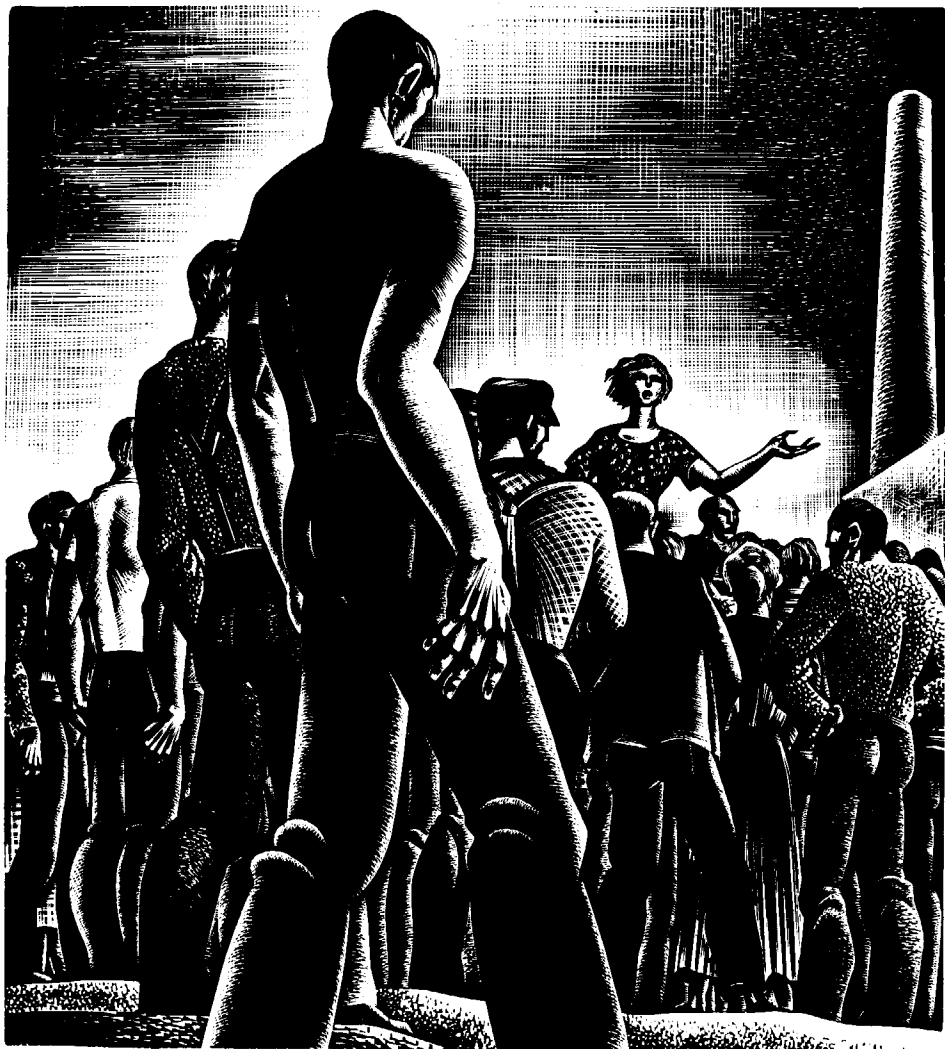


the **Communist** ★



Published By The PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY
Number 1 / Fall 1989 / \$3.00



Comrade Lenin Sweeps the Globe Clean
(Caption of 1920 Soviet poster)

IT'S CLEANUP TIME AGAIN

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The meanings of freedom, democracy and dictatorship have been turned inside out by reactionary ideologists promoting capitalism and "market socialism." In fact, there can be no freedom or democracy for most people without proletarian dictatorship.

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If Stalin had accomplished for the bourgeoisie what he did for the world's oppressed he would be hailed in bourgeois circles as one of history's all-time greats. But instead, for 30 years he led the international working class to heroic victories.

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The articles appearing in THE COMMUNIST are published because the Editors believe they are generally useful in the ideological development of the international revolutionary communist movement. They are not necessarily the views of the PLP. Only articles signed by the PLP NATIONAL COMMITTEE represent the official policies of the PARTY.

Readers are urged to contribute articles.

Dear Readers:

A generation and a half ago Bolshevism's successes finally caused the world communist movement to split apart and disintegrate. The contradictory elements comprising Bolshevik theory and practice had all by then developed to the fullest. The old relationships between these now-matured contradictory parts were impossible to contain within a single movement.

