemed central to the campaign, contain no changes from last year's criteria for the admission of undergraduates."<sup>35</sup>

Hardly any reactionary officials were forced out by the CLCC campaign. Hua Kuo-feng, who smashed the Sheng-wu-lien (the Left organization in Hunan Province during the Cultural Revolution—see their manifesto in *PL*, Vol. 8, No. 5, Aug. 1972) was attacked widely, yet he ended up being rapidly promoted to Minister of Public Security and then to Acting Premier (as successor to Chou En-lai).<sup>36</sup> In May, 1974, posters appeared in Peking "criticizing specific individuals—mainly lower ranking central and local officials, but also at least 4 Politburo members . . . Although the Central Committee was reported to have approved on June 13 the use of wall posters to criticize local offenders, the posting of criticisms of provincial and local cadres in Peking was regarded as illegitimate, and posters containing such criticism were regularly removed, only to be replaced the following day."<sup>37</sup> Far from encouraging such criticisms from the masses, the Central Committee on July 1 issued "Document 21" which told cadres to restore production immediately. Soon thereafter, the posters disappeared from the walls of Peking.

If there was one central theme in the CLCC campaign, it was the call for unity. When it looked as though things might get hot for the bosses, as though the masses might use the campaign to criticize the capitalist roaders, Mao issued a statement which was widely posted: "The Cultural Revolution has been going on for eight years. It is time to settle down. The entire party and army should unite."<sup>38</sup> After surveying the literary criticism of Confucius, Goldman concludes, "What is stressed in the development of history is not so much the movement towards revolution or even communism, but the movement towards unity."<sup>39</sup>

The new Chinese bosses have suffered from many serious splits among themselves in the last few years; they now want to bury their differences and get on with the big task of accumulating capital as rapidly as possible. If the fake 'red' bourgeoisie is to succeed in consolidating their power, they will have to smash the remnants of the Left in China; otherwise, the bosses face the danger that the Left will rally the workers and seize state power. So the bosses launched the CLCC campaign. On the one hand, the campaign started out as if it were a new Cultural Revolution. This served two purposes: (1) it

confused the masses into thinking that the current leadership is really "left"; and (2) it encouraged the Left to take an active role (thus identifying the Left to the bosses). On the other hand, the CLCC campaign soon revealed itself as an attack on the Left and as a cover for the restoration of the rightists purged during the Cultural Revolution. This became especially clear as the "Criticize Confucius" campaign became the "Criticize Lin Piao, Criticize Confucius" campaign on the absurd excuse that Lin Piao was a disciple of Confucius! Lin quoted Confucius, but the writings of all the Chinese leaders in the Forties, Fifties, and Sixties are filled with quotes from Confucius.

Again, even the bourgeois China-watchers caught on to the true right-wing nature of the CLCC campaign:

**It (the CLCC campaign) was mainly directed at the extremists who were discontented at seeing old cadres and managers returned to power, placed once again in authority over radicals, and the restoration of streamlined but nevertheless conventional Government and Party structures.**<sup>40</sup>

These references (to the need for stability and unity) seem to have ominous overtones for those so-called 'radicals' who have attempted to mobilize popular discontent against the established party leadership.<sup>41</sup> (bold added)

China's bosses are doing everything they can to consolidate their power. They are not about to foment a working-class revolution that would seize state power from the fake 'red' bourgeoisie. Socialism will not come from the bosses either in China or anywhere else. The working class will have to emancipate itself, under the leadership of a truly communist party.

#### IV. THE SPLITS AMONG CHINA'S NEW BOURGEOISIE

The Chinese bosses have suffered from several severe splits among their ranks. The sharpest conflict among factions of the new ruling class was of course the Lin Piao affair. It is very unclear what exactly preceded Lin's ouster. The official Chinese story is that Lin became power-hungry after the Ninth Party Congress in 1969 and began to quarrel with Mao; eventually he became a "classical, feudal-type conspirator" who tried to pull off a coup in September, 1971. The coup was discovered prematurely, and Lin was killed in a plane crash while trying to flee to the Soviet Union.<sup>42</sup> Lin was initially denounced as a "leftist": there was a campaign to "rectify work-styles" (i.e., to overcome sectarianism and factionalism, which Lin was accused of promoting). By early 1973, Lin was being called a "rightist"; Yao Wen-yuan implies that Lin's program was basically the same as Liu Shao-ch'i's.<sup>43</sup> The real heart of the criticism of Lin has always been that he was a careerist, that he

wanted to rule China himself. At the Tenth Party Congress in August 1973, Chou En-lai implied that the whole Lin Piao affair was a careerist conspiracy. The Congress was not allowed to discuss the Lin Piao affair; the Congress only lasted five days and there were no speeches besides the official Central Committee reports (unlike previous congresses, which lasted several weeks and saw intense debate).<sup>44</sup>

It is possible that Lin Piao basically wanted to seize power for himself and his friends in the army. After all, the army had become very powerful in the period right after the Cultural Revolution. The Ninth Party Congress in 1969 elected a Central Committee one-half of whom were in the People's Liberation Army. It seems more likely, however, that Lin had some political differences with the line of the Central Committee. He may have been opposed to the detente with the U.S. and wanted closer relations with the U.S.S.R. We simply can't know what Lin really wanted until we get more information from inside China. There is one thing, however, that is clear: Lin was no leftist. It was Lin who led the People's Liberation Army in smashing the Left during the Cultural Revolution. It was Lin who denounced the left slogan of "seize the handful of capitalist roaders in the Army" in 1967. It was Lin who led the smashing of the Red Guards in 1968, sending millions to the countryside.

Supposedly, there is still a big split in the Central Committee between the "Shanghai mafia" on one side and the followers of Chou En-lai (especially Teng Hsiao-ping) on the other side. The theory is that the Shanghai pseudo-leftists from Cultural Revolution days (Chiang Ch'ing, Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Hung-wen, and maybe Chang Ch'un-ch'ao) want to move to the left by attacking wage differentials, bourgeois culture, the examination system, etc. while Teng Hsiao-ping and the other restored rightists from pre-Cultural Revolution days want to restore "order," increase production, and strengthen ties with the U.S.<sup>45</sup> U.S. newspapers really play up this "split." But in fact the two sides are as different as Leonard Woodcock and George Meany. The so-called "leftists" from Shanghai are in fact the people who smashed the Shanghai Commune in January, 1967.

The record shows small evidence of anti-Chou 'mafia.' Chiang Ch'ing denounced by name such extremists as the Sheng-wu-lien. Chang and Yao were not supporters of such radicalism either. Chang, speaking in 1967 for Yao Wen-yuan and himself, cynically described the establishment of the "Shanghai Commune" as a ploy blessed by Peking to end Shanghai factionalism. In the same speech, he pointed out that he and Yao could easily have taken over Shanghai or fomented massive disturbances. Instead, they pushed, persuaded, and tricked rival cliques into reasonable harmony.<sup>46</sup>

# CHINA:UPDATE

Since this article was written in early 1976, several of China's top leaders have died, including Chou En-lai in January and Mao Tse-tung in September. As a result of their deaths, the infighting among the leaders of China's fake "communist" party increased. Each of the two main groups—the bureaucratic "moderates" and the "Shanghai mafia" of so-called "radicals"—was afraid that if the other group won out, then their own group would be gradually eliminated.

The two groups favored different policies, but the differences were about as shallow as those between George McGovern and Ronald Reagan. The "moderates" wanted to restore many of the pre-Cultural Revolution policies, especially the emphasis on growth above all else; one of the leaders of the "moderates," Li Hsien-nien, was a big supporter of "material incentives"—bonuses for speed-ups, private plots for peasants. The "radicals" thought it was necessary to keep many of the Cultural Revolution's policies, especially in the cultural and educational fields. The "radicals" felt that political support for the regime is the key to growth: propaganda for socialism is more effective than material incentives at increasing production. Neither group was interested in socialist revolution; they were both determined to keep the workers from forming independent organizations, they both suppressed any criticism by the masses of the regime's leaders or policies, they both supported the reactionary Chinese foreign policy of uniting with U.S. imperialism and its fascist puppets (from Pinochet in Chile to the Shah of Iran).

In the winter of 1976, the "radicals" used their control of the press to launch an offensive against Teng Hsiao-ping, now that his mentor Chou En-lai was gone. Before his death, Chou was trying to patch up the differences between the different factions; he had done a pretty good job, and if he had lived, the sharp fighting of the next year might never have occurred. Teng had a large base of support among the middle-level bureaucrats in the government and in the party, and he resisted the attacks. But after a largely spontaneous right-wing riot by 100,000 people in Peking in April, Teng had to go—not even right-wing workers and students can be allowed to disagree with the Party leadership.

During the spring and summer, there was a campaign "to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and to beat back the right-deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts." The "correct

verdicts" were the condemnations by the masses during the Cultural Revolution of many officials as pro-capitalist; of course, nearly all these "correct verdicts" had already been reversed, and the officials restored. Millions of leftists among the workers and peasants of China took this campaign as a chance to launch attacks on these revisionist officials and their capitalist-roader policies. But mass action is not what the "Shanghai radicals" wanted at all. All of a sudden, the "radical"-controlled press began to back-peddle. It attacked those who were forming "fighting groups" and "raising old squabbles"; i.e., those who were renewing the class struggle.

But the damage had been done: the workers and peasants were starting to move. It is unlikely that they could have seized back state power: they don't have a communist party to lead the struggles. The revisionists are also quite aware of the dangers posed to their power by the bosses. After Mao's death, the "moderates" moved quickly to consolidate their position and to ensure that the campaign against Teng did not turn into another Cultural Revolution. Hua Kuo-feng, a leading "moderate," became Chairman of the Party; the four most prominent "leftists" were arrested (Chiang Ching, Mao's widow; Yae Wen-yuan; Chang Chun-chiao; and Wang Hung-wen). The "radicals" were never very popular; they were blatant opportunists, and Chiang Ching especially was very sectarian and egotistical. A turn to the right seems likely, even though it will be resisted by the millions of leftists still active in China.

It is now indisputably clear that China is on the road back towards capitalism. The Progressive Labor Party pointed out six years ago (in 1971) in **Road to Revolution III** that China was on the capitalist road, that the Chinese "communist" Party had been taken over by revisionists. All kinds of Maoist groups attacked the P.L.P. for telling the bitter truth that the Chinese Revolution had been destroyed by Mao and his henchmen. These Maoist groups opportunistically cashed in on China's sudden popularity in the period after Nixon's trip. But facts are stubborn things: there can be no doubt now that we were right. P.L.P. has never been afraid to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to the analysis of any question: we don't resort to blind dogmatism of shutting our eyes to unpleasant facts. That's one of the ways you can tell we are indeed a communist party.

At the Fourth National People's Congress, people from both of the supposed camps were given responsible positions. Even more importantly, both sides agree on all the fundamental policies; the "Shanghai mafia" has fully supported the alliance with the U.S. and the drive to boost production (it was Wang who was sent to crush the Hangchow rebellion), and the moderates have fully supported the "Criticize Confucius" campaign. The fact is that the only differences between the two groups are over tactics; both groups want to unify the Party and smash what remains of the Left. While they may 'wave the red flag,' both groups are actually 'capitalist-roaders' revisionists who are consolidating the power of the new bourgeoisie, centered in the Chinese Communist Party. Neither group will lead the struggle for socialism.

China is now set firmly on the capitalist road. The future will bring increased exploitation of the working class, further erosion of the gains of

the Cultural Revolution, and more openly pro-imperialist policies.

But the working class and the peasantry have already begun to fight back against the restoration of capitalism. They are sorely hampered by the severe repression in China. Most seriously, they lack a real Communist Party. Revolutionary forces outside China such as the PLP can aid Chinese workers and peasants at present by exposing the sell-out of Mao's CPC. But this will be of little use unless we make our revolutionary internationalism into a **material force by building the Progressive Labor Party.**

Mass anti-revisionist struggle reached greater strength during the GPCR in China than ever before in the history of the world. We are confident that the masses of workers and peasants in China will rise against their new exploiters, seize state power, and set China back on the road to socialism!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Teiwes, Fredrick, "Before and After the Cultural Revolution," *China Quarterly*, 58, April/May, 1974.
2. Goodstadt, Leo, "Those Poor People of Peking," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (FEER), 15 August 1975.
3. Strauss, Paul, "A New Role for the Canton Fair," FEER, 14 November 1975.
4. Prybyla, Jan, "A Note on Income and Prices in China," *Asian Survey*, March 1975, 265.
5. *ibid.*, 263.
6. Goodstadt, Leo, "Cadres: A New Conflict," FEER, 1 October 1973.
7. *New York Times*, 20 January 1975.
8. Reynolds, Lloyd, "China's Economy: A View from the Grass Roots," *Challenge* - the bourgeois magazine, not the workers' paper - March-April, 1974, 14.
9. Prybyla, *op. cit.*, 269.
10. *Peking Review*, 28 February 1975.
11. *Peking Review*, 4 April 1975.
12. Goodstadt, Leo, "Controlling Social Tension," FEER, 1 August 1975. Also see Elegant, Robert, "Shanghai Openly Challenges Moderate Regime's Plans for China's Economy," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 February 1975.
13. *New Republic*, 27 March 1971.
14. Lelyveld, Hoseph, "Teng Heads China's Army; 3rd Major Role in Regime," *New York Times*, 30 January 1975.
15. Domes, Jurgen, FEER, "A Rift in the New Course," 1 October 1973. He gives a long list of rehabilitated cadres.
16. Lenin, V.I., "Once Again on the Trade Unions, The Current Situation, and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1971, Vol. 3, 534.
17. *ibid.*, 219-242. Lenin wrote this essay in 1919 about the *subbotnik* movement (*subbotniks* were workers who voluntarily worked payless Saturday workdays). Lenin greeted the *subbotnik* movement as a great victory because it represented a step towards Communist relations of production. Lenin defined these relations of production: "The communist organization of social labor, the first step towards which is socialism, rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves who have thrown off the yoke both of the landowners and capitalists." (230). Lenin did not greet the *subbotniks* simply as a way to increase production, even though Russia was in the grips of a bitter famine with production at or below the subsistence level,

where the correct policy would be (and was) to increase production at all costs. The railways in particular were a bottleneck at the time: the breakdown of the engines and the cars halted the transport of food. It was in the railway shops that the *subbotnik* movement began. But Lenin did not praise the workers for increasing production alone; Lenin thought that the most important aspect of the *subbotnik* movement was that it began to build communist relations of production.

There were bad aspects to the *subbotnik* movement later on, when participation became compulsory. The masses were not won to this line, they were forced into it, so they regarded Saturday work as similar to a capitalist lengthening of the work week. This is very like what is happening in China now. Trotsky, by the way, was the big exponent of using terror to organize workers to work longer—see his book *Terrorism and Communism*.

Lenin's essay has some not-so-good aspects to it, too. At the end, Lenin writes, "Communism is the higher productivity of labor . . . as compared to capitalism" (236). In fact, the principal distinguishing characteristics of communism are the end of exploitation, the withering away of the state, the transformation of labor from something external to the worker into a life-fulfilling activity.

18. See Marx on the relation between consumption and production in the Introduction to the *Grundrisse*, 90-94 in the Penguin Books edition (the Introduction is also printed as an appendix to the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*).

19. Furthermore, according to the theory of productive forces, forces of production are class-less. Capitalist productive forces are the same as socialist productive forces. This flies in the face of reality. Capitalists use technology as a tool in the class struggle. When capitalism first appeared, workers knew much more about the production process than the capitalists did. The bosses didn't like this because it meant the workers could set the speed at which they worked. So capitalists introduced machinery which forced the workers to work at the machine's pace. (Marx discussed this in *Capital*, Volume 1, Part 4.) Not only did the machine make it easier for the bosses to use speed-ups, but the machines also displaced the skilled workers with unskilled workers, who were cheaper and easier to replace in case of a strike. These machines reduced the worker to a cog and they made the work dull and repetitive. In short, the machinery now in production has a capitalist aspect; under socialism the workers will have to modify the ma-

*Lin Piao and Confucius*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1974.

34. "Struggle Between Restoration and Counter-Restoration in the Course of Founding the Chin Dynasty," in *ibid.*

35. Goodstadt, Leo, "The Proponents of Instant Utopia," FEER, 18 October 1974.

36. *ibid.*, and "Mao's Autumn of Content," FEER, 31 January 1975.

37. Starr, J.B., "China in 1974," *Asian Survey*, January, 1975.

38. *New York Times*, 17 December 1974.

39. Goldman, *op. cit.*, 445.

40. Goodstadt, Leo, "The Proponents of Instant Utopia," FEER, 18 October 1974.

41. Lelyveld, Joseph, "Tough Chinese Line—Discipline, Order—is Emerging," *New York Times*, 11 February 1975.

42. For the official version, see Wilfred Buchett, FEER, 20 August 1973.

43. *On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, March, 1975.

44. Wich, Richard, "The Tenth Party Congress," *China Quarterly*, April-May, 1974.

45. For a detailed account of the supposed split, see Leys, Simon, "The Grand Master's Checkmate," FEER, 17 January 1975.

46. Goodstadt, Leo, "The Proponents of Instant Utopia," FEER, 18 October 1974. See Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's speech selling out the Shanghai Commune as ordered by Mao in "The GPCR and the Reversal of Worker's Power in China," *PL*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Nov. 1971), 44-45. In this essay we mistook Chang for a genuine but mistaken leftist. This was incorrect. Chang was rewarded for his sellout of the workers by being promoted to the Central Committee of the CPC at the 9th Congress in 1969.

chinery to get rid of this capitalist aspect.

20. For a recent full critique, see Li Cheng, "The Theory of Productive Forces: Its Counter-Revolutionary Essence," *Peking Review*, 30 November 1973. The Chinese still criticize the theory even though they now put it into practice.

21. Foreign Language Press, Peking, July 1964.

22. Teng Hsiao-ping also thought that the main task in China was not making revolution but increasing production. He said, "Any cat that can catch mice is a good cat, be it black or white." Quoted by Lelyveld, Joseph, "Resurrection in China," *New York Times Magazine*, 30 November 1975.

23. Liu, like nearly all revisionists, thought he was putting forward a communist line; he thought "economics in command" would bring about communism. He was dead wrong. No matter what his intentions, the effect of his actions was to foster the growth of a new bourgeoisie in and around the Party (a bourgeoisie of which he was an important leader).

24. *New York Times*, 21 January 1975.

25. Goodstadt, Leo, "Teng Takes Centre Stage," FEER, 21 January 1976.

26. *Peking Review*, 23 January 1976, 19.

27. Goodstadt, Leo, "China Steps Up Growth Goal," FEER, 23 May 1975.

28. Kraitzer, Bill, "A Damp Squib, and a Call for Discipline," FEER, 3 October 1975.

29. Goodstadt, Leo, "Cadres: A New Conflict," FEER, 1 October 1973.

30. Goodstadt, Leo, "Hangchow: A City in Crisis," FEER, 15 August 1975.

31. *Peking Review*, 9 January 1976.

32. Goldman, Merle, "China's Anti-Confucian Campaign, 1973-74," *China Quarterly*, September, 1975, 460.

33. Yang Jung-kuo, "Confucius - A Thinker Who Stubbornly Supported the Slave System," *Selected Articles Criticizing*

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# MEATBALL TIME

"...I cannot contain a desire to express the liveliest resentments of Miss Hellman's statement that James Wechsler 'not only was a friendly witness' before the House Un-American Activities Committee 'but had high-class pious reasons for what he did'... Wechsler was never called by the House Un-American Activities Committee; he was subpoenaed by Joe McCarthy after he was made editor of the *New York Post*, and, far from being a friendly witness, he was a manifestly hostile one. ('I may say,' he told McCarthy's committee, '... that we have repeatedly taken the position that the *New York Post* is as bitterly opposed to Joe Stalin as it is to Joe McCarthy and we believe that a free society can combat both.')

"He did decide that the fight against McCarthy would be damaged if he as a conspicuous opponent did not demonstrate his good faith as an anti-Communist by submitting to the committee a list of persons he had known when he was a member of the Young Communist League. I considered his reasons idiotic and told him so; I thought this action lacking, among other things, in proper concern for his personal welfare, because it is seldom possible to explain the giving of names, no matter how high your motive. But if there have been many occasions when I have wondered about Wechsler's good sense, I have never known a time when I felt the smallest doubt about his honor. Perhaps I have a right to say this because, as it happens, I was one of the former Communists that Wechsler named in public while he was wrestling with McCarthy—Murray Kempton, reviewing Lilian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time* in *New York Review of Books*.

(see page 60)

# *A Study in Company Fascism*

## INTRODUCTION

This article will expose a cover-up infinitely more villainous and diabolical than Watergate. It is the cover-up of racism and sexism at the Boeing Aircraft Company in Seattle. We will indict those responsible—the Board of Directors, the union hacks and the Federal and State governments.

We, in the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) fraction at Boeing, have witnessed with alarm the increasingly racist climate in this country and this city promoted by the politicians and their masters—the ruling class. We feel it the duty of every worker to reject this ideology of the bosses, and instead, to study how we workers can prepare the ground for workers' power with multi-racial unity and a socialist revolution. To this end we dedicate this article.