All that originally had been carried over into communist theory and practice from the social democratic movement; all that was idealist, fatalist, reductionist, mechanical; all that expressed and promoted the interests of the old nationalist bourgeoisies and the new state capitalist elites, was at war with all within the movement that was egalitarian, all that was dialectical, all that was in the interests of the non-privileged masses of people.

Obviously something had been wrong with the ideas of the old movement. Obviously a renovation within Marxism-Leninism was required to rebuild a new international social revolutionary movement to fight for the interests of the exploited and op-

pressed. The old movement's successful experiences in liberating the oppressed had confirmed the truth of Marxism-Leninism's egalitarian, revolutionary, dialectical core just as it exposed the falseness of its anti-egalitarian, nationalistic, communism-by-stages strategy.

This rebuilding process began in the 1960s in many countries. PROGRESSIVE LABOR was one of its initiators.

The major event in the international split and attempted rebuilding of the 1960s was the civil war fought in China during what was called the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Briefly a mass-based, millions-strong egalitarian Left, the largest such movement in the world, contended for power. But, hog-tied by wrong ideas still carried over from the old movement, it was crushed and repressed by the elite's army. Wrong ideas matter. The Chinese Left's failure showed communists they needed a *thorough* reorientation.

In the years that followed PROGRESSIVE LABOR shouldered this ideological task, transformed itself, slowly grew and spread its work to many countries.

Meanwhile, the corpse of the former movement rotted away. State capitalist elites, nurtured by and within the ruling communist parties, matured as fully-fledged new exploiting classes, proclaiming "market socialism" as their newly-discovered ideal. Marxism-Leninism became the victim of gang rape. Political and ideological confusion was fostered, cynicism and apathy spread, anti-communism strengthened.

Now a new period has opened. Now the socialist exploiters demand *legitimacy* as a class of private owners of society's wealth. (Achieving this legitimacy is Gorbachev's mission.) Their communist origin now embarrasses and impedes them. The very word "communist" now is as odious to them (since it means equality produced by workers ruling society in their own interest) as they tried to make it to the workers they exploited in the name of "communism."

Now they run from the name "communist," and reject the proletarian dictatorship, which previously they dishonored. Now they abandon the traditions of comradeship and proletarian in-

ternationalism, which previously they perverted. Now they openly renounce revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, which previously they corrupted and falsified. All this has a good side. Now the situation is finally clarified. Now their essence is also apparent.

In this new period we launch THE COMMUNIST. Its mission is to assist the unceasing world-wide struggle for equality and freedom for the masses of people against their exploitation and oppression. Its job is to promote dialectical, revolutionary egalitarian Marxism-Leninism. Its method is to provide a place where the ideas and experience of our worldwide movement can be analyzed and debated.

We will publish in as many languages as we are able to, and distribute in every country we can. We invite every Marxist-Leninist, every revolutionary minded person, everyone committed to the ideal of a communist world of freedom and equality to join us in our work. We need your thoughts in letters and articles, your money, your translating skills, your help in organizing our distribution.

THE EDITORS

AMPLIFICATIONS

POLAND: A LESSON ABOUT "UNCONSCIOUSNESS"

Which brings me to a sad personal note. Nine years ago I traveled to Poland to greet the extraordinary re-entry onto the political stage of Polish workers "presenting their interests as the superior interests of society as a whole," as Marx said. [Solidarity was] coming straight out of Marx, I argued, but I was honest enough to add that they were anything but Marxist; indeed, when it came to building socialism in Poland they were like Moliere's M. Jourdain, talking prose without knowing it.

It turns out that unconscious construction is inadequate...in recent years the trend has been in the opposite direction, toward capitalism. And this is the direction in which [Mazowiecki, the Solidarity Prime Minister] who once wanted to reconcile Christianity with socialism, now wants to take Poland.

*Yet where there is a will, there is not always a way. My hopes today, less sanguine than nine years ago, are linked not with the policy of Solidarity but with its contradictions. Daniel Singer, socialist author and European correspondent, *The Nation*, Oct. 9, 1989, pp 379-80*

USSR: WORKERS LEARN THE LESSON OF PERESTROIKA

The Soviet Union's jobless rate is soaring to 27% in some areas, Pravda said. It said the situation is caused by efforts to streamline bloated factory payrolls [perestroika].

Unemployment has reached 27.6% in Azerbaijan, 25.7% in Tadzhikistan, 22.8% in Uzbekistan, 18.8% in Turkmenia, 18% in Armenia and 16.3% in Kirgizia... all but Kirgizia have reported rioting in the past six months.

*Pravda gave no estimate for overall unemployment but said an Association of the Unemployed has cropped up that says the number of jobless is 23 million Soviets, or 17% of the work force. *The Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 2, 1989, p.B4.*

USA: OPPRESSED LEARN A LESSON ABOUT CAPITALISM

*Now that we have owner-occupied condos and coops we have people who are concerned about solving the problems of the homeless not for the sake of the homeless but because it's a visual problem and property values are at stake. Robert Kupferman, Chairman of Community Board 7 on New York's Upper West Side, in *The New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1989, pB4*

FREEDOM AND DICTATORSHIP

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with freedom and democracy in capitalism and in communism. What can we learn from the Soviets and Chinese to make proletarian dictatorship work? What is PL's role, or the role of any party leading the working class?

Those of us who struggle against oppression in the "Free World" never know whether to laugh in disbelief or throw up in disgust whenever we hear one of its leaders pontificating about how "Western-style" democracy is humanity's highest achievement, and that we must choose either freedom and democracy (capitalism and free elections) or "communist dictatorship."

Everyone knows politicians don't care about free (in the sense of *fair*) elections, but care only about winning elections in any way possible, fair or foul. Lies, smears, dirty tricks, gerrymandering districts, disenfranchising voters, payoffs—anything goes. It is notorious that Chicago, on election days, saw the dead rise and vote (*vote early, vote often*) and nothing miraculous was ever suspected.

Once, during "Tricky Dick" Nixon's leadership of the "Free World," a CIA chief came up with the idea of organizing what he liked to describe as "really honest" elections in the then-existing South Vietnam, as a way of helping the U.S. win the Vietnam war. "Oh, sure, honest, yes, that's right," Nixon said, "so long as you win!" Then he winked, poked his elbow into the CIA-man's arm and slapped his knee.

Free is the last thing you can call elections. Running for office in the United States now costs so much that the bourgeoisie cannot afford it, so they have arranged that the government will pay half the bill for them, with so-called "matching funds," which are subsidies to candidates. It costs \$3 million to run for a local seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and much more to run for a state-wide seat in the Senate. In 1985 it cost the Mayor of New York City \$7 million to get reelected. In 1988 it cost \$80 million to run for President.

Free speech? Here is the testimony of Walter LaPierre, executive director of the Pentagon funded National Rifle Association's Institute for Legislative Action (yes, the same NRA to which President Bush and most politicians in the country belong): "There's free speech in this country only, it seems, if magazines or television agree with your opinion." (*N.Y. Times*, June 23, 1989, p. D15.)

Majority rule? Political scientists have a sophisticated view of that. They have cooked up a *science of government*, taught in all their schools, "proving" that democracy requires ignoring the majority. "I don't bow to political pressure," explains George

Bush, a great student of this science. This bourgeois science of governing teaches that elected representatives are elected to be independent and not to follow the desires of those who voted for them. This is "democracy" independent of majority interests and needs (because who is the majority, if not workers?) This is "democracy" alienated from the people, confronting the people as an independent force.

The real aim of such democracy is expressed in the politicians' aphorism "all politics is local," meaning "take care of local business interests."

The highest achievement of bourgeois democracy is that the vast majority of the people feel alienated from it. Almost 53% of the eligible voters did not bother to vote for President of the United States; 80% stayed home when the government of the nation's third largest city was last elected (and a lot of adults are not even "eligible" because they refuse to register.) The trick to bourgeois politics is to make the people *think* they govern, so they can be governed.

When capitalism's leaders propagandize about their democracy they imply the big lie that somehow (it is never clear how) it produces "equality." To unravel this riddle you must know that

they understand "equality" differently than does the average person. Most people think "equality" means "social equality," or egalitarianism. But for the bourgeoisie "equality" only means an equal chance to compete in the marketplace. For capitalists "equality" is not an end, but a means of realizing the "natural order" of inequality, namely, with themselves on top.

When the capitalists propagandize about their democracy they imply the big lie that it expands freedom. What freedom? Whose freedom? When they say "freedom" they mean your right to do what their laws permit.

They lead us to think freedom means "you can do what you want to do." That sounds good, but if you leave it at that all you are saying is that "wishing will make it so." Is freedom just for God, or can people get in on it too? If people are involved then the real questions remain: What do you want? Why that? How can you get it?

Freedom begins with "I want." But there is a world of difference between "I want" and "I can." Getting from "I want" to "I can" is what freedom is all about.

You can't do anything and everything. You can't grow younger. You can't stop working if

you have no money. Roast chickens won't fly themselves onto your dinner table. There is a material reality out there, a real world existing and developing according to its *own inner laws*.