In the following pages we will discuss racism and sexism in lay-offs, hiring, and job placement. We will set about destroying the myth of reverse racism (that white workers have been laid off to keep minority workers on the job). For part of this information we relied on workers' surveys. We did, however, manage to obtain, through what must remain anonymous sources, Boeing's own statistics on minority employment contained in "The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program." In addition, we will detail

the history of union misleadership and the record of the racist Boeing Board of Directors. We will indicate the direction of the sexist and racist policies of the company in relation to the community and world politics. Most importantly, we will draw the political lessons necessary to develop a fighting program that can really beat racism and sexism. For, just as racism and sexism hurt all workers, so too, the fight against them can disarm the bosses of their most important weapon and place us squarely on the path toward a socialist revolution.

Racism and sexism at Boeing adversely affect thousands of families and individuals. First and foremost, minority and women employees (or would-be employees) and their families are hurt. But **not one** worker at Boeing escapes the scourge of this vicious racism. In strictly economic terms, each and everyone of us must pay for this racism and sexism in lower salaries, longer hours, and weakened unions. Not only are divided workers weaker in relationship to the bosses, but we are deprived of the militant leadership of minority workers that we need to fight lay-offs, downgraders, sellouts, and system of capitalist exploitation. The militance of minority workers and women results from their being doubly exploited and oppressed. On the other hand, the



Boeing bosses have made millions off of racism and sexism. These millions come not only from what the company saves by paying minorities less, but also from the lowered wages of all workers due to the disunity that is created.

This super exploitation of minority employees plus the regular, down-home variety of exploitation of white workers (that this racism makes easier) has led to **record profits** for Boeing while thousands of us are laid off. In celebration, T.A. Wilson, chairman of the board, upped his salary to \$239,000 plus stock options from \$180,000. His cohort, Malcolm T. Stamper, president, is



*Boss Stamper*

making \$162,000 plus stock options—up from \$140,000.<sup>1</sup>

All the large capitalists are caught in an escapable contradiction. On the one hand, they must divide workers up along as many lines as possible—male against female, skilled against unskilled, white collar against blue collar, U.S. citizen against undocumented (“illegal”) workers and, most important, race against race—in order that the **workers as a class** are weakened in both their economic battles (for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions) and their political battles (for state power and revolution). On the other hand, the bosses are forced to combine larger and larger numbers of workers “under the same roof” (or working for the same company) in order to compete, thereby creating the potential for larger and greater unity. Caught in this unreconcilable contradiction, the bosses thrash more and more wildly to escape workers’ unity.

To this historical development, one must add the declining position of the U.S. bosses vis-a-vis other imperialists, like the Soviet bosses, to understand why they are now and will in the near future increase racism and sexism to vicious proportions. U.S. bosses **must** increase the disunity of the working class, deprive workers of their best leaders, and find scapegoats for their own profit-gorging activities—like increased lay-

offs, unemployment and cutting of services—in order to squeeze out larger profits to shore up their declining empire. Racism and sexism fit the bill! Finally, the U.S. bosses will probably be forced to launch another war to gain back economic advantages lost to competing capitalists, as, for example, in Angola or the Middle East. In order to do that, they need a jingoistic and controllable population. This would require fascism. The cornerstone of fascism is racism

On a national scale this can be seen in the boss-inspired fascist anti-busing movement in Boston and other cities. The best known anti-busing group, ROAR, (officially “Restore Our Alienated Rights,” but better known as “Racists On A Rampage”) is nothing more than a collection of fascist, “brown-shirt,” punks that go about beating up Black, Latin and anti-racist white people at will. This group is led by Boston politicians and businessmen, but draws its troops from unemployed kids, small businessmen and off-duty cops. ROAR has closed down many integrated union halls in South Boston and is furthering its union busting activities by carrying on a well-financed campaign to win white construction workers to blame minority workers, for unemployment instead of the real culprits—the bosses. (See “The Historical Fight Against Fascism,” PL Magazine, April 1976; “Boston Summer,” PL Magazine, Dec. 1975; “Fascism and Busing in Boston,” PL Magazine, Sept. 1975)

On the local scale we have seen the recent incidences of racist violence at James Addams Junior High School in Seattle. Anita Whitfield, a fourteen-year-old black girl who was recently elected student body president at that mostly white school, was subjected to physical violence and obscene racist notes left in her locker. The police have decided she made all this up (despite tons of irrefutable evidence to the contrary) because they couldn’t find the culprit. Also, Ku Klux Klan papers are now being sold openly in Seattle.

Capitalism cannot exist without racism and sexism, and to eliminate them, we must eliminate this system. It is estimated that more than half the profits made in this county come from racism to include racist and sexist pay differentials, cheap foreign labor, and the lowering of white workers’ wages due to a disunited working class. The bosses will never consent to give up these billions of dollars not to mention the more important political function of racism—to divide the workers so they can’t effectively fight the boss and to pave the way for fascism. On the other hand, a workers’ run system—socialism—can only benefit from increased workers’ unity created by the defeat of racism and sexism.

### THE COVER UP

The racist and sexist hiring and placement policies at Boeing have been deliberately covered up by the bosses and the very government agencies which are supposed to be enforcing affirmative action. All the federal agencies set up to monitor

affirmative action refused to allow us to audit raw data or statistics concerning Boeing programs of minority hiring, layoffs and placement. This includes the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Washington State Human Rights Commission. That is the law they say.

Boeing itself refuses to give out any information. Also Boeing, as an independent industrial relations advisor, advises all its business clients not to divulge affirmative action statistics, or the progress of their programs.

Liberal, so-called anti-racist organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League refused to assist in any way. This should not be surprising as "Key executives from different segments of the Corporation hold Company sponsored memberships in the Seattle Urban League" and a "monetary grant (from Boeing) was made to the Urban League's Edwin T. Pratt Memorial Scholarship Fund.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the Boeing Company selected "...managers to participate in (NAACP) annual affairs" and "many members of the NAACP are Boeing managers...including the Seattle Chapter President."<sup>3</sup>

Even the law itself governing affirmative action is more an excuse than an attempt to eliminate racism. Boeing, being the second largest defense contractor in the nation,<sup>4</sup> is bound by the Department of Defense Revised Order Number Four and Executive Order 11246.<sup>5</sup> All these "orders" require is that Boeing plan an affirmative action program. Nobody says they have to carry it out! This plan obviously is a fraud since the government won't allow any outsiders check to see if progress has been made.

The real picture emerges, however, as we gathered reports from many Boeing employees, "off the record" comments by agency personnel, and statistics from a copy of "The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program," which we are sure the Company never intended the public to see.

## THE FACTS

"First, racism is a divide and conquer tactic of the boss. We fight among ourselves and the bosses then can more easily lay us off.

"Black and other minorities are either not hired—as in tool and die—or given the dirtiest, nastiest jobs that are bad for the health—as in maintenance. Affirmative action at Boeing is a lie. They just shuffle statistics around. They just have a few minorities around for window dressing.

"In maintenance, there is a general pattern of racist supervisors. Personnel even told me I'd have a hard time if I went to maintenance. One supervisor even asked another worker if he wanted to work with me—a black man—as if I was a bear or something.

"Minorities are always in the lower grades. I get paid three grades less than a

white guy who does exactly the same work. A few years ago, there were two oilers—one black and one white. The white guy got all the overtime. This wasn't changed until another white guy complained about the unfair treatment. Now the white guy who complained is on the supervisor's shit list. The other minorities are utility men (grade 3). They do janitor work, such as changing filters. Like I said, the dirtiest and most unhealthy work.

"As if this wasn't bad enough, I know a guy who hurt his back doing this type of work and got busted down to production and the bosses got away with it!"

—Minority Boeing Employee  
of Twenty Years

"There are no real affirmative action programs for white-collar workers to my knowledge. They never had any to my knowledge, nor will you probably ever see one. SPEEA (union for white-collar employees) doesn't highlight the fight against racism..."

—Minority White-collar Workers

"Non-union workers at Boeing are getting ripped off even more than union workers. Grade 9 nonunion was making \$3.64/hr. when I got laidoff last April. That compares to \$5.27/hr. for grade 2 (hourly employees) and over \$8,000/yr. for technical SPEEA grade 2 at that time.

"Proportionately larger numbers of these workers are women. Ever since I went to high school, I've heard that Boeing was a great place to work for women. But the facts are that Boeing discriminates against women with the lowest paying jobs. These non-union workers are also at the mercy of the company when it comes to layoffs.

"We need to unionize and eliminate these sexist and racist pay differentials. All workers at Boeing would benefit from the increase in unity and numbers of union members."

—Laidoff woman employee

The above comments more accurately describe the real situation at Boeing. These employees' comments were confirmed by "off-the-record" comments by agency staff and Boeing's own statistics.

## Job Discrimination

A careful examination of Table 1 will make the racist and sexist pattern of job discrimination painfully obvious. The jobs are listed according to general prestige and pay—managers, professionals, technicians and craftsmen being more prestigious and generally better paid jobs than laborers, service workers, clerical and operatives.

**Table 1: Distribution of General and Minority Workforce**

	% of total workforce (including minority)	% of Black workforce	% of Black Women workforce	% of Native American	% of Native American Women	% Spanish Surnamed	% Spanish Surnamed Women
Officials	13.4	3.5	1.4	10.6	.9	7.8	.9
Managers							
Professionals	20.6	3.8	.9	6.4	.9	11.4	2.5
Technicians	8.4	2.8	1.6	7.7	6.8	5.7	5.7
Craftsmen	22.2	14.4	4.3	14.1	1.4	17.4	1.6
Office Clericals	13.7	17.1	30.0	23.1	45.6	23.2	55.0
Operatives	15.8	36.7	36.5	24.8	24.3	25.8	23.8
Laborers	4.5	16.5	19.3	11.1	18.4	7.7	9.8
Service	1.3	5.2	5.4	2.1	.9	1.0	.8

—Derived from “The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program”

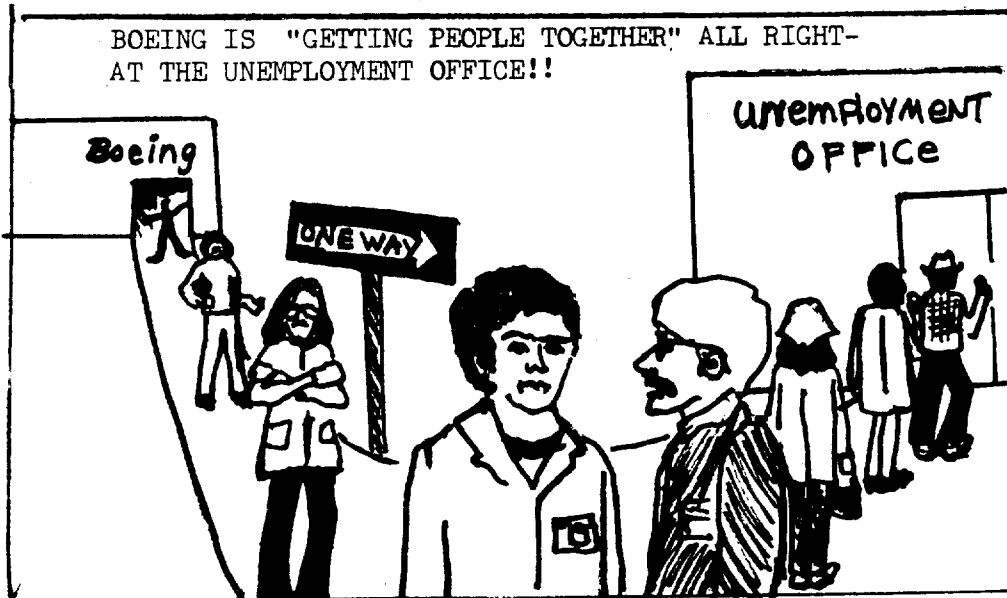
The first column of figures shows the general breakdown of the workforce at Boeing (including minorities). It is helpful to remember that if these figures were for whites **only**, the percentages of employees in the more desirable jobs would be even larger and the percentages for the less desirable jobs smaller.

The next column of figures shows how the Black workforce **only** is divided up. We see immediately that less Blacks have the higher paying jobs than is in the pattern of the general workforce. For example, only 3.8% of the Blacks are professionals, while 20.6% of the whole workforce at Boeing are professionals. Conversely, larger numbers of Black are in the lower paying jobs than is true for the general workforce. For example, 16.5% of the Blacks at Boeing are laborers,

while only 4.5% of the general workforce are laborers.

The differences are even more striking for minority women. For example, women are segregated into so-called “female” jobs like clerical work. Only about 1% of different groups of minority women are either managers or professionals.

Even within these 8 separate categories of jobs, minorities are paid the lowest salaries. Table 2 breaks down each category according to pay scale. The higher paying jobs are on top and the lower paying jobs are on the bottom. For example, in the category of “Services,” a much larger proportion of Black service workers are paid grades 0-2 (25.1% with a maximum pay of \$5.21/hr.) than are paid grades 6-11 (.8% with a maximum pay of \$7.00/hr.).



**Table 2: Salary Distribution of Minorities**

Salaries in Dollars	% Black	% Native American	% Spanish Surname
<b>1. OFFICIAL AND MANAGERS</b>			
29,200-265,000	.0	.5	.5
18,350-39,700	.6	.2	.5
11,900-26,700	1.5	.6	.8
<b>2. Professionals</b>			
17,800-35,650	.0	.0	.0
12,100-23,900	.7	.4	.6
17,500-none	.6	.1	.6
9,350-12,300	1.7	.2	.7
<b>3. Technicians</b>			
11,800-16,050	.6	.3	.6
9,250-12,550	1.4	.4	.5
8,200- 9,800	2.6	1.3	1.0
7,200- 8,650	2.5	.4	1.5
<b>4. Craftsmen</b>			
5.80/hr.-7.00/hr.	no breakdown - generally higher paid, no minorities		
<b>5. Office and Clericals</b>			
11,250-17,900	.9	.2	1.2
9,850-13,850	2.4	.5	1.2
8,450-11,750	2.4	.4	1.0
7,600-10,550	6.3	1.0	1.8
<b>6. Operatives</b>			
5.17/hr.-5.60/hr.	no breakdown - more minorities - less pay		
<b>7. Laborers</b>			
4.67/hr.-5.01/hr.	no breakdown - more minorities, less pay		
<b>8. Services</b>			
5.63/hr.-5.71/hr.	.8	.4	.0
5.38/hr.-5.58/hr.	11.8	.7	.7
5.21/hr.-5.21/hr.	25.1	1.8	2.1

—Derived from “The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program”

Agency staff have told us, “off the record,” that there are now no Black apprentices although the 1975 report says there are three (big deal!). Equally amazing observations by blue collar workers reveal that there are **no minorities of any kind** in N.C. Maintenance, a higher paying job. When qualified minorities have tried to get this job from within the company, they have been met with intimidation and threats.<sup>6</sup>

**Racist Layoffs and Firings**

The racist myth that white workers are being laid off in order to retain minority workers is put to rout by Boeing’s own statistics. We found that 10.3% of those laid off and a staggering 22.0% of those fired were Black, when only 3.4% of the workforce is Black. Table 3 below explains this more clearly.

**Table 3: Layoffs and Firing of Minorities**

	% of Layoffs	% of Firing	% of Workforce
Black	10.3	22.0	3.4
Native American	.2	2.0	.5
Spanish Surname	.6	2.6	1.0

—Derived from “The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program”

From this table we see that a smaller percentage of Native American and Spanish-Surnamed employees were laid off than are represented in the general workforce. Not to let this go unanswered, Boeing made up by firing four times as many Native Americans as they represent in the workforce and 2-1/2 times as many Spanish-Surnamed people. In the Payroll Department all those dismissed in the most recent lay off were either Black, Latin or women.<sup>7</sup> It's in this department that one of the most obnoxious cases of company compliance with racism occurred. A Black person working there was subjected to obscenely racist phone calls and having his tires slashed. The company did nothing and still does nothing.<sup>8</sup>

### **Company Reactions to Anti-Racism**

And what is Boeing's reaction when we try to fight back against racism? A case from about a year ago will best illustrate the company's racist response.

A young Latin worker tried to file a grievance about his racist downgrade. The company threatened and delayed him until the period in which he could grieve elapsed. Not only that, but the management called the chief union hacks in to make sure the worker and his friends stopped publicizing and fighting for his upgrade—particularly, they wanted to keep PLP out of it. The dutiful union hacks, in typical racist fashion, threatened and quoted the union constitution in order to try and stop the fightback—to no avail we might add. One more thing we would like to mention—the company has found the money to buy a lot of new signs warning us not to distribute our literature as well as a battalion of guards (who don't produce anything) to watch us.

### **WHO RULES BOEING?**

Never has capital in the United States been so concentrated. Today in the hands of an extremely small number of financiers run the threads of the entire imperialist economy. From the corner gas station to a copper mine in Chile extends an empire controlled by a handful of closely allied financial groups that directly control the bulk of basic domestic finance and all the overseas empire of American capital; indirectly the rest of the economy is under their sway. These are the real rulers; they have all the power and they share it with no one.

—Who Rules the U.S., PLP pamphlet

There are twelve members on the Boeing Board of Directors. In theory, all are equal. But, in practice, each is there for a different reason. Some, like Reed, Prince, Wells, H.W. Haynes, Wilson and Stamper, are there to report on the day-to-day operations of the company and to carry back the line of the board. Others primarily have ties to local business—like Skinner and Weyerhauser. However, the directors who control Boeing

are the ones that control the financial future of the company. The representatives from the big banks carry extra weight for without these sources of capital, Boeing would perish. At Boeing, the ruling class is represented mainly by William Batten, Charles Pigott and Harold Haynes (representing the controlling Rockefeller group through Citicorp, more commonly known as First National City Bank of New York. Skinner and Weyerhauser also have some "outside" connections.

Table 4 makes these ties clearer. Next to each member of the board are the assets of the companies they sit on as of 1973 (excluding Boeing and the companies we could not get figures for). As you can see, these assets run into billions upon billions of dollars.

The nation-wide racist exploits of these Directors—in particular, the controlling directors—are too numerous to enumerate. However, some of the more glaring and most recent examples should be exposed.

### **Boeing's Directors and the Cutbacks in N.Y.C.**

The layoffs and cutbacks in services in N.Y.C. are to protect the big banks' bonds and financial holdings in that city and are but the first stage of the bosses' plans to steal 1.5 trillion dollars from us workers. ITT (William Batten sits on the board of its major subsidiary ATT) and Chase Manhattan Bank (chief Bank of the Rockefeller Group) have been running advertisements for the last six months, stating that U.S. bosses need 1.5 trillion dollars in capital above and beyond what the economy can now produce in order to beat out foreign bosses. We workers are going to have to pay for that extra 1.5 trillion.

These cutbacks are racist to the core. A large majority of those laid off are minority workers. The hospitals closed have been in largely Black and Latin neighborhoods where medical care is inadequate already. The new tuition at city colleges is designed to make it virtually impossible for minorities and working class people to go to school.

How have these cutbacks been administrated? Most power has been taken away from Mayor Beame and placed in the hands of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (or Big MAC). Big MAC decides who is to be laid off and what services are to be cut. Big MAC is made up solely of representatives of the big N.Y. banks—Chase Manhattan, Citicorp, etc. and corporations.

Lo and behold, the three controlling members of the Boeing Board of Directors—Batten, Pigott, and Haynes—are also directors of Citicorp. That's interesting, but the real clincher is that Batten is also director and former chairman of the board of J.C. Penney Corp. J.C. Penney executive, Kenneth Axelson, has been appointed Deputy Mayor of Finance of N.Y.C. His responsibilities are to insure the banks get their money and that the N.Y.C. workers get the shaft.

It is no wonder that Boeing lays off thousands (and disproportionately large numbers of minorities) without batting an eyelid! The main con-

Table 4: Boeing Company Directorate

		Assets (in millions)(1973)	
<b>ROCKEFELLER GROUP</b> Chase Manhattan Bank Metropolitan Life Citicorp Equitable Life Chemical Bank New York Life	<b>WILLIAM BATTEN</b> Director: American Telephone and Telegraph Citicorp(or First National City Bank)(N.Y.) J.C. Penney Financial Corp. (J.C. Penney Insurance Corp.)(J.C. Penney Life Ins.) New York Stock Exchange Texas Instruments	\$54,547 \$41,302 \$1,923 "Independent Agency" unknown	
	<b>CHARLES PICOTT</b> Pres. and Director: PACCAR (local) Director: City Bank(N.Y.) (holding Co. is Citicorp) Safeco Insurance(local) SeaFirst Bank(local) Standard Oil(Calif.)	Assets \$514 \$41,302 \$411 \$2,817 \$5,143	
	<b>H.J. HAYNES</b> Chairman of the Board: Standard Oil of Calif. Director: Citicorp	Assets \$5,143 \$41,302	
	<b>GEORGE WEYERHAEUSER</b> Pres., Director and Chief Executive Officer of Weyerhaeuser Corp. and Subsidiaries(local) Director: Puget Sound National Bank(local) Equitable Life(N.Y.)	Assets \$1,299 unknown \$15,395	
	<b>D.E. SKINNER</b> Director: Safeco Co. (local) Pacific Northwest Bell(A.T. and T.) Bank of California (S.F.)	Assets \$411 unknown \$2,282	
	<b>FRANK RAY AREA GROUP</b> Bank of California Wells Fargo Bank Crocker National Bank	<b>MALCOLM STAMPER</b> Director: Norastrom Inc.(local)	Assets unknown
		<b>THORNTON WILSON</b> Director: SeaFirst National Bank(local) PACCAR(local)	Assets \$2,817 \$514
		<b>H.W. HAYNES</b> Director: Pacific National Bank of Washington(local)	Assets unknown

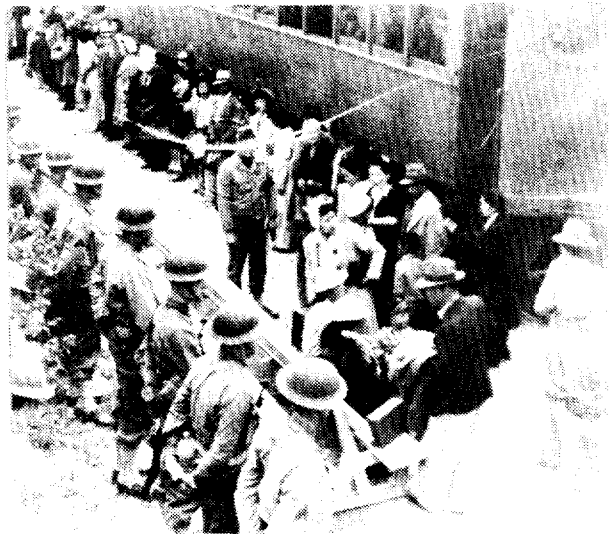
**Note:** Stanley Hiller Jr., Chairman of Baker International, has recently been appointed to the Board.

Other Directors who are not included as corporate authorities outside of BOEING:

WILLIAM REED  
 J.E. PRINCE  
 E.C. WELLS

Corporate ties are local

trolling members of the board have had lots of practice!! Nor can it be a surprise that Boeing pushes Initiative 333 petitions (cutting public employee pensions) on company property while firing or suspending any others passing around petitions. Or, for that matter, that Boeing gave \$21,800 directly to the campaign to defeat Initiative 314—a corporate income tax to help the schools. The defeat of Initiative 314 is most responsible for the recent layoffs and deterioration of public schools—the worst deterioration being in the inner city where there are more minorities.



1941: U S. Japanese citizens shipped to concentration camps

### RACIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The history of Boeing contains many cases of profiteering from racism. One of the most dastardly involves the concentration camps set up in the U.S. for Japanese-Americans during W.W.II. Thousands of Japanese-Americans were rounded up in 1942. Their land and small businesses were confiscated and they were sent to local concentration camps. The bosses whipped up so much racism here in Seattle that Chinese had to wear signs saying, "I am Chinese," to avoid being beaten by racist mobs which roamed the streets indiscriminately beating on Asians.

The land on the Duwamish that Boeing now owns and where its plants are located was the same land stolen from the Japanese in 1942. Racism and profits go hand in hand.

### BOEING AND SOUTH AFRICA

As mentioned in the introduction, the U.S. ruling class (bosses) are locked in a sometimes violent, sometimes less violent, confrontation with foreign imperialists—the chief competitor being Russia. Russia has given up the communist path since 1952 and has reverted back to capitalism while still keeping the communist name in order to fool (or try to) its own workers. This rivalry flares up at different focal points in the world at different times. The battle in the Middle East is

really a battle between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. over the valuable oil reserves in that area, with Israel and the Arab states as pawns in the game. Recent events in Portugal and Spain are also a reflection of this rivalry.

At the present time, this interimperialist rivalry is taking its most sharp and violent form in Southern Africa. The recent defeat in Angola of the U.S. and China-backed UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and FNLA (Front for the Liberation of Angola) at the hands of the Russian-backed NPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), shows the weakening position of the U.S. bosses since the Korean War and the Vietnam defeat.

As costly as the loss of Angola was (strategic location plus oil, cobalt, diamonds and a host of other resources), its importance to the U.S. imperialists pales before the billions in investments that U.S. business has in Angola's near neighbor to the south, South Africa. General Motors, the Anglo-American Corporation, plus 242 other U.S. corporations all have huge investments in South Africa. Boeing has sold approximately 722.5 million dollars worth (at present prices) of jet planes to South Africa, making it the 7th largest foreign buyer out of some 99 foreign firms that purchase from Boeing.<sup>9</sup> Right behind South Africa in sales are such notable fascist countries as Spain and Brazil. These sales were made while most countries in the world boycotted South Africa because its openly racist government was too much of an embarrassment.

Unfortunately for the U.S. ruling class, the victory in Angola for the Soviet nationalist forces has encouraged similar revolts throughout that region. Full scale revolution seems near in Zimbabwe (called Rhodesia by the white minority in honor of the British colonialist Cecil Rhodes) and Namibia. South Africa itself has been rocked by rebellion for many months.

The U.S. bosses have chosen a fitting country

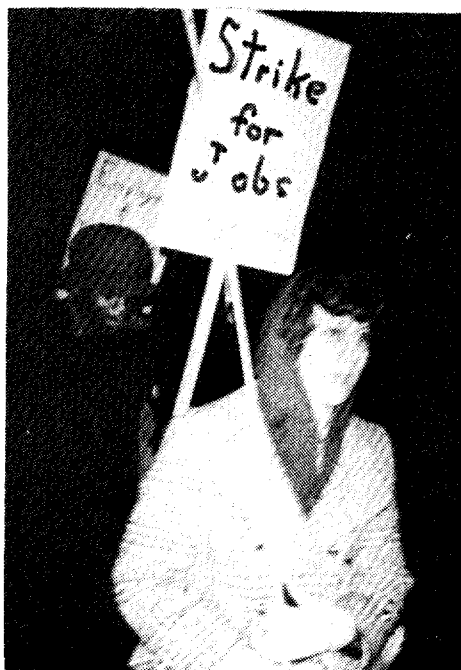


Students chalked 'Japanese Prison' on tar-paper schools



in South Africa in which to make their "last stand." South Africa is an apartheid regime. The law in South Africa makes complete segregation between blacks and whites mandatory. The leaders of the ruling "Nationalist Party" collaborated with the great fascist himself, Hitler, during their conquest and consolidation of power in South Africa.<sup>10</sup> The recent demonstrations by black workers and students in South Africa (also supported by some white students) against vicious racist exploitation and oppression has been met by brutal force and the murder of hundreds of the demonstrators at the hands of the police.

It is this racist, fascist regime that Kissinger has threatened to defend (*New York Times*, March 23, 1976). It is for this racist, fascist regime and the profits of big corporations like Boeing that we may well be forced to die if we do not end this capitalist system soon. It is this fascist, racist regime that may well be the model for the future U.S. government as these bosses search for a way to prop up their declining empire.



*PLP first-shift demonstration against layoffs*

### SIX LESSONS IN CONCLUSION

**LESSON NO. 1: THIS SYSTEM AND BOEING CAN NOT BE PATCHED UP OR REFORMED ENOUGH TO MEET OUR NEEDS, BUT A REVOLUTION IS WHAT IS CALLED FOR.**

We have shown the all pervasive nature of Boeing Company racism, the profit motive for such racism, and the futility of thinking we can beat racism at Boeing without destroying the sources of that racism: the Board of Directors, the government that serves them and all the other petty collaborators in this crime.

Racism is crucial to Boeing's profits, whether it be billions in sales to racist, fascist countries, or land stolen from the Japanese, or using racism to justify lower salaries for minority employees, and therefore increased profits. If Boeing and, for that matter, all the big U.S. corporations could not use racism, their profit margin would be so drastically reduced that they would almost immediately fall from the pinnacle of world power that they are so desperately trying to hang onto.

There was no racism, or indeed even the concept of race, before the emergence of this capitalist system. The first book that divided mankind according to race appeared in 1775 (*On the Natural Variety of Mankind*, by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach) to justify the profitable slave trade.<sup>11</sup> Racism was first codified into law in 1787 in the Constitution of the U.S. when that document classified blacks as being 3/5 human.

Since then racism has taken on even a more important place in the capitalist system as being the crucial underpinning of the bosses' power. Fascism is becoming the necessary and natural form of government to be employed by the bosses to protect their interests. Liberal—albeit bourgeoisie (capitalist)—democracy can no longer keep the workers in line. The bosses are prepared to fight an imperialist war to shore up their declining position in the world. Racism is the main ideology the bosses rely on for developing a mass base for their rotten system and the necessary fascist movement.

Nor can any well-meaning organization beat racism as long as it concentrates solely on reform. All such reform organizations, no matter how honest they may start out to be, eventually become collaborators in and agents of racism. Witness the degeneracy of the NAACP, the Urban League, or even the unions, IAM and SPEEA, under their sellout, bought-off leadership. Any reform we will win from Boeing will be the by-product of our revolutionary anti-racist activity. We should not be fooled for one minute since these bosses will try to take away any gains we make, as long as they control the company, the government all the other various agencies of this society. Our victory against racism will only be when we dump these bosses and set up workers-power through socialism, instead.

**LESSON NO. 2: BOEING PROFITS ARE DIRECTLY TIED TO FASCISM AND WORLD WAR, THE U.S. BOSSES' PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.**

Boeing has sold approximately 1.5 billion dollars worth of planes to three notoriously fascist countries—South Africa, Brazil, and Spain. Also Boeing is the second largest defense contractor in the nation, next to Lockheed. Let us not forget the billions Boeing made producing the B-52s which were used to destroy the Vietnamese countryside during that racist war against the "gooks." The Boeing bosses stand to make, and have already made, big bucks from this plan for war and

fascism. They benefit fundamentally, of course, for the more important political reason that fascism/war are the only way they can stay on top.

### **LESSON NO. 3: RACISM IS THE ACHILLES HEEL OF BOEING (AND CAPITALISM).**

As mentioned before, racism is crucial to Boeing profits. That's why they react so violently when a conscious anti-racist fight is developed. The process of winning workers from racist ideas reveals these Boeing bosses, and indeed, the whole capitalist system in all its ugliness. That is why we refuse to be "taken for a ride" and instead, fight racism at every turn, exposing these capitalists and pointing the way to revolution—our final victory.

### **LESSON NO. 4: IF REFORM IS NOT THE ANSWER AS STATED BEFORE, WE MUST BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY PLP FRACTION AT BOEING.**

Only such a collective can bring the ideas of socialist revolution to this all important section of the Seattle, indeed, national work force.

Our PLP fraction at Boeing must provide political leadership in daily anti-racist fights, whether it be stopping a racist downgrade as we did in the case of the Latin worker mentioned earlier, or organizing a picket against racist layoffs.

This fraction can fight for pro-working class, pro-socialist, anti-racist politics in the union. This is diametrically opposed to the pro-boss, racist politics pushed by COPE and the hacks. These hacks have the gall to tell us to support Jimmy Carter for president. Jimmy Carter is anti-labor and a die-hard racist. This election is nothing more than an orgy of racism and anti-communism with each candidate trying to outdo the other in demagoguery.

This fraction can and must introduce resolutions to condemn the racist violence against Anita Whitfield—a young black student recently attacked after winning the presidency of her class. We must also organize opposition to the sale of papers openly in Seattle.

This fraction must be ready at a moment's notice to fight any racist incident—like the obscene phone calls received by a fellow worker in payroll.

This fraction should support other anti-racist organizations like the Committee Against Racism—which is presently involved in a campaign to stop the sale of KKK papers and to defend Anita Whitfield.

This fraction must promote minority leadership within itself and the union.

### **LESSON NO. 5: REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP IS NECESSARY.**

Only such a party as Progressive Labor Party can co-ordinate and lead the working class to

smash the state apparatus that these bosses have set up to serve them, and replace it with an apparatus Boeing has set up in Seattle, to include key executives in all major community and government advisory agencies, is but a mirror of the national apparatus the capitalists have in Washington, D.C. (See "Who Rules the U.S.," PLP pamphlet.)

### **LESSON NO. 6: ALL WORKERS, WHITE OR NON-WHITE, BENEFIT FROM THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM.**

Racism is the big lie that Hitler bragged about using. It is the great scapegoat, the biggest fig leaf, the thickest smokescreen for capitalist exploitation. Take racism away from the bosses, and they stand as naked as the "emperor without any clothes" from the famous children's fable.

The bosses know this all too well. If the majority of white workers do not blame minority workers for their troubles, then the real culprits, the bosses and their capitalist system, are gravely threatened. The unity that will consequently ensue between militant minority workers and the large majority of white workers is capable of wiping the bosses off the face of the earth.

With these bosses gone we will all benefit.

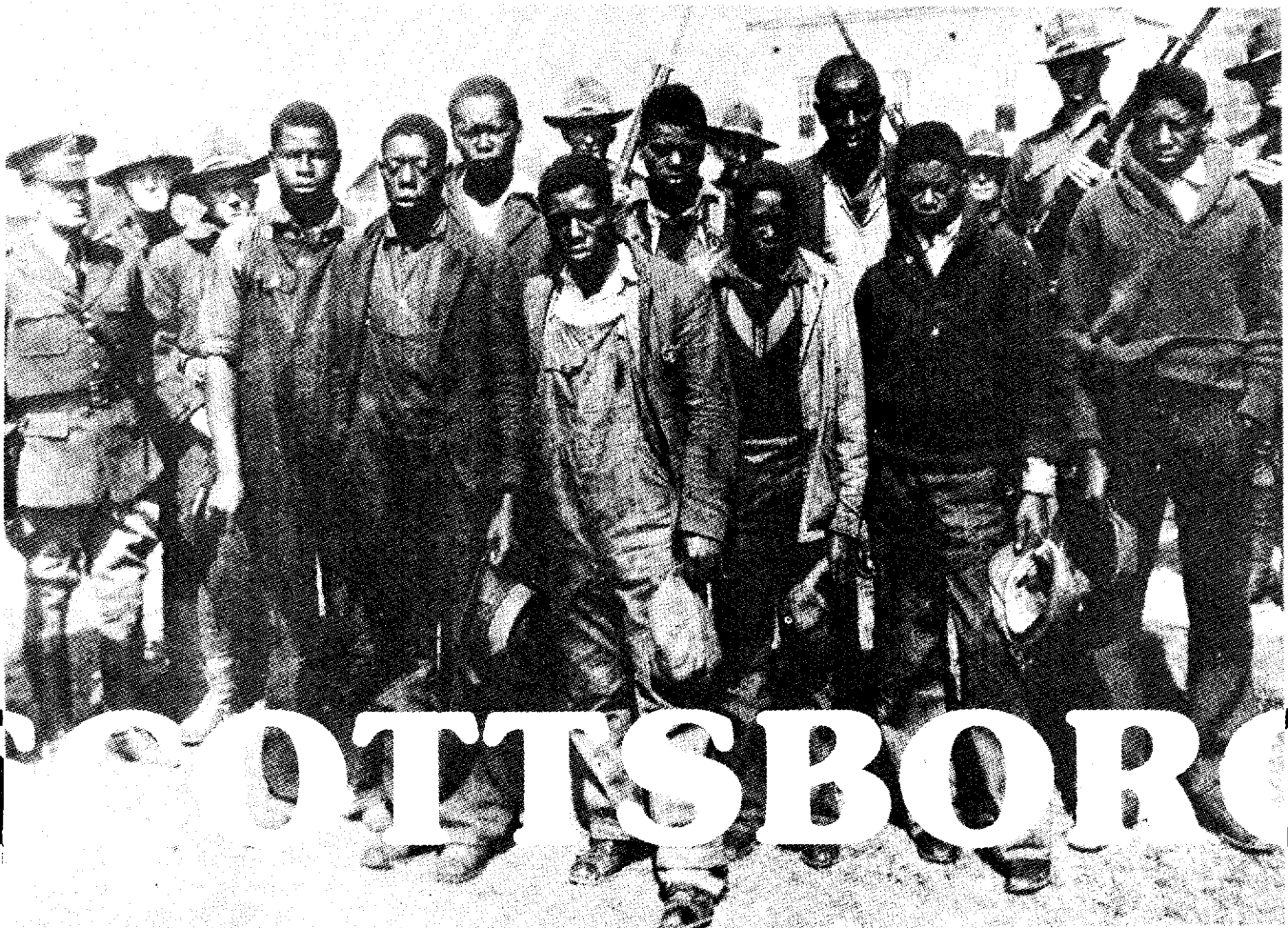
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- 2 *The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program*, p. 105.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 *Parade Magazine, Seattle P-I.*
- 5 *The Boeing Company 1975 Corporate Affirmative Action Program*, p. 4.
- 6 Personal interview.
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- 9 *Boeing Jet Airlines Ordered, Leased or Delivered, S-1753*, published by The Boeing Company, June 30, 1976.
- 10 Hunting, Brian, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1964.
- 11 Montagu, Ashley, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth; The Fallacy of Race*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1974, p. 27.

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# SCOTTSBORO

Scottsboro. There is perhaps no other case in U.S. history which has combined such a myriad of fundamental legal principles, such a striking example of institutional racism within the judicial system, with the tremendous waves of international protest that shook U.S. consulates and governmental agencies. Nor is there another case which provides, within its own framework, a more striking contrast between two fundamentally different political and legal strategies which were conceived by two fundamentally different defense committees.

The purpose of this article will be to analyze the role of the two major defense committees in this case, the International Labor Defense (ILD) and the Scottsboro Defense Committee (SDC). The author of this article does not propose, by analysis of the Scottsboro case, to universally solve the immense problems involved in operating an effective legal defense committee. However, when the two distinctly different strategies involved in the case are analyzed in light of the objective political and economic conditions that prevailed in Alabama and the U.S. at the time, we will have a useful study of defense committee strategies as they relate to the questions of mass protest, institutional racism, the fight for legal reforms, and the use of the courtroom to raise the

level of political consciousness and struggle.

Before proceeding with the main body of this article, it is necessary to address two important concerns. First, a brief review of the legal proceedings in the case will be helpful to the reader. The nine Scottsboro defendants, all black, were originally indicted in Jackson County, Alabama, and all charged with rape of two white women, Victoria Price and Ruby Bates. The rape allegedly occurred on a train passing through Alabama on its way to Memphis.

In the trial court, a mistrial was declared for one defendant, Roy Wright, because his age, 13 years, caused a dispute among the jurors as to whether he should receive the death sentence. The other eight were all convicted of rape and sentenced to death. The Alabama Supreme Court affirmed seven of the convictions and granted a new trial to Eugene Williams, on the ground he was a juvenile.<sup>1</sup> One justice dissented.

The U.S. Supreme Court reversed.<sup>2</sup> The court only considered the issue of adequate and effective counsel. It found a denial of counsel and further found this to be an infringement of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment. Two justices dissented. The cases were all remanded to the trial court.

On defense motion, a change of venue was



*Ruby Bates, once a prosecution witness, in 1934 rode with mothers of Scottsboro boys, in N.Y. May Day parade.*

granted to Decatur, in Morgan County. At the second trial, Haywood Patterson was convicted and sentenced to death. The trials of six other defendants were postponed indefinitely. Two of the defendants, Roy Wright and Williams, were transferred to the juvenile courts. On a motion for new trial, James Horton, the trial judge, overturned the jury verdict on the ground that the evidence presented did not, as a matter of law, warrant a conviction. A new trial was then convened with a different judge, William Callahan.

At the third trial, Patterson and Clarence Norris were convicted and sentenced to death. The trials of the other five defendants were postponed indefinitely pending appeal to higher courts. Motions for new trial were denied.

The Alabama Supreme Court unanimously affirmed.<sup>3</sup> Motions for a rehearing for the two defendants were also denied. In the Patterson case, the Court held that it had no jurisdiction on the ground that the appeal had been filed after the expiration of the lower court term.

The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously reversed in the Norris case on the ground that blacks were arbitrarily and consistently excluded from grand and petit jury service in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.<sup>4</sup> The Court vacated the Patterson judgment on the ground that if the Alabama Supreme Court had been aware of the Norris decision, they might not have denied Patterson the right to appeal on the basis of a technicality.<sup>5</sup> The latter case was remanded to the Alabama Supreme Court, whereupon the original indictment against Patterson was thrown out and the case was returned to the trial court.

At this point, nine new indictments were returned against the Scottsboro boys. The defendants' attorneys asked to have the case moved to federal district court and were denied. Patterson was convicted for a fourth time and sentenced to 75 years in prison. This conviction was upheld

by the Alabama Supreme Court.<sup>6</sup> The U.S. Supreme Court denied review.<sup>7</sup> Clarence Norris was convicted for the third time and sentenced to death. Andrew Wright was convicted, and received a sentence of 99 years. Charlie Weems was convicted and received a 75 year sentence. Ozie Powell pleaded guilty to assault with intent to murder and got 20 years. The rape charge against Powell was dropped. The Alabama Supreme Court upheld all the convictions.<sup>8</sup>

Charges against four of the defendants, Williams, Roy Wright, Olen Montgomery, and Willie Roberson, were then dropped. Norris' sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Between 1938 and 1944 repeated appeals for parole were denied. In 1944, Weems, A. Wright, and Norris were paroled. The latter two violated parole and were subsequently reimprisoned. Norris was reparaoled in 1946 along with Powell. Patterson escaped prison in 1948. A. Wright was reparaoled in 1950.