The real world exists independently of our thoughts and desires. It helps shape our ideas and our lives; we are part of it. But, at the same time, we can reshape the world and ourselves. We can transform it in accordance with our own ideas *if we know what makes the real world tick, and act in accordance with those laws to realize our ideas*. We can't fly by flapping our arms, but we can fly once we know how to build and use airplanes. It's the same with freedom: we can be free once we know how to be free, and act on that knowledge.

The real world has two aspects: social life and nature. Social life is primary for us because through society we can transform nature. Without society there is no human life. We are not clams; clams cannot be free. Clams live as natural forces make them live.

Freedom can exist and develop only as an attribute of the self-conscious social life which produces it. Freedom is historically specific, both the result of the past and the inspiration for the future.

We have to understand the actual structure of our society if we want to know what freedom in that society really is, what its limits are, and what we can make it become. And if we understand freedom as it really exists—what we can want and how we can get it in the world in which we really live—we will know how to transform our society.

So, when capitalists pronounce an anathema against “dictatorship,” that anathema is intended, like all religious instruction, to prevent you from understanding what is being cursed. “Accept what you are told or be cast out.” In this way, *capitalist dictatorship* can be hidden and go unchallenged. The actual structure of capitalist society can be disguised. The *mutual dependency between freedom and dictatorship characteristic of all class societies* remains an unknown, *unknowable* mystery to working people.

“Western-style” democracy and capitalist “freedom” comprise a regime in which a rich man’s joke is always funny; a regime which teaches people day in and day out to value not equal rights, but special privilege.

The cure for admiring “Western-style” democracy, is to go and look at it.

THE MEANING OF DICTATORSHIP

Although capitalist freedom and democracy are not what the capitalists claim them to be, still they do exist in many parts of the capitalist world—capitalist freedom and democracy, dependent on capitalist dictatorship. The U.S. is a democratic bourgeois dictatorship, as are the Western European countries. Gorbachev is striving to turn the Soviet Union into such a country.

This dependency of democracy upon dictatorship is not so paradoxical as it first appears. What is “dictatorship?” It is “absolute authority in any sphere,” or “absolute control or power.” Where one person holds that absolute authority over society it is clear the dictator holds himself over, and against, everyone else. Where that absolute authority over society is held by a relatively small group, again it is clear that this small, despotic group holds itself over, and against, everyone else, against the immense majority.

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STALIN’S SUCCESSES, HUMANITY’S GAINS

Setting the Record Straight

From Moscow to Beijing to Washington the profit pundits have agreed to award a TKO to the free market system. Gorbachev proclaims Perestroika and gives Soviet yuppies a franchise to make rubles hand over fist. Munching on Big Macs, Deng christens the new Shanghai stock exchange. The vultures in the U.S. bourgeois press gleefully scribble that “Capitalism...is the wave of the future” (Jerry Z. Muller, *Commentary*, December 1988) and chortle about “the coming crack-up of communism” (Radek Sikorski, *National Review*, January 27, 1989).

International anti-communism has reached a new stage, dovetailing with the global spread of fascism. Now the rulers of the once-socialist countries unite with Rockefeller & Co. to warble that Marx and Lenin were wrong, that communism is unattainable, and that “human nature” demands the exploitation of the many by the few. The high priests of U.S. imperialism, both “liberal” (George F. Kennan) and “conservative” (Zbigniew Brzezinski), triumphantly mock: “We told you so...”

Both sides in the progressively sharpening rivalry between U.S. and Soviet bosses for world domination need to discredit the Bolshevik revolution and the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. between 1917 and the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953.

Establishment Soviet intellectuals, the vanguard of the Gorbachev forces, outdo the United States Information Agency in shedding tears over the "reign of terror" under which the Soviet masses supposedly lived during Stalin's leadership. On February 4, 1989, the *New York Times* gleefully headlined: "Major Soviet Paper Says 20 Million Died As Victims of Stalin." Twenty million is a nice round number. It also happens to be the generally accepted figure for the Soviet death toll at the hands of Nazi butchers during the Second World War. No one, certainly no Soviet worker, can miss the implication. According to both the CIA and its new-found intellectual soul-mates in the Kremlin, "Stalin equals Hitler" just as "communism equals fascism."

The blood of millions who fought and died to defend communism against the Nazis demands that the record be set straight. The working class today needs to know the truth about our history. The Bolshevik revolution, the consolidation of socialism in the U.S.S.R. under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prodigious struggle against Nazi barbarism were all epochal achievements of revolutionary communists.

Our Party has analyzed the limitations of both the Soviet revolution and socialism in general. In our pamphlets *Road to Revolution III* and *Road to Revolution IV*, we assessed the right-wing errors that led to the full restoration of capitalism in the socialist world. We identified at the core of these errors a mistaken judgment by communist leaders (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao) of the working class's willingness to act immediately for the egalitarian concepts of the communist ideal. This misestimate produced crippling concessions to capitalist ideology and practice: nationalism, tactical and political unity with "lesser-evil" bosses, shared power schemes. Central to all these errors was the concept of socialism itself, a "transitional" strategy enunciated by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, according to which the wage system would be preserved under proletarian dictatorship as a stepping-stone to communist society.

The PLP now rejects this strategy. We consider wages in any form to be capitalist exploitation. Maintaining wages under the dictatorship of the proletariat maintains capitalism. This is one of Soviet history's key lessons.

However, Soviet socialism had two aspects. True, it preserved

wages and capitalism. But under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership *socialism also injected a dose of healthy egalitarian communist ideas and practice into a society whose population spread over one-sixth the world*. Because of these ideas and this practice, millions of workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and their leaders changed the world and proved that the masses will perform miracles to win communism.

In the following pages, we will attempt to show that, with all its imperfections, Soviet socialism under Stalin represented a gigantic stride forward to freedom for the working class and humanity in general.

The Capitalists Destroy Everything.

REVOLUTIONARIES MUST START FROM SCRATCH.

Soviet achievements in the revolution's first two decades appear all the more remarkable when one considers the initial obstacles the Bolsheviks had to overcome. The Czarist Empire overthrown by the revolution had actually been a semi-colony of Anglo-French and German financiers. Anglo-French capital controlled 72 percent of the

Empire's coal, iron and steel and 50 percent of the Empire's oil. Huge profits were bled from the labor of the Empire's workers and peasants by foreign plutocrats allied with the Czar.

World War I was fought, in part, over which profiteer would get this booty. The cost of this profiteers' war to the Empire's working class was staggering: more than nine million battlefield casualties, including dead, wounded, and missing and untold millions of civilians killed, maimed, or homeless.

The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in 1917 altered the class content of these hostilities. The imperialists stopped squabbling with each other and launched a ruthless, desperate drive to recover the goose that had given them golden eggs. In the words of Winston Churchill, they wanted to "strangle the baby in its cradle." By the summer of 1919 fourteen nations had invaded the fledgling Soviet Union. They included Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Italy and the U.S. Fighting side by side with these armies against the Revolution's Red Army were the White Armies, who were Czarist thugs hell-bent on restoring the old order.

At one point, the Bolshevik government controlled barely

one-sixteenth of Russia's vast territory. The Red Army, later to become the world's greatest military force, was born because of this counter-revolutionary invasion. For two and a half bloody years, against overwhelming odds, the Red Army rallied the Soviet working class and peasantry and smashed the reactionaries. This victory alone would rank the Bolshevik revolution as pre-eminent among the achievements of working class history.

The cost of the capitalist invasion was daunting. *On top of the losses caused by the World War, between 1919 and 1922, seven million Soviet men, women, and children died in battle or through war-caused starvation and disease. Millions more became refugees. Russia's already feeble industry and agriculture virtually collapsed. The Soviet government later estimated its material losses as the equivalent of \$60 billion. The invaders made no reparations.*

Such were the ruins on which the Soviet working class set about the most sweeping economic and social transformation the world had yet seen.

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CHALLENGE/DESAFIO
the revolutionary
communist newspaper

COMMUNISM INSPIRES SOVIET WORKERS TO TRANSFORM COUNTRY

Soviet workers hurled their hearts and muscles into the task of reconstruction and development with a vigor and enthusiasm that astounded the puny imagination of bourgeois cynics. The spirit infusing the first generation of Soviet development proves that social relations based on selfishness and acquisitiveness do not represent the apex of human achievement. Yes, socialism was ultimately defeated by its own internal contradictions. Yes, the Soviet party's line proved incorrect. But for thirty years or so, tens of millions carried out this line because they thought it would eventually lead to communism. This shows that workers everywhere are winnable to building a collective, egalitarian way of life.

Visitors to the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s who reported their findings did not fail to acknowledge achievements of historic proportion. The key to

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CHINESE FASCISM: THE DENG HITS THE FAN

The orgy of anti-communist snivelling in which the bourgeois press has wallowed all summer cannot obscure the truth about the bloody events last June in China.