The second important concern is the question: why was Scottsboro a political trial? Superficially, it appears that the defendants were unconscious apolitical participants in a situation not of their own making. They were not members of a political organization and were not being tried for their political views.

On the other hand, a full examination of the objective political and economic realities in Alabama and the U.S. in 1931 reveals that political questions were extremely important throughout the entire course of the trials. The extreme economic deprivation, the absolutely minimal level of subsistence for tens of thousands of black and white farmers and sharecroppers at this time had resulted in a growing radical anti-hunger movement in the south (symbolized by a communist-led hunger march in Atlanta in 1930). This movement was beginning the hard task of overcoming age-old divisions between blacks and whites, the main reason that the existing horrendous conditions were not being actively opposed by the victims. The Scottsboro boys themselves were on a train when they were arrested only because their families were poor and they were looking for work. The growth of this movement alarmed rich white Southerners.

Historically, the use of racism both before and after slavery had always been the key to the existence of very low living standards for poor whites and virtually unlivable standards for blacks.<sup>9</sup> From the time white indentured servants were told they were "better" than the newly created black slaves, through the time of the Black Codes, Ku Klux Klan, and Post-Reconstruction governments, the maintenance of differentials in living standards as well as civil and political liberties between blacks and whites was crucial in convincing white workers and farmers that the struggle for their common good lay in unity with their own race instead of their own class.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.A. adopted this theory in their analysis of the Scottsboro case: The "parasite landlord and cap-

italist classes of the South" concocted the trial and sentence, they said, because they saw a movement among blacks and whites in backward Southern communities which threatened their "superexploitation." By enlisting the white workers in their "beastly lynching crimes," Southern capitalists could effectively split the working classes of the region.<sup>10</sup>

Almost every Southern newspaper in the region had joined in the effort to condemn the Scottsboro defendants before they were tried. "A fair trial under the circumstances was impossible. The nine Negro boys had already been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death by the news media."<sup>11</sup> An example of the objectivity of racism is the following description of the "crime": "the most atrocious ever recorded in this part of the country, a wholesale debauching of society . . . so horrible in its details that all of the facts can never be printed."<sup>12</sup> The report went on to say that the rape "savored of the jungle" and the "meanest African corruption."<sup>13</sup> This particular paper was by no means alone in its use of exaggerations and lies.

Two additional incidents tend to confirm the political nature of the trials. The local judge had originally appointed the entire Scottsboro bar, consisting of seven attorneys, to represent the defendants. Soon afterwards, three of these lawyers were retained by private citizens to assist the prosecution. On the appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court from the original convictions, the majority opinion affirming the convictions and death sentences was written by the father of Attorney General Knight; who argued the case for the state.

Furthermore, as the first Supreme Court opinion points out, there was no time for preparation for the defense counsel and little clarity or understanding as to who actually was the chief defense counsel in the trial court. A report on Roddy, an attorney retained by the Chattanooga Negro Ministers Alliance to represent the defendants, states that Roddy was an alcoholic, that in the original trials he didn't call any witnesses outside of the defendants, that he refused to protest the lack of blacks on the jury, that he frequently failed to cross-examine prosecution witnesses whose stories were contradictory, and that he made no final argument before the jury. The report goes on to say that he made an oral motion for new trial without preparation (which was denied), thereby foreclosing the possibility of making a written, prepared motion before the Alabama Supreme Court; and that he attempted to get the defendants to plead guilty.<sup>14</sup>

The "trial," then, was little more than window dressing for legalized murder. All of the above does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the case was a political trial. A number of other facts, however, tend to confirm this conclusion. According to Haywood Patterson, the defendants were not informed they were being charged with rape until long after they were taken to jail.<sup>15</sup> The Carter book contends that the charge was

first made by Ruby Bates at least 20 minutes after the train had been stopped. In addition, there was testimony at the second and third trials to the effect that the two complainants first ran away from the posse which initially pulled the blacks off the train, and then were taken into custody.<sup>16</sup>

There was also substantial testimony to indicate the two complainants had crossed state lines to engage in sexual intercourse, a violation of the Mann Act. Their position when they were taken into custody was extremely vulnerable, and they could easily have been forced into bringing the charge. Finally, the state's insistence on continuing the prosecution, even when one of the trial judges was informed by a doctor who had examined the women that it was physically impossible that they had been raped, lends credence to the argument. A number of the prosecution witnesses also testified to things later proven to be physically impossible for them to witness. The ILD accepted the fact that the state had made the case a political trial. This point of view shaped the entire strategy employed by the ILD from 1931 through 1935.

This strategy was grounded on three fundamental principles: the absolute commitment of the defense committee to the total innocence and necessity of total freedom for the defendants; the assertion that only primary reliance on mass international protest, through meetings, demonstrations, petitions, telegrams, fund-raising, forums, press releases, etc. could eventually secure the freedom of the defendants; and the realization of the necessity of retaining the best lawyers available, and using every single legal avenue available within the court to argue for the defendants' freedom.

The ILD, which was a communist-led organization, undoubtedly was influenced in adopting this strategy by its political outlook. The ILD argued that if the strategy was applied correctly, any contradictions that might develop between the three principles could be resolved without jeopardizing the defendants' freedom. The ILD further argued that only fervent efforts directed at building a mass movement against the convictions would finally force release of the defendants. Since the trial was a vicious political attempt by the Southern ruling class to split black from white workers, the ILD said, then it followed that only the mass unity and struggle of black and white against the system which caused the racist trial to happen could win the freedom of the Scottsboro boys.

Roger N. Baldwin of the ACLU supported this argument.<sup>17</sup> He pointed out that only the ILD policy of exposing the divide and rule system of the rich Southern property owners could eventually gain the Southern black-white unity necessary to win the case. The educational campaign that was part of the ILD tactics would lay the ideological basis for this unity.

The contradiction that troubled the ILD the most was that between mass protest and legal reform (short of the defendants' freedom). If large num-

bers of people accepted the idea that the courts could administer justice, mass protest would be limited. During this period, the ILD saw the contradiction between using the best lawyers and all legal techniques versus fostering "democratic and legalist illusions among the masses"<sup>18</sup> as the most fundamentally dangerous part of the defense.

The question of winning legal reforms did not arise until after the initial trial in 1931. On appeal to the Alabama and U.S. Supreme Courts, the questions of right to counsel, and denial of fair trial through exclusion of black jurors were raised and became a much more central part of the ILD strategy. Although the ILD retained excellent lawyers, the ILD publicity at first placed little emphasis on this part of the strategy because they feared this would cause workers to place faith in the courts and neglect the class struggle.

Outside the courtroom, the ILD theoretically repudiated alliance with any of the leadership of the various "leftist" and civil rights groups, including the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the NAACP, the American Workers Party, the AF of L and other union leaders, major church leaders or the capitalist press. The ILD argued that the leadership of these groups were mainly reformist, and would inevitably "sell-out" or lead any struggle into reliance on the capitalist system and its laws. Instead, the emphasis was on a "united front from below," which would ostensibly involve huge numbers of rank and file members of these groups in a defense committee under the leadership of the ILD. These rank and file mem-

bers wouldn't necessarily agree with the ILD program, but by tireless work and linking of the Scottsboro case to local demands and struggles (for jobs, food, etc.), ILD members would bring more and more people into the ILD, and eventually force the freedom of the defendants through continued demonstrations, rallies and mass actions.<sup>19</sup>

How did the ILD theories translate into practice? There was a tremendous mass international campaign organized between the initial sentencing of the defendants on April 9, 1931, and the first reversal by the Supreme Court on November 7, 1932. Demonstrations were held in scores of cities including Moscow, Berlin, Budapest, Vienna, Paris, Harlem, Detroit, Birmingham, San Francisco and Brooklyn. It became quite commonplace for the ILD to have Scottsboro demonstrations in New York City of 3,000 people. Hundreds of meetings and conferences took place in cities and towns worldwide. Most meetings in the U.S. drew over 1,000 people.<sup>20</sup>

A meeting of 15,000 German workers, held in the Lustgarten in Berlin, heard Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two of the defendants, plead for a mass effort. This meeting was part of one of the Scottsboro publicity tours, which were initiated by the ILD.<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Wright was twice arrested and twice deported (in Belgium and Czechoslovakia) for speaking to huge crowds.

Another publicity tour which had an effect on many people was ILD worker Lowell Wakefield's tour of the Northeast in March 1932. Large numbers of people joined the mass campaign as a result of this tour.<sup>22</sup> Local United Front Scotts-

## Hate

Don't hate, my parents taught me;  
Resentment doesn't hurt the one you loathe,  
But only poisons your own heart,  
And eats at your vitals.

You can't change the world, they said,  
So why upset yourself, dear?  
Many things must simply be accepted;  
The sooner you learn this lesson,  
The healthier and happier you'll be.

Mustn't hate the system, they told me.  
It's the only one we've got;  
The best in this imperfect world.  
"What would you put in its place?" they asked,  
There's always been greed,  
Injustice in this world.  
You're not going to change human nature.

Don't hate the devil you say!  
Don't hate the evil bosses  
Who humiliate, degrade, oppress?

Don't hate those  
Who keep us workers chained,  
Running the engines of exploitation;  
Digging our own graves?

Hell, our hatred's all we've got;  
Out greatest strength.  
Out of anger, righteous indignation  
We will overthrow, cleanse, liberate, rebuild.

If out of ignorance, error and greed,  
If out of the ashes of the old,  
New Bosses start to rise,  
The process will renew;  
With perpetual struggle,  
We'll defend our hard won gains  
'Gainst any Guru cult.

Hatred, indeed;  
When you're exploited, my friend,  
Anger is so much healthier  
Than passivity, acquiescence, submission.

Drusilla B. Davis



boro Defense Committees were set up in a large number of American cities (these groups were somewhat broader than the ILD). Even a German defense committee was established in July 1931—the committee included Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein, and other prominent intellectuals.<sup>23</sup>

The legal strategy during this time of tremendous protest was essentially threefold:

(1) To free the two juveniles on bond after filing a writ of habeas corpus and to subsequently sponsor a nationwide tour, including the two defendants.

(2) To force the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse on the broadest possible grounds:

- (a) manifestly unfair trial;
- (b) deprivation of 6th Amendment right to counsel through application of the 14th Amendment;
- (c) most importantly, deprivation of right to fair trial through exclusion of blacks from grand and petit jury; and

(3) Since the Supreme Court probably could not and certainly would not prevent Alabama from either reindicting the defendants or continuing the prosecution under the existing indictments, to obtain a change of venue to Birmingham after the case was reversed and remanded by proving a fair trial was impossible in Scottsboro. Birmingham was seemingly the only place in Alabama where the ILD had a potential mass black and white backing. A Birmingham communist rally in October, 1932, drew 900 blacks and 300 whites.<sup>24</sup>

The ILD legal strategy was only partially successful. Joseph Brodsky and Irving Schwab, ILD attorneys, decided to forego habeas proceedings because they "thought it would accomplish little."<sup>25</sup> Perhaps insufficient money was raised by the ILD to make bond—this is unclear, although there is little doubt the ILD ran into frequent money shortages. The publicity tour, therefore, became impossible. The ILD decided to place its main emphasis on a flurry of huge demonstrations worldwide just prior to the Supreme Court decision.

The reversal was made; however, it was done on very narrow grounds—the issues of fair and impartial proceeding and exclusion of black jurors were not reached by the court. Instead the court addressed the right to counsel issue, in one sense the weakest political argument for the defendants (in that it did not raise the issue of racism as sharply as the others). After reviewing the facts, which clearly established that the defendants were denied time to obtain a lawyer, as well as effective counsel, the Court held the 6th Amendment applicable to the states through the due process clause of the 14th Amendment, "notwithstanding the sweeping character of the language in the *Hurtado* case."<sup>26</sup>

The Court, as it so often does, specifically limited its decision to the facts of the case. Despite this limitation, however, the fact remained that the decision represented a major legal reform within the system. This was one indication of the concessions mass protest could

gain from an otherwise very conservative court. The *Powell* decision laid the basis for the Court's landmark decision 30 years later in *Gideon v. Wainwright*, 372 U.S. 335 (1962), in which the right to counsel was extended to all persons charged with serious crimes. It is important to note that *Gideon* quotes extensively from *Powell*.

It should be said here, however, that a glaring weakness in the ILD strategy was the failure to sufficiently expose how the Supreme Court had for more than 40 years used the due process clause of the 14th Amendment to strike down social legislation and government regulation of corporations. As the amendment was originally written, it was to be used to protect the civil rights, life, liberty, and property of emancipated black slaves and other U.S. citizens. This amendment, along with the 5th, was frequently construed by the courts, however, in favor of the rights of industrial combinations to be free from deprivation of property.<sup>27</sup>

The legal key to this limitation was a construction of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment to only forbid the deprivation of "life, liberty and property" specifically precluded by the due process clause of the 5th Amendment. In addition, the word "person" was interpreted to include corporations. For the civil rights of blacks, the results were devastating. Between 1868 and 1933, 575 cases dealing with the 14th Amendment were brought before the U.S. Supreme Court; 27, or less than 5%, dealt with civil rights of blacks—of the 27, 20 cases were decided against the plaintiffs; the majority of the 575 cases were suits by corporation against governmental regulatory schemes or social legislation.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, in addition to *Hurtado*, where the court precluded use of the 14th Amendment to attack racism, the decision in the Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1883) had effectively emasculated the best weapon against "badges of inferiority," the 13th Amendment. Clearly, the courts were contributing to the enforcement of racism.

The ILD, however, apparently did not even publicize the above facts until after the Supreme Court decision. Had there been more emphasis placed on this point in mass publicity, with a real effort to show that the *Powell* decision was an exception to the general construction of the due process clause of the 14th Amendment **precisely because** of the mass movement behind the decision, the liberals would have had less credibility when they heaped praise upon the integrity and justice of the courts, and claimed that the decision confirmed "the faith of the American people in the soundness of their institutions."<sup>29</sup> As it was, the ILD's claim that primary emphasis on mass protest and class struggle was the key to the victory was not as convincing as it could have been, because of their rejection of the importance of using the fight for legal reforms to expose the nature of the judicial system.

After the reversal, the immediate ILD objective became to get the case moved to a court in Birmingham. According to the ILD's own strategy, a



significant change of location (venue) would only be granted by putting tremendous pressure on the courts while exposing the prejudice of local residents in the courtroom. But the mass pressure in Scottsboro all came from the other side. There was little or no defense pressure in the area around the trial. To be frank, the ILD was unable to overcome the tremendous racism and antagonism among the population directed against the defendants and their lawyers. There is no doubt this was no easy task. However, the ILD was able to mobilize black and white sharecroppers to come en masse to trials of Tallapoosa County sharecropper union leaders; they were unable to do the same at Scottsboro.<sup>30</sup>

The motion for change of venue was granted, but the trial was moved to Decatur, a town 50 miles west of Scottsboro and "a center of Klan strength in... the 1920's."<sup>31</sup> instead of Birmingham. In terms of population attitudes and class background, Decatur was similar to Scottsboro—it was an agricultural town of mostly white farmers. The defense committee had been unable to get the trial moved to even a neutral site.

The denial of change of venue to Birmingham made the ILD courtroom strategy much more difficult. Some reliance would have to be placed on appeal proceedings around the issues of exclusion of black jurors and fairness of the trial. Meanwhile, the ILD retained Samuel Leibowitz, a New York Democrat and an expert criminal lawyer with a reputation for winning many cases for defendants, to handle the case on the trial level.

The conditions under which Leibowitz was retained are somewhat ambiguous. According to one source, "Leibowitz also demanded from Patterson (of the ILD) a tacit agreement that political activities would be soft-pedaled until after the trial. Reluctantly, Patterson agreed..."<sup>32</sup> In reality, however, the period from March 1933 to July 1933 was one of tremendous numbers of mass protests, although there was a slight shift away from demonstrations toward use of petitions, resolutions, and telegrams.

The defense opened the trial by challenging both the grand and petit juries on the ground that qualified blacks were available and that exclusion violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment. Motions to throw out (quash) both juries were made with the trial court after presentation of lengthy evidence. The Alabama law required that persons who served on juries be "generally reputed to be honest and intelligent" and "esteemed in the community for their integrity, good character, and sound judgment..."<sup>33</sup> This vague language was essentially a fig leaf for excluding blacks.

There was some ambiguity in the U.S. Supreme Court decisions as to whether proof of actual state discrimination was needed to bring the 14th Amendment into operation. The ILD decided that the benefits gained from attacking the jury system and raising the whole question in a mass way of black exclusion from the jury outweighed any

additional antagonism generated within the all-white jury. The ILD also hoped to link up the exclusion of blacks from juries and voting to the same restrictions placed on poor whites such as requirement of property ownership and the poll tax. According to the ILD, the possibility of legal reform and the potential ideological value of mass publicity of these issues was consistent with gaining complete freedom for the defendants.

After the initial motions were denied, however, the remainder of the ILD courtroom battle seems to have been confined to vigorous cross-examination of state witnesses (through an effort to show the physical impossibility of many of their assertions) combined with calling a number of defense witnesses who contradicted the prosecution, including one of the former complainants, Ruby Bates.

The prosecution, on the other hand, used substantial doses of racism to get across their points. Attorney General Knight constantly insulted black witnesses. In the prosecution summation, Solicitor Wade Wright pointed at the defense lawyers, Leibowitz and Brodsky (both Jewish New Yorkers) and accused the Northeast of selling slaves at a profit and then taking them away from the South. To put the icing on the racist cake, he ended with this plea to the jury: "Show them... show them that Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York."<sup>34</sup> Even if the defense was not going to treat the case as a political trial up and down the line, the prosecution would.

Conspicuous in the transcripts of the trial is the failure by the defense to point out within the courtroom the practical effects of whites succumbing to racism, the use of racism by the Southern ruling classes as a divisive tool, and the need for black and white unity to win immediate reforms and eventually change the entire system. This seems to be the logical courtroom corollary of a mass political strategy.

Admittedly, Leibowitz was handling the case, and he did not accept all the principles of the ILD. In addition, an appeal such as this to the white farmers of Decatur, a center of hardened racism, might have had little effect. As it was, however, once the challenge to the jury system was made, the jury's general feeling toward the defense could not appreciably worsen. "The jury's loyalty to its white caste could only be proved unequivocally by a guilty verdict."<sup>35</sup> The only possible way to counteract this phenomena would have been to cause the race loyalty to change to class loyalty. It does not appear that the defense attempted this.

One of the chief reasons for this approach was probably the political beliefs of Leibowitz. After the first trial was over, he made a statement to the press indiscriminately condemning Southern whites as "lantern-jawed creatures... whose eyes pop out like frogs... whose chins drip tobacco juice, bewhiskered and filthy."<sup>36</sup> His general attitude, similar to that of the NAACP, was that poor whites were hardened racists, and only the

civilized (rich) whites could be relied on for justice. This was entirely opposed to the ILD philosophy that the Southern ruling class was responsible for and benefited from deep divisions among the Southern poor and that only black and white unity could gain the ends the poor desired. Perhaps this disagreement partially explains the failure of the defense to use political arguments in the second and third trials.

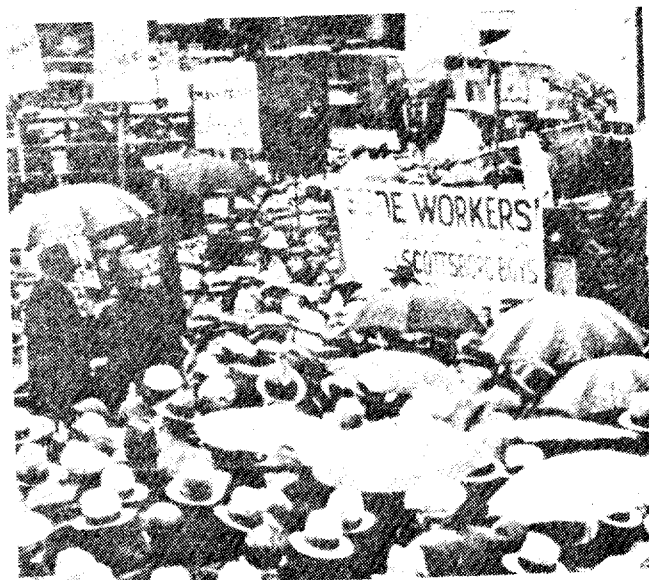
After the second guilty verdict and death sentence for Patterson, the ILD mass campaign escalated. A large march to Washington was planned for May 6-7 along with presentation of civil rights petitions demanding enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and freedom for the defendants. Again, mass meetings and demonstrations were held, although the international character of the movement was not as pronounced as it had been during 1931-32. As in 1931, it was uncommon for these various meetings and demonstrations to be attended by under 1,000 people.

The ILD planned to continue this mass strategy as the case was appealed on two major grounds: unfair trial and exclusion of black jurors. The first step was a motion for a new trial before Horton. Between April 16, the date of the motion, and June 22, the day of the decision, the ILD mass activity for 1933 was at its peak. This time, however, there was a real effort to link the trial to issue of non-enforcement of civil rights by the judicial system. This brought the issue of racism to the fore.

In addition, a number of articles in the *Labor Defender* had been critical of ILD "sectarianism," that is, the failure on the part of ILD members to work with rank and file members of other organizations.<sup>37</sup> The ILD leadership did not propose unity with the leaders of reformist organizations, who were still seen as obstacles to a mass campaign; but they did propose exposing the reformist leaders by inviting the organizations to form united fronts. In addition, the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, a group of intellectuals which had some ILD members in it, had joined the defense effort in 1932. And by 1933, even major Southern newspapers outside Alabama were beginning to admit the defendants were being framed.

All this made for a somewhat broader campaign. By June 1933, according to the ILD, 500,000 people had signed petitions for a new trial, and the total number of people attending meetings or demonstrations worldwide since 1931 was well over 1,000,000.<sup>38</sup> In addition, at least 150,000 telegrams of protest had been mailed to Governor Miller of Alabama.<sup>39</sup>

The mass campaign in the South grew also. A publicity tour led by ILD lawyer Allan Taub visited 50 Southern churches in four months and spoke at ILD meetings of 1100 in New Orleans and hundreds in Birmingham.<sup>40</sup> A leaflet was issued in April, 1933, to Southern white workers calling for black-



*C.P. defense rally, Union Square, N.Y. 1933*

white unity and pointing out how the exclusion of blacks from juries and voting worked to justify exclusion of poor whites.

The climax of the organizing effort was in Washington, D.C. on May 8, 1933, where 4,000 people marched for freedom for the Scottsboro boys and enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. Civil rights petitions with 200,000 signatures were presented to Congress. Attempts were made to obtain congressional intervention in the case, which were refused.

Meanwhile, Horton granted the motion for new trial, primarily on the ground that the uncorroborated and contradictory prosecution evidence was more than overcome by the defendants' evidence. There was no mention of the tremendous amount of racial prejudice that had been fomented by the prosecution.<sup>41</sup> The immediate effect of this decision was that the prosecution put pressure on the Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court to have Horton removed.<sup>42</sup> This was done quietly and without protest from any of Alabama's civic or religious leaders. In his place, "Justice" Callahan, who, according to the ILD, had some associations with the KKK, opened as the judge for the third round of trials in November 1933.

The defense courtroom strategy in the third trial was almost the same as in the second. The courtroom circumstances changed, however. Callahan much more openly identified himself with the prosecution. The appellants' brief to the Supreme Court of Alabama lists 62 separate instances in the Patterson and Norris trials where Callahan interrupted the defense counsel, stopped him from proceeding along a line of questioning, or declared a question illegal or improper. In most of these instances, the State did not even have to make an objection before the court intervened.

In the instructions to the jury, the trial judge made the ridiculous and vicious statement that there is a strong presumption against white

women having voluntary intercourse with black men. He further stated the prosecutor's testimony did not have to be corroborated. He concluded the charge to the jury by "forgetting" to give instructions on how to render an acquittal.

In spite of this vitriolic racism, Leibowitz and the ILD generally played within the rules of the game. Perhaps it can be said that the defense committee, with no mass backing, a near KKK judge, and a racist jury<sup>43</sup> had little choice. In a situation like this, however, the argument that a strong political defense would antagonize the judge and jury is not convincing. A stronger effort to link the case to the organizing done by the ILD in Birmingham and New Orleans could have been attempted. Instead, the defense lawyers allowed the blatantly political (and racist) conduct of the judge and prosecution to go unchallenged.

The next year was spent arguing the appeals to the Alabama and U.S. Supreme Courts. Officially, the ILD maintained the opinion that only mass protest would free the defendants.<sup>44</sup> However, the level of protest was definitely toned down during this period. Meetings were frequently in the hundreds, instead of the thousands. No national march was called.

On the other hand, one tour was held with Clarence Norris (out on bail), Richard Moore of the ILD, and Angelo Herndon of the Communist Party (who was also involved in a political trial). This period also produced a dramatization of Scottsboro, "They Shall Not Die" by John Wexler, and a national ILD pamphlet, "Mr. President; Free the Scottsboro Boys!" There were mass mailings of telegrams and protest letters. But the mass demonstrations were, for the most part, gone. This is not to say there wasn't tremendous pressure put on the government and courts by the ILD. However, the period begins to show a change in focus away from earlier tactics.

In October 1934, the fragile alliance that had existed between Leibowitz and the ILD was ruptured. The ILD announced that Liebowitz, with no Supreme Court experience, would not represent the defendants at that level. For his part, Leibowitz accused the ILD of mismanaging the case and exploitation of the defendants. Liebowitz attempted to form his own defense committee, the American Scottsboro Committee, but he was successful only in bringing together a few black churchmen, journalists, and entertainers who favored his taking the case without the ILD. A struggle to gain the allegiance of the defendants and their parents ensued with a compromise finally resulting. Leibowitz would argue one of the cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, while the ILD would handle the other.

The arguments to the Court focused in on the clear prejudice of the judge and the exclusion of black jurors from the grand jury and trial jury. The briefs were meticulously prepared and cited countless instances of prejudice directed against the defendants. The argument against the exclusion of blacks was primarily based on the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. While this

argument seemed firmly grounded in precedent, **Warter V. Texas**, 177 U.S. 442 (1900), the courts had generally required specific proof of actual discrimination (i.e., testimony from the jury commissioner) before the 14th Amendment was applied.

Other circumstances made both cases precarious. The Alabama Supreme Court had, on a technicality, upheld the trial court's striking of a bill of exceptions to Patterson's conviction, precluding his right to appeal. In addition, the finding of fact of the trial court as to the alleged forgery of the names of blacks onto the jury rolls had been that the names had not been forged, despite expert testimony to the contrary. Only an examination of these facts by the Supreme Court, supposedly not a trier of fact, could change this determination.

However, "despite the insistence of conservative Americans that the court operated on a plane above all but the most lofty set of considerations, the nine justices in 1935 were well aware of the general national indignation over the Scottsboro case."<sup>45</sup> While the ILD international mass protest had not reached its earlier levels, the ILD had tapped nearly every method of bringing the case to the attention of millions of U.S. citizens. Accordingly, **Norris v. Alabama**, 294 U.S. 587 (1935) reversed on the ground that black jurors had been excluded. The court also found as a fact that the names of blacks had been forged onto the jury rolls. As in **Powell**, the decision represented a tremendous legal reform,<sup>46</sup> despite the fact that precedent existed for the decision.

Apparently, however, the ILD again failed to point out the uniqueness of the quick turnaround in Supreme Court attitude. While the Supreme Court was still overturning social legislation in 1935, it had unanimously ordered the State of Alabama to place blacks on jury lists and found prosecution fraud in the process. In addition, it reversed the Patterson decision and sent the case back to the Alabama Supreme Court, saying if the latter would have known their decision in **Norris**, they wouldn't have upheld the conviction on a technicality. Although the defendants were not yet free, the defense committee had gained a substantial victory.

Soon after this decision, the defense strategy changed radically. The roots of this change were contained in a pronounced shift in the line of the Communist International in the summer of 1935. In order to fight the rise of worldwide fascism, the International said, it was necessary to make alliances with the organizational leadership of the Social Democrats, formerly considered to be "bourgeois reformists." In the U.S., this meant such groups as the Socialist Party, the NAACP, and Urban League.

The key to this "United Front Against Fascism" was common unity around "democracy" and against fascism. As this theory related to the practice of the Scottsboro case this meant forming a united front defense committee quite different from the ILD. On the initiative of the ILD.

the Scottsboro Defense Committee (SDC) was formed in December 1935, consisting of the ILD, the League for Industrial Democracy (a Socialist Party-led group), the ACLU, the NAACP, and the Episcopal Federation for Social Service. On the initiative of Norman Thomas of the ILD, the Reverend Allan Knight Chalmers was appointed chairman of the SDC.

Chalmers' attitude toward the ILD was less than friendly. The new defense committee immediately ruled out mass demonstrations as contradictory to the freedom of the defendants.<sup>47</sup> The memorandum of agreement between the organizations gave the Executive Committee of the SDC, which consisted of one representative of each organization, full power to make decisions in publicity and hiring of counsel. No organization in the SDC could publicly criticize SDC policies. Somewhat symbolically, the ILD pamphlet, **Scottsboro: Shame of America**, which attacked the racism in the case, was not republished. In its place, the SDC adopted a copy of the decision of Judge Horton as its official pamphlet.

Surprisingly, the ILD agreed with this arrangement. Louis Colman of the ILD and Communist Party wrote: "This defense committee (the SDC) is doing its best to free the defense from all obstacles to a dispassionate consideration of its case on the merits. **No political or sectional propaganda will be tolerated in connection with the defense.**"<sup>48</sup> Despite the ILD assessment that mass protest had saved the defendants from the electric chair and won significant legal reforms while involving millions of people in struggle and the raising of anti-racist consciousness, it was now indirectly accepting the argument that injecting radical politics into the case would only hurt the efforts of the SDC.

In effect, the ILD was succumbing to the politics of Chalmers, the NAACP, and others. While officially the SDC was composed of five or six organizations, Chalmers exercised substantial control over day-to-day decisions. Chalmers' strategy was to form a local defense committee in Alabama composed of "distinguished good people" and "respectable" citizens of Alabama (i.e., newspaper editors, lawyers, ministers, businessmen, and college deans). Early in 1936 the Alabama Scottsboro Committee (ASC) was formed.

In an initial agreement between Chalmers and the ASC, it was stipulated that "control of the case by the communists makes acquittal impossible" and "Communist propaganda can be held up during the conduct of the case."<sup>49</sup> These stipulations fit in well with Chalmers' attitude toward the case. In addition, the SDC hired Clarence Watts, a Chattanooga attorney, in order to allay Southern prejudice. This was done in spite of the fact that Watts' racial attitudes were "most objectionable"<sup>50</sup> to SDC members (he did at least believe in the innocence of the defendants).

The fourth trial opened in January 1937. The SDC strategy was to provide adequate legal defense without antagonizing the judge and jury. Instead, through the "influential" ASC, Chalmers hoped to get Knight and Callahan removed from

the case. For example, the defense objected to the appointment to the jury of whites who readily admitted their belief in black inferiority. Callahan refused to strike them, saying they were acceptable "as long as they did not allow this belief to interfere with their judgment."<sup>51</sup> Defense counsel did not further press the point.

There was wide disagreement about the initial success of this strategy. By June 1936, Liebowitz, who had stayed on the case, claimed that despite their good intentions, the net accomplishments of the ASC had been "exactly zero." Chalmers on the other hand, claimed that the defendants would only be freed by following this strategy.

In mid-1936, the defendants were placed in solitary confinement. Chalmers requested that the ASC intervene. The latter refused, saying that it would only antagonize the prison officials, and "ultimately do the defendants more harm than good."<sup>52</sup> This type of hesitation and timidity in intervening or questioning any Alabama decision continued while the ASC was involved.

Meanwhile, Patterson's fourth trial proceeded. with the issues of counsel and black jurors exhausted, the defense concentrated on factual refutation of Victoria Price. Despite numerous contradictions in her testimony, Patterson was again found guilty. However, for the first time, the sentence brought in was less than death—75 years in prison. Chalmers and others considered this a victory; others, including Patterson, considered it a defeat.

During this trial, negotiations with Alabama for the release of the defendants had begun. By October 1936, these negotiations produced a deadlock. Clearly, Alabama wanted to get rid of the cases and all the publicity about Southern racism and injustice that they caused. But they did not want to release all of the defendants. Chalmers countered this deadlock by releasing a statement to the press to the effect that Alabama was considering releasing four of the defendants.

Following the statement, the prosecution proposed a release of four in exchange for conviction of five. According to Chalmers, an informal agreement was reached between the prosecution and Grover Hall, a virulent anti-communist publisher for the Montgomery Advertiser<sup>53</sup> and mem-



*Bicentennial justice: Clarence Norris 'pardoned'*

ber of the ASC, promising freedom for four defendants in exchange for prison terms of no more than 5 years against four of the defendants and dropping of the rape charge and pressing of assault against Ozie Powell.<sup>54</sup> This "agreement," however, turned out to be little more than a piece of paper. Four of the defendants were in fact released, but at the cost of prison sentences of 99 years for Andy Wright, death for Norris, 20 years for Powell (for assault) and 75 years for Weems. Norris' death sentence, in accordance with the agreement (which was made after his conviction) was commuted to life imprisonment after the Alabama Supreme Court affirmed his conviction and further appeal was withdrawn. The State immediately denied that it had made any agreement with the defense, despite written evidence to the contrary.

The SDC's next move was to print a pamphlet while appealing the Patterson case. The pamphlet "4 Free - 5 in Prison - On the Same Evidence" made the important point that Alabama was admitting the innocence of the five remaining defendants by releasing four of the defendants. It quoted extensively from the opinions of liberal and conservative newspapers, in contrast to earlier ILD pamphlets. The main object of the pamphlet was to try and shame Alabama into releasing the remaining prisoners.

Meanwhile, the ILD maintained its support of the SDC. Its own 1937 pamphlet "We must free the Scottsboro Boys!!!," reflecting the United Front Against Fascism position, was billed as an "indictment of our American democracy." The mass aspect of the ILD campaign was almost totally subordinated to the SDC, which seldom initiated this kind of activity. The pages of the **Labor Defender** were opened up to such organizations as the NAACP and ACLU, which previously had been attacked by the ILD. Articles by Roy Wilkins and Roger Baldwin argued that reliance on the courts was primary, praised the ASC as "distinguished," and assured readers that "the political disinterestedness of the defense has become abundantly clear."<sup>55</sup>

Significantly, the Supreme Court declined without comment review of Patterson's case in October 1937. This, in effect, precluded review for the rest of the defendants. Although the court was supposedly more liberal (**NLRB v. Jones-Laughlin Steel**, 301 U.S. 1 (1937) signalling the "new majority") and there were many prejudicial errors raised on appeal, the Court did not even see fit to comment on the denial. The argument can be made that the Court had run out of constitutional methods of overruling Alabama, and did not want to appear meddling. The fact remains that by October, 1937, because of the SDC strategy, Scottsboro was not the mass issue it had been in 1932 and 1935.

The next six years of the case are a history of broken promises and lies on the part of the State, and hesitancy as well as unjustified illusions and faith on the part of the SDC. Now that the case was out of the courts, the defendants and the SDC were forced to totally rely on the ASC and the

"good will" of Alabama officials. Time and again the defendants' hopes were shattered.

In October 1938, a memorandum of agreement was made between Alabama Governor Graves and Chalmers, Hall, and Henry Edmonds, an ASC member. The memo called for the pardon of all the defendants but one. On October 29, 1938, two days before the planned release, Graves reneged; his rationale was that he had brought two of the defendants to his office just before the planned release, and found them "anti-social" and "bestial"<sup>56</sup> and therefore unfit for life outside prison.

Grover Hall appealed for reconsideration of the decision on the basis that the national reputation of Alabama's people was being ruined, but this appeal failed. Chalmers next tried to convince President Roosevelt to persuade Graves to pardon the defendants. Roosevelt invited the Governor to see him, but the latter refused and remained adamant.

Chalmers then released to the press the agreements between Graves and the SDC. Astonishingly, the Alabama committee disagreed with this tactic in that it would "militate against future release."<sup>57</sup> According to these allies of the defendants, it was unfair to Alabama and would "antagonize" the State more if it became public that Graves had lied and gone back on his promise. Obviously, they did not want to offend anyone in office. The ASC ignored the fact that the relationship between Alabama and the defendants was **already** antagonistic and offensive, because of racism.

There is another side to the ASC attitude. Chalmers admitted that "Furthermore, however hard Grover Hall had worked for us and with us, he still considered our work something of a game."<sup>58</sup> Hall's evaluation of the new Parole Board (established soon after Graves had denied the second appeal and a new Governor had denied another plea) was that it was "most cordial and most sympathetic." "Its wish is to be entirely accommodating and expeditious."<sup>59</sup> The board awarded this kind appraisal by coldly turning down two appeals for parole, in 1939 and 1940. Clearly, Hall's estimates of the Board's attitude were more of a "game" than the SDC realized. It is difficult, while examining the entire record of the case while Hall was in the ASC, to discover a single instance where Hall's "influence," "respectability," and "distinguished ability" made any difference at all to the state officials involved. In fact, Hall's main effect was to tone down the opposition of the SDC to Alabama's viciousness.

Chalmers, for his part, thought Hall was one of the finest people he ever met, very helpful in the case and considered him a personal friend. As to the Parole Board, he constantly pleaded for their "patience" toward his appeals and "understanding" of his pure motives. During this time, the SDC rarely even issued public statements outside their dealings with the Board, despite the fact they were continually rebuffed.

In 1943, after the State finally began to parole the defendants, two of them jumped parole be-

cause of the miserable conditions under which they worked and lived.<sup>60</sup> Chalmers advised the two to return to Alabama—again he relied on a “promise” by the Parole Board not to reimprison the defendants!! Unfortunately, the two defendants relied on Chalmers, and they were soon back in prison.

There is no doubt that Chalmers continued his work persistently during the period 1938-1950. By 1946, three of the defendants had been paroled. The last defendant was paroled in 1950.<sup>61</sup> Certainly Chalmers’ persistent work contributed to these releases. Another factor that came into play was the increased official opposition to racism that characterized postwar U.S. adminis-

trations. As a result, it has been argued that only patience and understanding can overcome racism.

On balance, however, the ILD proved in four years the strength of mass protest and the tremendous effect it had on the judicial system. Although the ILD in 1931-1935 was unable to free the defendants, they made tremendous inroads worldwide against the factors that caused the Scottsboro case to happen in the first place, racism and economic exploitation. They alone saved the defendants from the electric chair. There is no question mistakes were made. But the sum total of the ILD work was a formidable display of legal and political brilliance which has since rarely been outshone.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1 *Powell v. State*, 224 Ala. 540, 141 So. 201 (1932).
- 2 *Powell v. Alabama*, 287 U.S. 45 (1932).
- 3 *Patterson v. State*, 229 Ala. 270, 156 So. 267 (1934); *Norris v. State*, 229 Ala. 226, 156 So. 556 (1934).
- 4 *Norris v. Alabama*, 294 U.S. 587 (1935).
- 5 *Patterson v. Alabama*, 294 U.S. 600 (1935).
- 6 *Patterson v. State*, 234 Ala. 342, 175 So. 371 (1937).
- 7 *Patterson v. Alabama*, 302 U.S. 733 (1937).
- 8 *Norris v. State*, 236 Ala. 281, 182 So. 69 (1938).
- 9 Support for this thesis can be found in Lerone Bennett’s *Before the Mayflower* and C. Vann Woodward’s *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*.
- 10 *Daily Worker*, April 10, 1931; April 11, 1931.
- 11 Dan Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 20.
- 12 *Huntsville (Ala.) Daily Times*, March 27, 1931.
- 13 *Ibid.* Other newspaper accounts can be found in the Carter book, pp. 16-20, and in the International Labor Defense papers, Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library, 135th Street Branch (hereinafter ILD Papers).
- 14 Lowell Wakefield to George Maurer, April 26, 1931, in ILD Papers.
- 15 Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad, *Scottsboro Boy* (Toronto: Collier Books, 1950), p. 7.
- 16 *Alabama v. Patterson*, April 3-April 9, 1933; transcript of Testimony, pp. 484-505.
- 17 Roger N. Baldwin, “Negro Rights and the Class Struggle,” *Opportunity* XII (1934), pp. 264-266.
- 18 Harry Haywood, “The Scottsboro Decision: Victory of Revolutionary Struggle over Reformist Betrayal,” *The Communist* XI (1932), p. 1068.
- 19 *Labor Defender* (ILD Organ), Feb. 1933, p. 12.
- 20 ILD Papers.
- 21 Report on Wright/Engdahl Tours, July-August 1932, in ILD Papers.
- 22 Report on Lowell Wakefield Tour, March 1932, in ILD Papers.
- 23 *New York Times*, July 5, 1931, p. 7.
- 24 Carter, p. 153.
- 25 Carter, p. 171, footnote 102.
- 26 *Powell v. Alabama*, 287 U.S. 67. *Hurtado v. California*, 110 U.S. 516 (1884), held that 14th Amendment due process of law did not require a grand jury indictment as prerequisite to prosecution. In general, the inference had been drawn from *Hurtado* that anything in the bill of rights outside the 5th Amendment due process clause (with the exception of the 1st Amendment, see *Gillow v. N.Y.*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925)) was not included in the concept “due process of law.”
- 27 See, for example, *Ives v. So. Buffalo R.R. Co.*, 201 N.Y. 271, 94 N.E. 431 (1911), *Lochner v. N.Y.*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905), *Coppage v. Kansas*, 236 U.S. 1 (1905), *Adair v. U.S.*, 208 U.S. 1611 (1903), *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525 (1923), *Michigan Public Utilities Commission v. Duke*, 266 U.S. 570 (1925), *Ribnik v. McBride*, 277 U.S. 350 (1928).
- 28 Mecklin, “Democracy and Race Friction,” 1911, quoted in ILD Papers, Feb. 4, 1933, National Executive Committee of ILD - Material for Speakers - Education Dept., p. 2.
- 29 *N.Y. Times*, November 8, 1932, p. 8.
- 30 Carter, p. 178.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 33 Alabama Revised Statutes (1931), Ch. 47, Sec. 14.
- 34 Carter, p. 235.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 242.
- 36 *New York Herald Tribune*, April 11, 1933.
- 37 See, for example, Frank Spector, “How We Organize” in *Labor Defender*, Feb. 1933, p. 12 (ILD Papers).
- 38 *Labor Defender*, July 1933, p. 19.
- 39 *Daily Worker*, March 13, 1933.
- 40 *Labor Defender*, July 1933, p. 8.
- 41 Nor did the judge comment on his private meeting with the doctor testifying for the state, where he was told the women could not possibly have been raped. See Carter, p. 215.
- 42 Carter, p. 272.
- 43 The prosecution had used all its challenges getting rid of all whites on the jury it suspected of the slightest sympathy for blacks.
- 44 See *Labor Defender*, Feb. 1934, p. 7, March 1934, November 1934, pp. 4-5 in ILD Papers.
- 45 Carter, p. 322.
- 46 By November 1935, 27 localities in Alabama had blacks on the jury rolls. In addition, in 16 decisions in the state and federal courts, the *Norris* decision was used to quash indictments or gain reversals of convictions. *Labor Defender*, Nov. 1935, p. 15. And, by April 1937, Alabama and seven other Southern states had blacks serving on juries. *Labor Defender*, April 1937, p. 4.
- 47 “We strongly advise concentrating on these resolutions (to be sent to Governor Miller) . . . and not complicating the situation by any other form of action save support of the defense.” Scottsboro Defense Committee Directive, Feb. 5, 1936, in ILD Papers.
- 48 *N.Y. Times*, Jan. 14, 1936 (letter).
- 49 “Proposed plan of cooperation between a committee in Alabama and the SDC” from Allan Knight Chalmers, *They Shall Be Free* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1951), pp. 65-66.
- 50 Carter, p. 340.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 341.
- 52 *ibid.*, p. 361.
- 53 Hall had earlier blamed ILD organizers for the lynching of three blacks by a racist mob. Until about 1935, he fervently opposed anything but death for the defendants.
- 54 Chalmers, pp. 102-103.
- 55 See *Labor Defender*, April 1937, p. 4, and *Labor Defender*, July 1937, in ILD Papers. Baldwin’s article argued that the appointment of Watts as trial counsel had been the primary cause of the jury giving Patterson 75 years instead of death. But Carter, pp. 347-348, argues persuasively that the verdict was due to the unique racism of the foreman.
- 56 Carter, p. 390.
- 57 Chalmers, pp. 160-161.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- 60 See Carter, p. 411.
- 61 Haywood Patterson escaped in 1948.