The "pro-democracy" movement represented would-be Western-style entrepreneurs unsuccessfully attempting to supplant the ruling Deng/Li clique of state capitalists and big-time privateers. From a class point of view, the student demonstrations and their ruthless suppression did not pit good guys against bad guys. Rather, this struggle arrayed one gang of exploiters against another in a contest to become or remain top dog. Their rhetoric to the contrary, the demonstrators reflected an infantile form of yuppiedom yearning to achieve the status of corporate raiders. The massacre of students in Tienanmen Square demonstrates the deadly logic of capitalist restoration throughout China.

Furthermore, the apparently clearcut victory of the Deng/Li bunch over the so-called "moderate" (read pro-U.S. imperialist) forces represents a staggering blow to the U.S. ruling class. Bush & Co. made desperate, crude, painfully obvious attempts to intervene on the Zhao side while the demonstrations were underway. The CIA, the U.S. Information Agency, the TV networks, the press and every political hack from the "liberal" Rep. Stephen Solarz to the overt fascist Sen. Jesse Helms lent a hand to portray the Chinese students as freedom fighters and martyrs. The

crocodile tears and Fourth-of-July rhetoric were a strategic and tactical flop. U.S. influence is waning in China, and U.S. bosses' dreams of megaprofits off the backs of Chinese workers have at the very least been put on hold. These developments generally favor Soviet imperialism

Finally, the horror of China's new capitalism is such that Deng & Co. must justify their brutal acts as necessary to preserve the revolution. Throughout this century, hundreds of millions of Chinese have fought and died for communism. Millions of their survivors and descendants still believe in an egalitarian way of life. The same Deng who took power mouthing the slogan: "To Get Rich is Glorious" must now defend his vile acts in the name of communism because he dares not tell the truth, fearing to spark a genuine revolutionary Left. His demagogy in turn allows U.S. and other international capitalists to unleash torrents of anti-communism and red-baiting. Communists and pro-working class progressives must grab the red flag away from these fascist murderers and expose their lies.

NEVER HAVE SO FEW OWED SO MUCH TO SO MANY

Capitalism returned to China on a socialist base. In the PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY's strategic document *Road to Revolution III*, we analyzed the right-wing errors that led to the defeat of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The Deng forces, who stood far to the right of the classic Maoists, had consolidated power by 1983. U.S. imperialism had been billing and cooing with Mao & Co. since the Nixon years. With Deng's triumph, the grand passion grew hotter and heavier.

The same politicians and media who now revile Deng as a "totalitarian" killer praised him to the skies throughout the 1980s as a liberal-minded reformer who opened up China to U.S. investment. Deng's *Central Document Number 1 for 1983* drew up the blueprint for such wheeling and dealing. It:

- legalized the private hiring of labor, the private purchase of large-scale production equipment, the pooling of capital for private investment and the leas-

ing of collective property to individual investors;

- allowed individuals to lend money at usurious rates;
- granted tax holidays to new private businesses and authorized private bank loans for venture capital;

- cut off credit to the existing socialist village brigades;

- granted more favorable credit conditions to private business as the business grew in size;

- conceded private contractors the right to hire and fire, to set wage levels and profit margins, and eventually (depending upon the extent of reinvestment) to convert the entire enterprise into private property (See William Hinton's "Response to Hugh Deane" in the March 1989 *Monthly Review*).

Central Document Number 1 for 1983 quite simply paved the way for the greatest, most rapid giveaway ever of collectively owned property. In one stroke, Deng & Co. allowed a tiny ruling clique and their cronies—party cadre, their families, and assorted sycophants—to steal the agricultural and industrial productive forces that Chinese workers and farmers had fought and toiled over decades to develop. Deng permitted the new bosses to buy capital assets at a tiny fraction of

their real value with easy credit from state banks—and then not to pay back the loans. "It is doubtful," writes the U.S. Maoist, William Hinton, "if, in the history of the world, any privileged group ever acquired more for less."

A TALE OF TWO CAPITALIST FACTIONS

Once the capitalist roaders had smashed the egalitarian left and the Cultural Revolution, the main disputes in Chinese ruling circles concentrated on the most suitable form for capitalist development.

Two groups took shape. The main force of power holders included and still includes the Deng/Li clique of "Communist" Party bureaucrats who use the state apparatus as a profit-generating exploitation machine. They control the lion's share of the economy's public sector. They are in alliance with the most significant of the private enterprise forces, whom Mao had always tolerated as long as they remained "patriotic" nationalists and who re-emerged from obscurity or disgrace after the Cultural Revolution. One such "Marxist Millionaire" is China's richest man, Rong Yiren.