# 'soviet' economic imperialism

According to a widely accepted view, the Soviet Union has had to bear a heavy economic burden in order to develop political ties with Third World countries. For example, Walter Lacquer, a popular semi-academic writer on the Middle East, argues that not only the U.S.S.R. had to extend to Egypt billions of dollars in military and economic aid, but even that Soviet-Egyptian trade is a burden on the U.S.S.R.: "Commercial considerations can not have been uppermost in the Soviet minds in the trade with Egypt; over the years, they have lost a great deal of money in that country."<sup>1</sup> More scholarly researchers often echo the same argument—that Soviet trade is a cost which is borne for political reasons.<sup>2</sup> A more sophisticated version of the same perspective is put forward by some Marxists, who see the Soviet Union as underwriting "progressive" regimes, such as Nasser's, in order to consolidate its political ties with Third World countries and possibly in order to open the door for future economic imperialism. Mahmoud Hussein writes,

When people ask whether or not the Soviet Union drew imperialist superprofits from Egypt, they misrepresent the specific character of Soviet expansionism during the Sixties, which used the Egyptian regime as its major support base in Africa and the Arab world. It is the consolidation of this regime, realized with massive help in capital and in military and civilian technical infrastructure to develop its military and economic functions, that enabled the Soviet imperialists to extend their political influence and to multiply their financial and commercial ties.<sup>3</sup>

This paper seeks to show that the Soviet Union has drawn imperialist superprofits out of Egypt and other Third World countries. Indeed, the actions of the U.S.S.R. in the 1960's and 1970's closely correspond to Lenin's description of imperialism. We will develop this thesis first by examining the economic advantages to the Soviet Union of trade with the Third World. We will then point out the essential similarity between the structure of Soviet - Third World relations and that of Western - Third World relations. The forms which Soviet imperialism takes differ from the dominant form of Western imperialism in the post-World-War-II era. However, the same essential relationship underlies both.<sup>4</sup>



## A. ADVANTAGES TO THE SOVIET UNION OF TRADE

Those who argue that the Soviet Union's trade and aid program are only politically motivated like to assert that the Soviet Union is basically "autarkic" (i.e. self-supporting). They say that the U.S.S.R. trades with Third World countries only as a means of cementing political ties. In his discussion of Soviet trade agreements with underdeveloped countries, Berliner concludes that the agreements were not drawn up with an eye to the Soviet Union's economic advantage: "It is evident that such lists (of commodities the USSR will import under the agreement) are drawn up more with an eye to what the partner needs to sell, than to what the U.S.S.R. could most profitably import."<sup>5</sup>

What is "evident" to the casual observer is often wrong. Let us look at the pattern of Soviet trade with the less developed countries:

### SOVIET IMPORTS FROM LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES (in millions of US \$)

Year	Cereals	Fruits and nuts	Coffee, teas, and cocoa	Sugar
1955	22.1	7.7	15.3	35.8
1960	6.6	27.4	66.2	0
1965	47.7	45.4	100.5	0

	Textiles and Fabrics	Hides	Total
Rubber	25.5	45.2	11.7
	131.8	186.3	35.2
	92.8	155.4*	26.3
			210.4
			574.9
			663.0

\* Yarn imports were \$25.7 million

Note: U.S.S.R. imports of cereals and sugars from other sources is significant (i.e., Cuba for Sugar, US-Canada-Australia for cereals)

Source: Sawyer, **Communist Trade with Developing Countries 1955-65**, 106.

Soviet imports from less developed countries fall into two major categories. On the one hand, there are raw materials (primarily cotton, wool, rubber, hides, and jute). On the other hand, there are specialty foodstuffs (primarily sugar, cocoa, rice, oranges, nuts and tea). Everyone of these raw materials was a major Soviet import in the 1920s, that is, until the rise of socialist policy of self-sufficiency in the 1930s.<sup>6</sup> When the Soviet Union began to re-enter the capitalist world market after 1953, it was these raw materials and foodstuffs that it imported—before the Soviet Union had any political ties with countries exporting these commodities. As the Soviet Union de-

veloped ties with some country, it indeed did step up trade with that country. "Generally, however, the increased trade involved only a shifting of sources for commodities needed and already being purchased by the Soviet Union from other developing countries."<sup>7</sup>

Cotton imports provide a good example of this pattern of Soviet trade. After World War II, Soviet cotton production dropped while demand soared. This was a factor leading to a barter agreement with Egypt in 1948 to trade 38,000 tons of cotton for 216,000 tons of wheat and 19,000 tons of corn.<sup>8</sup> Soviet imports of cotton (particularly long-staple cotton, Egypt's specialty) continued to rise independently of the state of Soviet-Egyptian political relations. By 1968 Soviet cotton imports had grown so much that Egypt was only able to meet half the Soviet demand. Since 1956 the Soviet Union has imported cotton from: Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Brazil, Pakistan, Greece, Mexico, Somalia, Mali, Yemen, Turkey, and the Sudan—i.e. from every major exporter except the U.S.<sup>9</sup> During the 1950s the Soviet Union was exporting cotton (80% to Eastern Europe), but not the long-staple cotton which it was importing from Egypt. As Soviet cotton production finally began to expand from 1965 to 1968, imports fell 25% and exports (which had not grown in 10 years) rose 40%.<sup>10</sup>

Smith provides conclusive evidence that Soviet imports of rubber, hides, jute, wool, and fabrics were every bit as economically motivated as the trade in cotton.<sup>11</sup> He further points out that the U.S.S.R. was willing to pay in hard currency for these commodities when necessary. Indeed, a principal barrier to the expansion of imports was the lack of foreign exchange to pay for imports. The Soviet Union ran up a cumulative deficit with the less-developed countries of \$991.3 million from 1955 to 1962; the gap in 1960 alone was \$229.1 million. "The Soviet deficit has stemmed primarily from large convertible currency purchases of selected raw materials from developing countries which have not been markets for Soviet products."<sup>12</sup> Egypt was one of these countries which had run up a substantial balance of payments surplus with the Eastern bloc by 1956; in spite of the then recently concluded arms agreement, Egypt was so unwilling to continue to accumulate rubles that it made an incident over its insistence that the Eastern countries pay Suez Canal tolls in U.S. dollars just like other countries.<sup>13</sup>

It was against this background of balance of payments difficulties that the Soviets began to extend loans to less developed countries—loans that were then called "aid." As Goldman puts it,

Correcting this (balance of payments problem) and finding a long-run outlet for Soviet industry had little or nothing to do with spreading Communism; it was primarily a business maneuver. The only way the Communist bloc could overcome the traditional preference for Western-made goods was to extend credits which

would finance purchases that otherwise would not be made.<sup>14</sup>

Khrushchev's famous declaration of "economic warfare" against the U.S. **did not** reflect a willingness to take economic losses in order to make political friends (as was widely feared among U.S. business circles at the time). Khrushchev intended to break into U.S.-dominated markets by offering better credit terms, and thereby consolidate the U.S.S.R.'s position as a major force on the world market. Soviet economists have gone so far as to calculate a sort of aid-trade multiplier (the amount of trade generated by an extra ruble of credit).<sup>15</sup>

From 1956 on, the Soviet Union has been extending credits on a large scale. From 1955 through 1968 the U.S.S.R. extended almost \$6 billion in non-convertible credits which the receiving country could use for the purchase of complete plants, machinery, equipment, some other commodities, and the services of Soviet technicians.<sup>16</sup> Because the exact projects for which the Soviets would provide aid and the exact commodities which the less developed country would export (along with timing, quality, etc.) were often unspecified, the credit agreements were sometimes referred to as "hunting licenses."<sup>17</sup> Many of these credits have not been fully utilized. While data on the actual deliveries of Soviet commodities under the aid program are sketchy, Carter estimates that about 45% of the credits, or \$2.8 billion, had been shipped by 1968 (valued at the price paid by the less-developed country and the official ruble-dollar exchange rate).<sup>18</sup>

The Soviet Union does not publish many figures on its "aid" program, so data must be sought from the recipient countries. The chart below on Soviet and Western "aid" does not include military aid. Soviet arms shipments before 1967 are estimated at \$1.5 billion and from 1967 to 1974 at \$2.5 billion.<sup>19</sup> Nasser stated that this military aid was not a gift, but the terms on which it was extended are unknown. In recent years, there has been much hard feeling over Sadat's attempts to get the repayments stretched out over more years.<sup>20</sup> Recently, Soviet arms sales have been for cash; it is reasonable to assume that the U.S.S.R. has ended up with much of the hundreds of millions of dollars in grants that Egypt has received from the Arab oil countries.<sup>21</sup>

The effects of this large credit program on the Soviet balance of payments with Third World countries have been dramatic. Soviet imports from these countries were rising rapidly. The only way the Soviet Union could maintain a balance was by increasing shipments under the "aid" program. In 1964, out of total Soviet exports to the Third World of \$778 million, aid disburse-

## Message to America

from Yugoslavia's President Josip Broz Tito

*As part of this year's Bicentennial observances, TIME asked leaders of nations around the world to address the American people through the pages of TIME, on how they view the U.S. and what they hope, and expect, from the nation in the years ahead. This message from President Tito of Yugoslavia is the fifth in a series.*

I wish to extend my most cordial congratulations to the American people on the occasion of the Bicentennial of the United States of America, the anniversary of that historic day when, as a result of the struggle by men and women of the "New World" for liberation from colonial oppression and foreign domination, a revolutionary political charter—the Declaration of Independence—was proclaimed.

This struggle and the Declaration manifested a number of illuminating truths that have survived the past two centuries and inspired many generations. These truths are that all men are equal before the law, that national sovereignty is the highest principle, and that to live in freedom and independence is the sacred and inalienable right of man.

The proclamation of human rights and democratic political principles has exercised significant impact on many a similar document as well as on liberation movements all over the world. The vitality of these principles has been corroborated by history. They not only have opened the prospects of free development and the building up of the United States of America and of the American nation but also have encouraged other nations in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Impressive achievements both in the material and the spiritual spheres have sprung out of the powerful and rich resources with which nature has endowed the United States of America, as well as from the diligent hands and the creative genius of the immigrants from many countries of other continents. That is why we too recall with pride many sons and daughters of Yugoslav descent who have contributed by their work to the development of America. These numerous Americans originating in Yugoslavia have been, and will remain a living link of friendship between Yugoslavia and the U.S.

Such famous figures as the scientist and inventor Nikola Tesla and Physicist Michael Pupin come to our memory. So do the names of the violinist and philanthropist Zlatko Bakovic, one of the founders and chairman of the Society of Friends of New Yugoslavia in the U.S., of Louis Adamic, the author and publicist, Ivan Mestrovic, great genius of sculpture, and many others.

Many of our people live and work throughout the U.S. They maintain regular contacts with "the old country" and their relatives. They were those who actively supported Yu-

goslavia during the second World War and helped in the post-war reconstruction of the devastated old homeland.

The peoples of Yugoslavia and of the United States were held together in the most crucial years of this century, fighting as allies in the two World Wars. Our two countries were among the founding members of the United Nations organization after the second World War, and since have continuously promoted their traditionally friendly relations and mutual cooperation based on equality.

The celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States of America, in which our country is also taking part, offers us the opportunity to express once again our faith in further successful development of cooperation, notwithstanding some differences in views and stances.

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned country, has been striving to have respect for independence become the basic criterion of international behavior. This is the lasting principle of our foreign policy.

For more than 15 years, nonaligned countries have drawn attention to the deep roots of instability in the contemporary world. They have been exerting efforts toward finding solutions to acute world problems and further consolidating forces desiring active peaceful co-existence and relaxation of tensions in international relations.

Yugoslavia has pledged itself to the easing of tensions beyond the narrow framework of big-power relations, so as to encompass all regions and all spheres of international relations. The existing hotbeds of crisis, which can at any moment become a source of new conflicts, should be eliminated as a matter of urgency, in conformity with the charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

We have reached a historic watershed on the road of creating new, constructive and humane political and economic relations among nations, relations that would make it possible for mankind to live without apprehension for their future, to develop without constraints utilizing all achievements created by the human mind.

We in Yugoslavia are highly appreciative of and admire the progress made in science and technology and accomplishments in other spheres of creativity in the U.S. These impressive results become eventually a common property of mankind. We hope that in the future the United States of America will contribute even more to overall human progress, to life in peace and freedom.

In extending our best wishes to the American people on this great Bicentennial occasion, we should like to wish also for further promotion of cooperation and strengthening of friendship between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States of America.



*Exporting 'revolution': Tito's bicentennial message appeared in Time Magazine, Aug. 23*

ments were about \$375 million (aid repayments were \$133 million).<sup>22</sup> As we can see from the table (p. 54), the Soviet Union has not been able to maintain balance in its trade with the Third World in spite of dramatically increasing machinery exports, especially exports of "equipment for complete plants"—a category which is almost completely identical with shipments under the "aid" program.<sup>23</sup>

ESTIMATED AID COMMITMENTS TO EGYPT (in millions of US \$)

	1954-62	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Total
Western bloc	1,160	204	231	119	66	27	20	0	38	39	39	1,943
Soviet bloc	711	54	517	126	7	120	168	38	103	313	170	2,327

Source: U.N. **Statistical Yearbook**, cited by Mabro, "Egypt's Economic Relations with the Socialist Countries," **World Development**. About 1/2 of the Western aid was loans at slightly below market rates; the other half was wheat shipments under U.S. P.L. 480. Mabro makes a "half-educated guess" that disbursements of Soviet aid through 1975 were equal to credits extended by the end of 1972.

**SOVIET EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FOR THE  
THIRD WORLD (millions of US \$)<sup>24</sup>**

Year	Imports	Exports				
		Total	Petroleum products	Foods and lumber	Machinery	Of machinery, "equipment for complete plants"
1955	210.4	112.3	31.9	21.2	5.4	1.1
1960	574.9	345.8	61.3	65.5	125.6	68.6
1965	663.0	777.8	97.4	86.7	460.3	295.8
1970	1222.	1030.				
1973	2197.	1728.				

Sources: Sawyer, *op. cit.*, 106, 113f for 1955-1965; U.N. *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics* for 1970, 1973.

In recent years, repayments of Soviet credits have contributed substantially to the Soviet balance of payments. It is very difficult to get accurate data on these repayments.<sup>25</sup> Egypt's export surpluses in its balance of merchandise trade with the Soviet Union are "roughly equivalent" to repayments of aid (both military and developmental). These surpluses totalled \$1,537.2 million from 1958 to 1973; they were \$223.4 million in 1972 and \$256.5 million in 1973.<sup>26</sup> India's repayments of military and developmental credits (plus payments for technical assistance) totalled \$2,380 million from 1956/7 to 1972/23.<sup>27</sup>

There is indeed much evidence that "the Soviet Union's economic aid program is, in many respects, an extension of normal commercial activity."<sup>28</sup> Some observers, however, question this interpretation of the Russian aid program on the

grounds that an economically-motivated policy would not extend credits at an interest rate of only 2-1/2% (which was the standard Soviet rate). Berliner, for example, is doubtful that the low interest rate is "a necessary cost that the Soviet Union must bear for the sake of longer-run exchange of goods to which the aid program will lead."<sup>29</sup> Berliner is overlooking the difficulties the Soviets face in penetrating Third World markets; Soviet machinery is not renowned for its high quality.<sup>30</sup> Also, the Soviet interest rate has not been as low as it might seem at first glance. While the nominal Soviet interest rate has been lower than the nominal I.B.R.D. interest rate (around 8% on most loans), the **effective** Soviet interest rate may be higher because the Soviets have required repayments to begin sooner and have been inflexible about stretching out repayments;<sup>31</sup> see the chart below.

**TERMS OF LOANS TO INDIA IN 1971**

Lending country	Interest rate (percent)	Maturity (years)	Grace period (years)
Czechoslovakia	2.5%	8 to 12	nil
Hungary	2.5	10	nil
Poland	2.5	8 to 12	nil
U.S.S.R.	2.5	12	nil
Yugoslavia	3	11	nil
France	3.5 to 8.0	10 to 25	nil
West Germany	2.5	30	8
Japan	5.25	18	5
I.B.R.D. (World Bank)	7.0	30	10
Great Britain	nil	25	7
U.S. (AID/DLF)	2 to 3	40	10
U.S. (Eximbank)	6	10 to 20	3

Source: Chaudhuri, "East European Aid to India," *World Development*.

As the U.S.S.R. has established itself in a market, it has become more demanding in the terms of its loans at the same time that the West has become more accommodating, perhaps as a response to the increased competition.<sup>32</sup> After examining Soviet and Western aid to India, Chaudhuri concludes, "There does not seem to be any evidence that the East European countries have overall offered particularly favorable terms to India."<sup>33</sup>

There is also the question of the prices the Soviets charge for their machinery. Carter has done the most extensive study of the price of Soviet exports. He attempts to compare the prices the Soviets charged Western industrial countries with those charged less-developed countries.

In 1958, the actual cost to the less developed countries of the 43 commodities considered here was 135.3 million rubles (these commodities were 34.7% of Soviet exports to the Third World). If these same commodities had been sold to the less developed countries at the average unit prices charged to the countries of the industrial West, they would have cost the less developed countries only 117.8 million rubles, or 14.9% less. In 1964, Soviet exports to the less-developed countries of the 63 items covered in this study were valued at 224.9 million rubles (27.2% of exports to the Third World). If these commodities had been valued at average unit prices the Soviet Union received from the industrial West for the same items, their aggregate value would have been only 199.0 million rubles, or 13.1% less.<sup>34</sup>

While it is difficult to compare machine goods because of their heterogeneity, the discrimination was substantially worse in the case of the few machine goods for which some comparison could be made: 32.6% in 1958 and 34.7% in 1965.<sup>35</sup> It is of course theoretically possible to interpret these price differentials as evidence of Western exploitation of the Soviet Union. Holzman argues that the difference in the prices the U.S.S.R. charges COMECON members and Western European countries reflects the superior bargaining position of the West as against the Soviet Union (and the losses of all COMECON members, including the U.S.S.R., from the inefficient character of barter trading).<sup>36</sup> The Holzman thesis

is most unconvincing; if there has been any discrimination, the Western European countries may have discriminated in favor of Soviet exports of raw materials in hopes of diversifying supply sources (e.g., Soviet oil and gas exports).