Rong hails from an old-line Shanghai bourgeois family and is a close ally of Deng, who personally rehabilitated him after the GPCR. Rong holds a fortune worth a billion dollars and controls 200 firms around the world, with offices in Hong Kong, Tokyo, Paris and Frankfurt; forests in the U.S.; and factories in Australia and Canada.

However, Deng's *Document Number One for 1983* had unwittingly opened a Pandora's box. It not only stimulated monopoly capitalism on a socialist base, it also launched a huge epidemic of individual entrepreneurship. By the time of the Tiananmen demonstrations, China had fourteen and a half million, mostly small, private businesses

The anarchy and chaos of capitalist production rapidly began to cripple the Chinese economy. Eighty percent of the cash in China was circulating outside the official banking network. The new bosses didn't want to give the Beijing home office its cut. They began scheming to avoid tax payment to the central government. Provinces started stationing armed guards at their borders to prevent raw materials from leaving and falling into the hands of competitors in other

provinces. (An analogous absurdity would have the Texas Rangers standing at the Oklahoma border to prevent the transportation of Texas oil to a New Jersey refinery.)

The overproduction crisis in which the rest of the world currently wallows came to China like a nightmare tape recording played on speed-up. A two-tiered price system creates instant millionaires while gouging workers. Inflation rages annually between 20 and 30 percent. Food prices alone rise 50 percent a year. Perhaps 20 or 30 percent of the urban labor force is looking for work, prompted by a government-sponsored "austerity" plan to cut fixed investment and eliminate more than 10 million construction jobs. A migratory unemployed population of 50 million (equivalent to more than 90 percent the population of France) has flocked to the cities with no permanent residence, sleeping in parks, railway stations or slums.

Sound familiar? Unemployment, inflation, homelessness, prostitution, drugs, wide corruption led by government officials and "C" P bureaucrats. Now that he is about to leave office, New York's racist ex-Mayor Ed Koch

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REDISCOVERING THE 1930's RED WOMEN WRITERS

PAULA RABINOWITZ and
CHARLOTTE NEKOLA, eds.
*Writing Red: An Anthology of
American Women Writers,
1930-1940,*
Feminist Press 1987

It is a myth widely propagated by the American critical establishment that the Communist-led movement of the 1930s produced no enduringly valuable works of literature.

Communism, the argument goes, puts pressures on writers that are at odds with the requirements of art: as opposed to "real" (i.e., bourgeois) art, which is apolitical and allows for the flowering of the individual imagination, Communist art is narrowly propagandistic because of its subordination to the mechanistic requirements of a Leftist political "line." If Depression-era Leftism did engender significant literary works, these were composed by writers (Dos Passos, Farrell, Steinbeck, Wright) who always kept the Communist

Party at a distance. Moreover, the argument continues, these writers were all men: no significant female writers identified themselves with 1930s literary leftism or managed to link gender-based concerns and issues with the CP's theory and practice of class struggle.

Writing Red, a compilation of exciting and often inspirational poems, short stories, reportage and political theory written by radical women during the Depression years, makes one more bourgeois myth bite the dust.

Drawing together works by somewhat-known writers such as Muriel Rukeyser, Tillie Olsen, Meridel Le Sueur, Josephine Herbst, Agnes Smedley, and Margaret Walker, as well as a number of virtually unknown women who published in the CP-sponsored *New Masses*, *Crisis*, *Opportunity*, and the various leftist "little magazines" that sprang up during the decade, the anthology demonstrates that significant numbers of highly talented radical women saw workers' revolution as the only way out for the

masses of oppressed people, men and women. Moreover, the anthology reveals that these writers found both imaginative and intellectually rigorous ways to correlate the bosses' need to accumulate capital with the multiple forms of sexist ideology and practice.

In particular, the theoretical pieces by Grace Hutchins, Rebecca Pitts, and Mary Inman reveal that 1930's women Marxists were analyzing the political economy of sexism, as well as its multiple superstructural manifestations, with considerable sophistication. Anti-communism continues to raise its ugly head, however, in the various analytical essays interspersed throughout the volume by its editors, Paula Rabinowitz and Charlotte Nekola.

To be sure, these editors raise some important criticisms of the CP's many deficiencies in relation to the so-called "women question." The proletariat was frequently conceived of in masculinist terms by the CP's leading literary theorists and critics, all of whom were male; aside from a token few, women writers were not urged to participate in the Party's various literary formations and publications; and, during the Popular Front—when the CP was proclaiming its

then-famous slogan that "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism"—the Party increasingly endorsed a view of the nuclear family that minimized consideration of the family's frequently repressive and reactionary aspects.