Soviet leaders have been quite blunt in justifying their aid program on the basis of economic profitability. If we want to learn why it took the Soviet Union over two years to decide to finance the High Dam after Dulles withdrew the US-UK-I.B.R.D. offer in 1956 and why the Russians did not agree to finance the second and third stages of the Dam until after the West Germans had agreed to finance them, we can turn to Khrushchev:

We were interested in determining whether it would be a profitable business transaction. Naturally we would be glad to have an opportunity to bolster the economy of our friends and in so doing to strengthen our relations with them. But that was a political consideration, and we had also to make sure that we wouldn't simply be giving our money away. We had to make sure that the Egyptians could repay us in regular deliveries of their best long-fibre cotton, rice, and other goods.<sup>37</sup>

Khrushchev was willing to strain relations with Egypt twice (in 1957 and in 1960), to look like he was reneging on the implied offer of 1956 to help finance the whole dam, to cast a pall over the reputation of the Soviet Union for generous and non-political aid, to endanger the growing political alliance with the "progressive" Arab countries. All of these "political" considerations did not deter the Soviet leadership from insisting that the loans for the Dam had to be profitable for the U.S.S.R.

And indeed the Dam loan, along with the rest of the Soviet "aid" program, has been profitable for the U.S.S.R. Carter's comprehensive study concludes that when the cost of Soviet "aid" is defined as the world market price of the goods delivered by the Soviets under the credit agreements minus the world market price of the goods delivered to the Soviets in repayment discounted at 15% per annum (supposedly the "social rate of return to capital in the U.S.S.R."), then Soviet aid from 1955 to 1968 cost \$441 million.<sup>38</sup> In other words, the profit rate on Soviet aid was in effect slightly under 15%—not a bad rate of re-

#### INDIA'S EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET BLOC (millions of US \$)

Years	Jute	Coffee and Tea	Ore (Iron, manganese)	Cashew kernels and veg. oils	Hides and Skins	Cotton piece goods	Leather	Engineering goods	Total (including others)
1960/61	9.6	21.5	20.7	13.3	12.6	0	0.3	0	104.4
1966/67	66.8	40.1	22.7	58.0	16.3	5.1	24.1	4.0	3-1.0
1972/73	89.1	68.7	37.2	108.3	0	45.8	59.0	26.3	621.8

Source: Nayyar, "India's Trade with the Socialist Countries," *World Development*.

turn, especially considering that the Soviet Union was breaking into a new field of investment.

The Soviet Union gains not only because of the direct profits from "aid" but also because of the indirect benefits. Since the U.S.S.R. can import raw materials from the Third World, it is able to reduce the rate at which it expands output of those raw materials. The import of cotton from Egypt is less expensive than the construction of extensive irrigation systems in Soviet Central Asia.<sup>39</sup> By exporting manufactured goods in return for raw material imports, the Soviet Union is able to increase its rate of industrialization, which can "further the goal of military power," in Berliner's phrase.<sup>40</sup> As the Soviet Union shifts to the production of more technologically advanced goods, Soviet import requirements change; semi-processed inputs are substituted for unprocessed raw materials. Such a shift can be clearly seen in the changing commodity composition of Soviet-Indian trade, not only by the decline in hides and skins exports and the rise in leather exports.

There are other indirect benefits to the U.S.S.R. from the raw-materials-for-machinery trade with less-developed countries. Increases in manufacturing output offer the Soviet Union the possibility of economies of scale. While Soviet output may be large enough that there are few economies of scale in the direct production process, expanded output helps increase technological progress both by reducing the turnover time of fixed capital (lower turnover time means that innovations are more quickly embodied in new machinery) and by generating a larger pool of funds to be spent on research and development. The aid program also helps Soviet industry overcome adjustment problems that in the absence of trade would result in underutilized industrial capacity. It is more efficient for the Soviet Union to export machine goods in excess supply (e.g., hydroelectric equipment) than to retool to produce needed equipment (e.g., chemical equipment).<sup>41</sup> Carter explains why the export of machinery under the aid program does not entail a reduction in the rate of industrial expansion:

The aid program represents an allocation of domestic resources which could be used to further domestic development but which, on the other hand, often represents surplus industrial capacity that is easier to utilize for foreign aid than to retool for domestic needs. Thus, in the long run, the Soviet economic aid program may be an economically advantageous investment for the U.S.S.R. if it promotes the exchange of surplus industrial capacity for needed raw materials and foodstuffs.<sup>42</sup>

Holzman is simply wrong when he argues that the export of Soviet machinery must reduce the availability of machinery for domestic industry. He is assuming that machinery is infinitely substitutable among industries—the standard neoclassical assumption that capital is jelly that can be reshaped costlessly and instantaneously. It is this same "jelly capital" as-

*Oh, Leonid, I never dreamed revisionism could be so - so sexy!*



sumption that underlies Holzman's assertion that Soviet aid does not have any income or accelerator effect on the Soviet GNP. Because he assumes a high short-term elasticity of substitution among "productive factors," Holzman shuts his eyes to the possibility of underutilized capacity and of unemployment in the Soviet Union's "planned" economy (a possibility which has increasingly become a reality).<sup>43</sup>

It might seem that the gains to the U.S.S.R. from trade with the Third World are very minor in the context of the Soviet Union's GNP of \$800 billion. While it is true that the profits from the "aid" program are so far only a small factor in Soviet capital accumulation, it would be a mistake to gage the impact of Soviet-Third World trade solely from the dollar amount of the trade. Profits earned in this trade are in foreign currency. The Soviet leadership has been eager in recent years to acquire advanced capitalist technology through the purchase of machine goods from the West. The primary constraint on the import of high technology equipment has been the inability of the Soviets to generate enough exports to cover the costs of the imports. Since any profit earned from the "aid" program can be applied immediately towards the import of advanced Western technology, the profits from Soviet-Third World trade have an importance greater than their small dollar amount would indicate.

## B. SOVIET IMPERIALISM

We have demonstrated that the Soviet Union draws substantial economic benefit from its trade and aid relations with the Third World. Soviet aid has been a source of profit, not a burden undertaken in order to cement political ties with the Third World. But has the Soviet Union acted as an imperialist power in its relations with Egypt and the rest of the Third World? The

central element in the economic aspect of imperialism is **the export of capital**. In this section, we will discuss to what extent the Soviet Union exports capital.

In his **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**, Lenin provides the most comprehensive and most theoretically precise definition of capitalist imperialism. In his analysis of imperialism as a distinct stage in the expanded reproduction of the capitalist mode of production, Lenin enumerates five basic features of imperialism: (1) the concentration and centralization of capital gives rise to **monopolies**; (2) the merger of bank and industrial capital creates **finance capital**; (3) the **export of capital** takes precedence over the export of commodities; (4) "internationalist monopolist capitalist associations" spread over the whole world; and (5) the most powerful capitalist states struggle over the redivision of the world's territory.<sup>44</sup>

We simply do not have the space to discuss all of Lenin's five points, especially the first two. But even the revisionist Chinese Communist Party has pointed out how aptly Lenin's analysis characterizes the contemporary Soviet Union. Perhaps the most satisfactory theoretical formulation of this position is by Charles Bettelheim.<sup>45</sup> Basing our discussion on the fact that the capitalist mode of production is dominant in the Soviet Union, we will go on to show that the Soviet Union acts as an imperialist power in that it exports capital.

Even many people who would agree that the Soviet Union has pursued its self-interest in its economic relations with the Third World do not think that the Soviet Union exports capital. Since the export of capital is in many ways the central element in the economic aspect of imperialism, these people would hesitate to call the Soviet Union imperialist. Much of this hesitation comes from a limited conception of what constitutes the export of capital. The export of capital to which Lenin is referring is not primarily the flow of money abroad, but the spread of capital as a **social relation** throughout the Third World. The "export of capital" which is central to the theory of imperialism is the breaking down of precapitalist modes of production and the separation of the direct producers from their means of production (the formation of what Marx calls "doubly free laborers"—free to sell their labor-power, free of any other means of making a living). The export of commodities alone may result in the spread of commodity production, thereby fundamentally altering precapitalist modes of production, but the production of commodities (especially insofar as that production remains isolated, for export only) does not in and of itself result in the emergence of capitalism. The primitive accumulation of capital requires the formation of a wage-labor force as well as the amassing of money-capital.

When Lenin refers to **imperialism** as the stage characterized by the export of capital, he is pointing to the fact that capitalism entered a new stage in which its expanded reproduction worked to dis-

solve precapitalist modes of production and to institute capitalist relations of production on a world scale.<sup>46</sup> Imperialism is therefore not a matter of perfidious government policy nor a conspiracy by the capitalists united in one huge cartel. Imperialism is rooted in the laws of motion of capitalism.<sup>47</sup> Recent works on imperialism have returned to this understanding of the roots of imperialism.

Palloix has pointed out that the internationalization of capital has gone through several stages, and that the form of capital export has changed correspondingly.<sup>48</sup> In Lenin's day, the principal form that the export of capital took was the lending of money-capital by capitalists (especially banks) in the imperial countries to governments and quasi-governmental agencies in Third World countries (although there was the secondary form of investment in plantations and mines). In the period following World War II, the dominant form of the export of capital was the establishment of local subsidiaries by corporations based in the imperial countries; in particular, manufacturing subsidiaries (although bank loans—e.g., I.B.R.D.—persisted as a secondary form). These two forms of the export of capital are substantially different in appearance. The second form indeed represents a higher stage in the process of primitive accumulation in the Third World in that multinational corporations penetrate into the heart of the local economy, unlike the bankers who had to rely on political control of the local countries (which necessitated frequent military intervention). In spite of these differences, these two forms of the export of capital are just that: two forms of what is fundamentally the same process of internationalization.

There has unfortunately been substantial confusion about the character of the new form of capital export which the Soviet Union is perfecting: the export of capital goods in return for a flow of imports of raw materials and consumer commodities. Sometimes even the product of the production processes established with the Soviet capital goods is sent to the U.S.S.R. in payment for the capital goods; e.g., the pipeline sold to Iran in return for gas,<sup>49</sup> the Bokaro steel mill sold to India partly in return for Indian steel. In Egypt there is not only the well-known example of the High Dam (which is being paid for with the expanded agricultural production the Dam allows). "With Soviet economic aid, Egypt has built its largest shipyard... Egypt has been building and repairing ships for the U.S.S.R. A large part of the output of the aluminum plant that is now being built in the country is to go to the Soviet Union in repayment for its loans to Egypt."<sup>50</sup> In these cases, it is particularly clear that the Soviet Union is exporting capital. The capital comes from the U.S.S.R., the wage labor and raw materials from the "Third World" country, and a good part of the product belongs to the U.S.S.R.

This form of the export of capital is even being imitated in the West: witness the recent growth of "turnkey" factories, in which the multinational

corporation builds the factory (and often runs it under a management contract) for a Third World owner. The Soviet form of capital export has the advantage of being more disguised than the dominant Western form, manufacturing subsidiaries of multinational corporations. Since Soviet capital exports can even get pawned off as 'aid,' the Soviet Union is less likely to be the object of local popular struggles against imperialism. Besides, Soviet-supplied factories don't have to worry about nationalization or limits on profit repatriation. The Soviet form requires more open government intervention in the export of capital (in extending the original credits, in agreeing upon the exact composition of exports and imports), but this is in accord with the Western tendency towards increased government involvement (the increased government financing of capital exports, the signing of government-to-government barter deals exchanging oil for arms and modern factories). Probably Western imperialists will turn more and more to the form of capital export pioneered by the U.S.S.R.

In addition to the export of capital, another feature of imperialism cited by Lenin was the struggle over the redivision of the world's territory. In this period, that struggle does not take the form of open annexations, but of long-term relationships of economic dependency on the imperialist power by the "Third World" countries. The Soviet credit program by its nature establishes a long-term relationship: the Third World country is obliged to make repayments to the Soviet Union over a period of more than a decade. Unlike a grant (which is given and then is largely done), the credit program allows the U.S.S.R. to continue its influence over the economy of the "Third World" country. The Soviet intransigence over the rescheduling of loan repayments from Egypt in the Sadat era is a good example of how the Soviet use credit programs to extend their influence long after the shipments of "aid."

Soviet trade—"aid"-financed or commercial—works to establish long-term relations in other ways. For one thing, the equipment provided by the "aid" program requires a steady stream of spare parts. There are also economies of scale that come from expanding production by using a familiar, already common technology. That is, the "Third World" country has an incentive to rely on the machinery of the original "aid"-granting country even if this machinery must be bought commercially. More importantly, Soviet trade encourages "Third World" countries to orient their economies towards reliance on exports of raw materials and imports of machinery, thereby furthering the development of underdevelopment, or what is euphemistically called the "international division of labor." "It was emphasized at the 24th C.P.S.U. (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Congress that the Soviet Union's economic cooperation with the developing countries was assuming the character of stable division of labor." Through all these economic mechanisms,

the Soviet Union seeks to tie the Indian and Egyptian economies to its own. There are of course many (more important) military, political, and ideological ways that the U.S.S.R. used to bring India and Egypt closer to it. The Soviet Union acts as a classic imperialist power. It competed with the U.S. to see which one of them will replace Great Britain, a declining imperialist power in these areas.

While they may have pioneered this new form of capital export, the Soviet leadership did not necessarily understand that Soviet "aid" is another form of imperialist penetration of "Third World" countries. The emergence of Soviet imperialism did not depend upon a conscious decision by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. to sell out the world revolutionary movement. Soviet imperialism emerged in the late 1950's as a consequence of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Similarly, the restoration of capitalism to the Soviet Union did not necessarily depend upon



a conscious decision to betray the cause of socialism, but upon a revisionist conception of socialism and the revolutionary process.

Although the changing nature of Soviet foreign policy did not depend upon the victory of an openly imperialist perspective in the C.P.S.U., it did depend on (and it also called forth) a new theory of international relations. In the 1950's the C.P.S.U. developed an elaborate analysis to justify the changing nature of Soviet economic relations with the "Third World:" the theory of "non-capitalist development" (as distinct from both the capitalist path and the socialist path). Before 1955 the Soviet press described the rise of nationalist leaders such as Nasser and Nehru as representing the decline of British imperialism (based on an empire) and the rise of U.S. imperialism (based on neo-colonialism).<sup>51</sup> By the early 1960's, however, there had been a complete shift. Now there were many Soviet articles on "non-capitalist de-



velopment" and "national democracy" as the route by which "Third World" countries could break away from imperialist domination. In 1964, Khrushchev spoke of Egypt's "struggle for peace and the building of socialism" and wished the country "great success in the building of a new socialist life."<sup>52</sup> Despite Khrushchev's enthusiasm, there was quite a bit of debate on the question of whether the non-capitalist path led to socialism; the conclusion was that it did but only if there was a vanguard party (a national liberation movement was considered able to lead the non-capitalist stage, but it would have to transform itself into a vanguard party to lead the socialist stage). As a result, the Soviet leaders stressed the need to transform the Arab Socialist Union (the only legal party in Egypt) into a Soviet-style party.<sup>53</sup>

While these ideological transformations explain how the Soviet leadership perceived the rise of Soviet imperialism (and how they justified it to themselves), these transformations are a secondary question. As capitalism was restored to the U.S.S.R., the nature of capital as self-expanding value asserted itself: the new Soviet ruling class was compelled to accumulate as rapidly as possible. It was this compulsion which led to the expansion of foreign trade and eventually to the export of capital, to the struggle for the territorial redivision of the world—to Soviet imperialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. W. Laquer, *The Struggle for the Middle East*, 140.
2. E.g., G. Ofer, "The Economic Burdens of Soviet Involvement in the Middle East," Confino and Shamir (eds.), *The U.S.S.R. and the Middle East*.
3. M. Hussein, *Class Conflict in Egypt 1945-1971*, 205.
4. There is also the question of why Third World countries enter into close economic relations with the U.S.S.R. In the case of Egypt, we would argue that Nasser was forced into state-capitalism by the interimperialist rivalry between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Because there was never a strong ideological commitment to state capitalism in Egypt, it was quite easy for Sadat to reverse direction and to ally with the U.S. and the conservative oil states after 1972.
5. J. Berliner, *Soviet Economic Aid*, 131.
6. Smith, *Soviet Foreign Trade*, 228. Cotton import levels did not reach the 1927-8 peak until 1959.
7. *ibid.*, 241.
8. *ibid.*, 249 on barter; 229 on the next sentence.
9. Sawyer, *Communist Trade with Developing Countries*, 29. In the case of rice, the other major Egyptian export to the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union has been forced to turn to the U.S.—*New York Times*, 7 March 1976. Soviet imports of rice came at first from China, then mostly from Burma, and since 1960 mostly from Egypt. Smith, *op. cit.*, 243f.
10. Smith, *op. cit.*, 230.
11. *ibid.*, 230-5; 254 for the next sentence. A good example of the U.S.S.R.'s willingness to pay in hard currency when necessary to obtain raw materials produced only in the Third World is the Soviet Union's large purchases of Malayan rubber. As late as the early 1970's, this trade constituted over

- 5% of Soviet imports from developing countries.
12. Sawyer, *op. cit.*, data from 106, 113f; quote from 22.
13. Allen, *Middle Eastern Economic Relations with the Soviet Union*, 23.
14. Goldman, *Soviet Foreign Aid*, 60.
15. In documents submitted to U.N.C.T.A.D. Quoted in Kidron, *Pakistan's Trade with Eastern Bloc Countries*, 6. The multiplier was 5.4.
16. Carter, *Net Costs of Soviet Foreign Aid*, 12.
17. *ibid.*, 12; Berliner, *op. cit.*, 81.
18. Carter, *op. cit.*, 25. He says this agrees with State Department estimates.
19. Holzman, "Soviet Trade and Aid Policies," in Hurewitz (ed.), *Soviet-American Rivalry in the Middle East*, 110; U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1965-75*, 60, 75. There was \$25 million in Western military aid from 1965 through 1974.
21. Kanovsky, *The Economic Impact of the Six Day War*, 258 on Nasser's statement. *USSR and Third World*, V.2, quoting Sadat's interviews in the *Times* of London and *Le Monde* on the repayment of military aid; he said that repayment was over \$200 million in 1974.
21. On Soviet arms sales, *USSR and Third World*, II.4. Kanovsky, *op. cit.*, estimates oil country contributions at about \$250 million per annum 1967-70, while the Egyptian Central Bank lists transfers payments at a total of \$500 million from 1971 to 1973 (Central Bank of Egypt, *Report to the Board of Directors*, 1973). Recent reports (*New York Times*, 1 March 1976) have spoken of pledges to Sadat of \$750 million from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates.
22. Sawyer's estimates, based on weak information; *op. cit.*, 54, 51.
23. Carter, *op. cit.*, 30.
24. Sawyer's data come from official U.S.S.R. publications not available to me. The U.N. data are roughly equivalent to Sawyer's, in that they also come from U.S.S.R. sources. The figures for 1970 and 1973 are the sums of the exports/imports from the 30 less developed countries listed as the U.S.S.R.'s principal trading partners; the figures the U.N. gives for Soviet trade with "developing market economies" are 33% to 74% higher for some obscure reason (applying this summing procedure to the U.N.'s data for earlier years gives results about 5% less than Sawyer's; in every case, the U.N. and Sawyer agree on the amount of trade with individual countries). The I.M.F. and I.B.R.D. publication, *Direction of Trade*, gives much lower figures for Soviet-Third World trade. The I.M.F. relies on data from the Third World countries, which generally excludes Soviet credit-financed imports (and often the exports sent in repayments); the U.S.S.R. data excludes only grants (which are under 5% of Soviet aid).
25. E.g. in Egypt there are two sets of foreign trade figures; one is kept by the Customs Administration and one by the Central Bank. The Bank omits imports financed by foreign credits and then undervalues the offsetting exports. "There is no doubt that official estimates of the balance of payments can not be trusted." Mabro, "Egypt's Economic Relations with the Socialist Countries," *World Development*, 305. The data on repayments in the *U.N. Statistical Yearbook* are close to useless.
26. Mabro, *op. cit.*, 305.
27. Datar, *India's Economic Relations with the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe 1953-1969*, 97, for 1956/7 to 1965/6; Nayyar, "India's Trade with the Socialist Countries," *World Development*, 279, for 1966/7 to 1972/3.
28. Carter, *op. cit.*, 15.
29. Berliner, *op. cit.*, 131.
30. Witness the difficulties the Soviets had in building the High Dam at Aswan; Goldman, *op. cit.*, 69f.
31. Datar, *op. cit.*, 42\$5.

32. *ibid.*, 45f. It is interesting to note that Japan recently extended a \$250 million loan to Egypt at 3-1/2% (Gray, "Egypt's Ten Year Plan 1973-82," *Middle East Journal*, quoting *Wall Street Journal*).

33. Chaudhuri, "East European Aid to India," *World Development*, 311.

34. Carter, *op. cit.*, 38.

35. *ibid.*, 38. Other studies disagree with Carter. Narain's study for UNCTAD found no price differentials once quality differentials were taken into account (quoted in Nayyar, *op. cit.*, 294). There is also the question of prices the Soviet Union pays for imports. Here the conceptual problems are vast; the world market price of many commodities would change if there were no Soviet-Third World bilateral agreements (the exact price change would depend on Soviet convertible currency purchases, on changes in production in Third World countries, and on increases in Western purchases). Mabro discusses this in depth (*op. cit.*, 307ff). He notes that Soviet purchases of cotton are 6-20% above the price on the world market, "It is possible that the premium is not genuine. It has been argued that it compensates for a distortion in official parities between Egyptian pounds, rubles, and hard currency." See also Nayyar, *op. cit.*, 297.

36. Holzman, *Foreign Trade Under Central Planning*, 289.

37. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, 440 (not a wholly reliable source, however).

38. Carter, *op. cit.*, 23, 42. The actual rate of profit may have been over 15%; Carter's estimate of the effect of the credit program on the expansion of Soviet trade is vastly lower than the estimate in the Soviet source cited by Kidron.

39. Allen, *op. cit.*, 59f.

40. Berliner, *op. cit.*, 129. "Military power" is not some irrational goal. A powerful military machine is a necessity for an imperialist power which is certain to face threats from its rivals (e.g., the U.S.).

41. Sawyer, *op. cit.*, 43.

42. Carter, *op. cit.*, 15.

43. Holzman, "Soviet Aid," in Holzman, *op. cit.*

44. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Volume 1, 737.

45. In *Economic Calculations and Forms of Property*, Bettelheim does a particularly good job of demonstrating that the nationalization of the means of production in the Soviet Union has not meant their socialization. For a good discussion of monopolies in the U.S.S.R., see "Combines—State Capitalist Monopolies Wearing a 'Soviet' Tag," *Peking Review*, 20 February 1976.

46. Berliner, *op. cit.*, 149.

47. Ata Alla, *Arab Struggle for Economic Independence*, 249.

48. Palloix, *L'internationalization du capital*, Chapter 2. His identification of the different forms does not correspond fully to that given here.

49. For an excellent discussion of Soviet oil policy, see Odell, *Oil and World Power*, Chapter 3. The Soviet Union imports natural gas from Iran and Afghanistan and exports natural gas to Western and Eastern Europe.


50. Smirnov and Matyukhin, "The U.S.S.R. and the Arab East: Economic Contacts," *International Affairs* (Moscow), September, 1972, 87.

51. Yodfat, *Arab Politics in the Soviet Mirror*, 34-51.

52. *ibid.*, 82.

53. Pennat, *USSR and the Arabs: the Ideological Dimension*, 1-23; a good account of the whole period.

**What becomes a Legend most?**

A black and white advertisement for Blackglama. At the top, the text "What becomes a Legend most?" is written in a bold, serif font. Below this is a portrait of Lillian Hellman, an elderly woman with short, wavy hair, wearing a dark, fur-trimmed coat and a necklace. She is holding a lit cigarette in her right hand. The background is a dark, textured grey. At the bottom of the advertisement, the brand name "Blackglama" is written in a large, bold, serif font. Below the brand name, there is a small line of text: "THE WORLD'S FINEST NATURAL DARK BARKER SKIN TRUTH ONLY IN AMERICA BY THE GREAT LADIES MAKE UP".

**Blackglama**

THE WORLD'S FINEST NATURAL DARK BARKER SKIN TRUTH ONLY IN AMERICA BY THE GREAT LADIES MAKE UP

Lillian Hellman, former 'radical' writer now models mink - keeps the coat for pay (see page 29)

# LA LUCHA

The exploitation of farmworkers represents a clean example of class oppression in the U.S. This oppression is naked, it is stripped away of all the trappings and camouflage of the so-called "American Dream." What it reveals openly to us all are the barren realities of the capitalistic system and the existence it offers to workers. In the fields there are no brick or metal walls, no smokestacks, no facades to hide this slavery. Campesinos can be seen working in the field everywhere: from the freeways, from the suburbs, from rural roads. The conditions there can be seen by all.

The lessons to be learned from the farmworkers' struggle are the lessons all workers must realize about their own lives. It is the ruling class and their growers who profit from the sweat and blood of farmworkers—it is the ruling class that crushes the farmworkers. All that fat they sucked from the labor of others contributes to the weight of poverty and misery which smothers the lives of hundreds of thousands of farmworkers. The ruling classes use racism and nationalism to divide workers: minority against white, U.S. against foreign workers.

Another way the ruling class attempts to control us is by the use of their friends and agents who sell us out and mislead us into pacifism, into reformism, into reliance upon the "nice" bosses: these are Chavez; Meany; etc. What all these lessons point to is that there is ultimately only one way to smash the bosses, only one way to return the land to those who work it, the factories to those who create—that way is violent revolution and socialism.

Here, in the U.S. Texas agribusiness is the third largest exploiter of farmworkers behind California and Florida. In Hidalgo county, the wealth found in the harvesting of sugar cane, melons, bell peppers, sorghum etc. amounts to over \$120 million annually. However, this wealth does not wind up in the pockets of the farmworkers, rather it is to be found in the vaults of the grower banks. The contradictions of this exploitation are partially revealed in a 1970 census taken in this area. What these figures illustrate is as follows:

- 80% of population, Latin
- Median income \$3,958
- 56.8% of Latin population live below poverty level.

These statistics are the result of the miserable conditions which also exist in such vital services such as nutrition, health care and housing. One can see from these particularly oppressive conditions, coupled with the growers' vicious racism and anti-communist mentality, that for farm-

workers the question of survival becomes paramount, and that question has best been answered by bold militant strikes and actions.

Until the Texas farmworkers started organizing, conditions for workers from Mexico on both sides of the border were even worse. In Texas, these workers were paid 60¢ an hour or less. Perhaps the greatest measure of the murderous conditions which the growers and their government impose in all areas of life is the average life expectancy of the farmworkers—49 years as opposed to 72 years for the population as a whole. This is a cut of 23 years of every farmworker's life. These killer conditions affect children as well.

Following the development of union organizing in California, Texas workers have been ready to move. The Texas Farmworkers, a rank and file organization which relies on workers, has had to battle on two fronts: the bosses' attack and the attack from the AFL-CIO-Chavez leadership.

In 1966-67, the workers in the Rio Grande Valley launched a major strike under the leadership of the UFW. Through the collaboration of the bosses, the Texas farmers, the courts and the media, this effort was defeated. Since then, Cesar Chavez and the UFW leadership have systematically tried to sabotage the efforts of the Texas workers to organize. Their policy has been based on two points of their anti-worker strategy. Politicians and the "political climate" in Texas are more conservative than in California; there are fewer liberal politicians with whom Chavez can ally. But no bosses' politician is a friend of the workers. A fighting union can only be formed on the firm principle, which has been present all the way through Texas, that the workers themselves want to organize. Second, Chavez stressed the long border with Mexico across which Mexican workers could come as "a large and easily transportable potential strike breaking force." But these oppressed workers have proven in Texas and in California as well that they are willing to organize.

## International Unity

One of the most important characteristics of the TFW movement has been international unity. The TFW has built international solidarity across borders. They have opposed the real scab line of Chavez who unites with the bosses to attack our class brothers. The TFW's strategy of internationalism is the only way to build a union and salvage the 40% loss of members of the union in California's fields. One event provides an indication of how strong international W.C. unity can become during periods of struggle. During the

# CONTINUA

second week of a strike centered around La Casita farms in Starr County, three TFW organizers were sent to the border bridge between Reyrosa Mexico and Hidalgo Texas. Here these three organizers stopped busses and asked for support from Mexican Campesinos bound for the fields. The sincerity and boldness of these three organizers mushroomed into incredible support from the Campesinos who decided to join the picket lines and support the strike. That day 3,000 Campesinos, in a spirit of international W.C. unity, decided not to go into the fields and instead supported the striking workers.

What is happening currently in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas serves well to illustrate the nature of class struggle. Earlier this year in May, during the honeydew melon harvest, 10 huelgistas striking the El Texano ranch in Hidalgo County were fired upon and shot in cold blood by a racist supervisor named C.L. Miller. This action proves that the bosses don't just impose rotten conditions on workers—they fight for them. Racist maggot C.L. Miller drove up behind the picketers in his truck and opened fire, wounding 11. He said, "I opened season on them. I didn't shoot at them. I shot them."

A carpenter, Jesus Luno, one of the organizers at the bridge (and himself an example of working class solidarity) describes what happened, "When I heard the first shot, I thought he was firing in the air. Then I heard someone yell, 'I've been wounded.' He was shooting at us from behind when he opened fire. We took cover in the fields and in the drainage ditch. Miller kept yelling at us to leave the ranch, but whenever someone raised his head, Miller would shoot at him."

The Hidalgo City police arrived and supported Miller. They said he had a "fight to shoot trespassers." In capitalist society, the government defends the "right" of the bosses to exploit, maim, and murder workers when they rebel—such crimes will not end until every last boss has been wiped off the face of the earth.

This attack was not ignored. Immediately upon hearing the news of this attack, thousands of farmworkers throughout Texas and Mexico launched a powerful blow right at the heart of the agribosses. This event triggered a flurry of strikes and protests characterized by bold and militant actions in the fields and on the border. Workers from Mexico and the U.S. let it be known that they were not going to take these attacks lying down, and that they would fight back with everything they have. For attempting to defend themselves and strengthen the farmworkers' union the Huelgistas received yet another blow from "the savior" himself—Cesar Chavez. This feeble blow came in the form of a condemnation from Chavez, a condemnation of the TFW and of their "desertion" from non-violent struggle.

Here we clearly see two sides of the same rotten coin—the massive violence in the strike coming from the growers and their "open season" on workers, and Chavez' telegram which disassociates the strike and ignores the growers'

butchery. The shooting of farmworkers by the growers didn't upset Chavez' "pacifist" conviction enough even for him to make a statement. This is a fine example of his "pacifist" hypocrisy.

### **The Texas Rangers: "Nazis in Cowboy Boots"**

The role of the Texas Rangers historically has always been the same; that is, they have functioned as the enforcers of class, racial, and cultural oppression. This oppression serves ultimately the protection of the ruling class and their private property. In Texas as well as the southwest, the development of those police became crucial to the ruling class in order to control the Mexicans and Native American peoples. Organized in 1835, they then began implementing their genocidal purpose which is revealed in the following paragraph written by racist historian, W.W. Webb: "When we see him (The Texas Ranger) at his daily task of maintaining law, restoring order, and promoting peace—even though his methods be rigorous—we see him in his proper setting, a man standing alone between a society and its enemies... it has been his duty to meet the outlaw breed of three races, the Indian warrior, Mexican bandit and American desperado, on the enemy's ground and deliver each safely within the jail door or the cemetery gate. It is recorded that he has sent many to both places."

This description makes it clear as day to us that racism is the foundation upon which the Rangers were formed. This racism exists today even more strongly than it did in the past. From their original roles as personal goons for the King Ranch "rinches de la Kinenan" (Rangers of the King Ranch), they have become the organized force of the ruling class designed to break strikes and terrorize workers through their "goon squads."

The years 1966-67 saw the development of two aspects of class struggle: Ranger "attack" and working class unity as a response. During this period there was a big strike led by the UFW. Unfortunately the strike was set back by the agribosses and their dogs, the Texas Rangers. During the strike the Rangers were called in to end the strike by whatever methods. They did just that. They beat people, abused, harassed and attacked all union strikers as well as supporters. They spewed their racist filth on the farmworkers in true redneck style. These pigs succeeded in stopping the strike through attacking the workers physically. This defeat was the moment of truth in the class struggle. This defeat sent the UFW leaders packing to more "peaceful" areas of struggle such as California and Florida (where there are more liberal bosses). Their change in policy towards building a UFW in Texas had suddenly shifted from determination to outright desertion.

At the same time the TFW in order to survive began to tighten its ranks and create a firm base based on rank and file leadership, militant action, and dependence on working class support instead

## SAN JUAN, TEXAS-

*'We're not interested in getting more names on a petition; we want more revolutionaries to make a revolution!'*

CHALLENGE / January 27, 1977

of the bosses' handouts. Melons are a quick spoiling crop. Through the solidarity of striking workers, wages on many farms rose to \$2.50 per hour. Further actions at other farms (for example in Presidio, Texas and across the border in Ojinaga) had a similar effect. Despite international collaboration between Mexican President Echeverria (CIA informant and killer of workers and students at Tlatoloco), the Texas rangers, the FBI, and the farm bosses, workers, particularly Mexican workers, would not go into struck fields. During the shut down of Spencer Brothers packing house in Presidio, crowds of campesinos laughed and hooted at growers on the US bank of the Rio Grande pleading for workers. Owners first offered nickel and dime raises, then a doubling of wages (in some cases, tripled wages would still have fallen short of the \$1.80 Texas minimum). But the workers held firm.

As the Texas farmworkers continue to organize and reinforce their ties with their Mexican brothers, several lessons are clear on the differences between their working class strategy and the sellout policies of the United Farmworkers' leadership. First, in the U.S. about 75% of the workforce remains unorganized and previously unorganized farmworkers are leading the way in unionizing. On both sides of the border, Texas and Mexican farmworkers have taken a leading role in this effort, despite Chavez' efforts to discourage them. Their example should be followed throughout the U.S.

Second, despite the racist slanders that "illegals" will not organize and will scab on strikes in this country, Mexican workers have led the way in this movement. The Texas farmworkers are doing their best to further this development—and break down the borders. On August 7th, delegations of farmworkers from the State of Tamaulipas, Mexico, met in Rio Bravo, Tamaulipas, as part of a farmworkers' union, the Central

Campesino Independiente—C.C.I.—which is independent of the Mexican government. Representatives of the Texas farmworkers were also present. The Texans pointed to the necessity of unity between the farmworkers of Mexico and the U.S. as well as the unity of all exploited people. "Only by uniting will we be able to remove the yoke the oppressor imposes on us."

Unions must represent not just their own membership, but fight in the interests of all oppressed workers across borders as Karl Marx stated at the outset of the International Workingmen's Association a century ago. The farmworkers cannot organize a serious union without such international solidarity. Chavez, who is backed by Meany and the liberal politicians, is a major racist spokesman for the bosses. He has advocated the racist Rodino bill which would further the harassment of Latin workers coming across the border. He has opposed organizing illegals (who are over a third of the workers in the California fields) into the UFW and he has organized farmworkers to patrol the border since the Immigration Department, in Chavez' view, isn't doing a good enough fascist job. Chavez' rationale is to get the bosses' government to deport scabs, but the day the U.S. government deports a scab from the fields, hell will have truly frozen over.

No policy is so clearly directed at furthering real solidarity and union effectiveness in the fields as the Texas Workers' internationalism. No policy so clearly serves the bosses and attacks the most oppressed workers as Chavez' racism.

The third lesson of the Texas farmworkers' policy: only militancy, stopping scabs and shutting down the fields, backed by internationalism, can build a real union among farmworkers. Despite the "open season" of the murderous bosses, despite the collaboration of the bosses' government on both sides of the border, this policy of shutting it down has won some gains for the workers and enabled the Texas union to grow under the most difficult conditions. Such policies, relying completely on the workers, is the secret of real union organizing. Chavez' strategy of 5 year "strikes," relying on the blessings of the liberal politicians and boycotting in distant cities, only leads to defeat. The reason the Teamsters have won 40% of the representation elections in the California fields is precisely because the Texas policy of relying on the workers has not been implemented generally. Where it is being implemented by rank and file farmworkers, it is a clear road to success.

Chavez wants a shadow of a union on the sufferance of the liberal bosses. Nice bosses, he says, won't "open season" like Miller. This is only true if farmworkers are willing to accept no change in their conditions. Today we see the liberal bankers in New York cutting all social services so that they can maintain their profits. Capitalism will never give us anything if we do not organize and fight for it. Only our fellow workers, not the "nice liberal" bosses, are our brothers.

The fourth lesson is that these struggles to be

successful must go further politically. The Millers are part of a killer system; its laws, its police, its education, its media, will never serve us. The key principle in this strike—internationalism—is a communist principle. It points towards workers ousting the bosses' governments of Echeverria and Ford and establishing their own government—the dictatorship of the workers. The bosses have sucked the blood of farmworkers too long. A wage of \$2.50 an hour means a better **rate of exploitation** and needs to be fought for, but we must never forget that these bosses will ceaselessly try to destroy our gains and suck out more blood like Dracula until they themselves are destroyed.

Every worker and student in this country can learn from the struggle of our brothers and sisters in Texas. Militancy, solidarity across all borders,

reliance on ourselves and not the bosses, are keys to workers' victory in every situation. Let every one of us in our unions and student governments fight for solidarity with the Texas farmworkers both through political statements and raising money.

Statements of support and funds for the Texas strikers can be mailed to: TEXAS STRIKE FUND, P.O. Box 1493, San Juan, Texas,

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONALISM!

VICTORY TO FARMWORKERS IN MEXICO, TEXAS, CALIFORNIA, NEW JERSEY AND FLORIDA!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE CITY AND THE COUNTRY SIDE!

OPEN SEASON ON THE BOSSES—FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

## the last word

...for instance there is the story of the Kasrilevkite who got tired of starving in Kasrilevka and went out into the wide world to seek his fortune. He left the country, wandered far and wide, and finally reached Paris. There, naturally, he wanted to see Rothschild. For how can a Jew come to Paris and not visit Rothschild? But they didn't let him in. "What's the trouble?" he wants to know. "Your coat is torn," they tell him.

"You fool," says the Jew. "If I had a good coat, would I have gone to Paris?"

It looked hopeless. But a Kasrilevkite never gives up. He thought a while and said to the doorman: "Tell your master that it isn't an ordinary beggar who has come to his door, but a Jewish merchant, who brought him a piece of goods such as you can't find in Paris for any amount of money."

Hearing this, Rothschild became curious and asked that the merchant be brought to him....

"What good news do you bring?"

"Well, Mr. Rothschild, they say in our town that you are not so badly off.... Then what do you lack? One thing only—eternal life. That is what I have to sell you."

When Rothschild heard this he said, "Well, let's get down to business. What will it cost me?"

"It will cost you"—here the man stopped to consider—"it will cost you—three hundred rubles."

"Is that your best price?"

"My very best. I could have said a lot more than three hundred. But I said it, so it's final."

Rothschild said no more, but counted out three hundred rubles, one by one.

Our Kasrilevkite slipped the money into his pocket, and said to Rothschild: "If you want to live forever, my advice to you is to leave this noisy, busy Paris, and move to our town of Kasrilevka. There you can never die, because since Kasrilevka has been a town no rich man has ever died there."

Sholem Aleichem

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# CHALLENGE

*The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper*

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY**

February 24, 1977—Volume 13, Number 39

10c

## NYC, Chicago: Capitalism causes Cities, Trains to Collapse

# BANKS' ROAD: FASCISM WORKERS' RESPONSE: SOCIALIST REVOLUTION !

NEW YORK CITY, February 11—Two thousand transit workers demonstrated today at City Hall, protesting the latest series of cutbacks in the public subways and buses. The number of subway cars in use at non-rush hours has been cut in half, 57 token booths are being closed down between the hours of 10 PM and 6 AM, and sections of some lines, such as the Bowling Green shuttle and parts of the B, N and GG lines in Brooklyn and Queens, will be eliminated. There will be rush-hour-like congestion at all times of the day, 1500 to 2000 jobs will be eliminated, and many bus drivers might be fired. These cuts are part of a \$30 million savings program, dictated to the City by the emergency Financial Control Board (a group of bankers and big capitalists led by Rohatyn who are the real rulers of the city).

THESE CUTS FOLLOW A TWO YEAR JOB freeze, during which 800 subway cars and 4,000 jobs in the transit system were eliminated, and reductions of \$43 million in 1975 and \$100 million in the 1976 transit budget were enforced. These two years of cuts have affected every aspect of the transit system. Safety conditions are deteriorating, and an accident like the one that occurred in Chicago might happen anytime. The big racist bosses of the EFCB don't care about the workers of the city. Their main interest is that the City be able to pay the big banks close to \$2 billion in annual interests. The crisis suffered by the U.S. capitalist class is pushing the bosses to subject the working class to more misery, so that the bosses can increase their profits. And cutbacks will increase. The sellout leadership of the Transit Workers Union (TWU) offers no solution to these attacks. Matthew



Guinan, head of the union, signed a contract last year which included wage cuts, service cuts and speed-up. But the EFCB did not accept it, and threw it out. Guinan crawled before the EFCB and accepted a productivity deal which is making the union enforce murderous speed-up conditions for its own membership. Guinan, like all the other union hacks, that lead the municipal workers union, is a partner in crime with the EFCB. The TWU leader-

ship offers no solution to the workers, and in fact, invited a whole crew of capitalist politicians to this demonstration.

The transit workers of N.Y.C. need to join the fight of the PLP to build Communist fractions in the unions, to get rid of all the sellouts and build revolutionary leadership. Our needs are not solely to stop these murderous cuts, but also to make a revolution to stop the fascist road which is being taken by the EFCB and the ruling class of the U.S.