Nonetheless, Nekola and Rabinowitz, like so many scholars treating the 1930s Left, subscribe to a theory of "Stalinism" that precludes any dialectical examination of the political strengths and weaknesses of this quite remarkable body of women's writing. Asserting that these women writers managed to produce important work because the sexism of the organized Left reduced the party's influence upon them, Rabinowitz and Nekola evade the inescapable conclusion that their anthology compels us to draw: the great majority of the female poets, fiction writers and journalists were committed to the Communist movement, which, for all its many weaknesses, provided the defining context for these radical women's meditations upon women's emancipation and class struggle.

It was hardly isolation from the CP that led Muriel Rukeyser to describe the Party organizer and orator Ann Burlak as one:



On the left, a typical sweatshop of the early 1900s, little different from the conditions Chinese women emigrant workers must endure today in New York City. On the right, an anti-capitalist poster of that time.

*[who] knows women cut down
by poverty, by stupid obscure
days,
their moments over the dishes
speaks them now,
and thus scatters clews . .
[and] speaks from all these
faces
and from the center of a
system of lives
who speak the desire of worlds
moving unmade
saying, 'Who owns the world?'
and waiting for the cry.*

As *Writing Red* reveals, for Rukeyser and many like her, questions of gender were not crushed by or subordinated to an authoritarian "Stalinist" discourse of class. Rather, they saw women's emancipation as being intimately bound up in class emancipation; their anti-sexism was congruent with, rather than contradicted by, their commitment to proletarian revolution.

By N. N.

HOW CPUSA LED ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLES IN THE 1940s-'50s

GERALD HORNE

Communist Front?: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946-1956

Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988

In this highly important and informative book, Gerald Horne gives badly-needed insight into the crucial role played in the late 1940s and early 1950s by the CP-led Civil Rights Congress, which, he argues, laid the base for the massive anti-racist protests of the 1960s.

The widely held view, disseminated in the mass media, the public schools and the universities, is that the civil rights movement began with the Montgomery bus boycott and was based in non-Leftist institutions such as the churches. Horne demonstrates that, while the movement did indeed burgeon in the decade following, it was black and white Leftists in the postwar Civil Rights Congress who extended and deepened the anti-racist activities of the Depression-era CP (Scottsboro, anti-lynching struggles, anti-racist union organizing) by initiat-

ing the first major campaigns against Jim Crow, North and South.

Moreover, the CRC undertook its many battles against discrimination and legal lynching at the same time that it was desperately preoccupied with fighting against the Smith Act indictments of many leading CPers, who came under vicious attack from the government as soon as the postwar "Iron Curtain" descended. Refuting another widespread misconception about concerns of Communists during this era, Horne demonstrates that the CP did not abandon its commitment to mass anti-racist struggle when it found itself under attack: even at the height of the Smith Act trials, the majority of cases on the CRC's books dealt with racist attacks on working-class black people.

While Horne might have organized his materials better—the book is unduly repetitious and at times confuses questions of chronology—he makes widely available for the first time massive amounts of material dug out of the archives of the CRC, the

NAACP, the ACLU, and the National Lawyers Guild.

His coverage is encyclopedic, covering the better known cases such as those of Willie McGee (a black man framed, and later executed, for rape), the Trenton Six (six young black men whom a New Jersey court railroaded on trumped up charges of raping white women) and Rosa Lee Ingram (a black woman charged with murdering a white man who attacked her), as well as other now-anonymous victims of racist abuse. In addition to describing the impact of William Patterson's powerful UN-directed indictment of American racism, *We Charge Genocide*, Horne details CRC activities in all parts of the United States. Anti-racist activists interested in investigating the history of early struggles for racial equality in their own geographical areas will find ample information in *Communist Front?*

In his political stand, Horne can be faulted for somewhat uncritically endorsing the CP's essentially unrevolutionary—if militant—outlook during this period. He also could have done more to point out that not a few of the civil rights organizers who attained prominence in the

1960s cut their teeth in the Communist-led movement of the preceding decade. Horne seems, as his title indicates, perhaps overwilling to downplay the leadership role played by Communists.

But Horne's book is very useful to people interested in the real history of the anti-racist movement in the U. S. Horne stresses the crucial role played by the mass rank-and-file organizing that the CP consistently coupled with its courtroom work. His accounts of the CRC's bold multiracial moves to desegregate public facilities, as well as of the "white women's brigade" that the Congress quite creatively sent to Mississippi to build support for Willie McGee, are among his many tributes to the courage of these earlier, communist, "freedom riders."

What is more, Horne quite shrewdly points up the interpenetration of racism and anti-communism, demonstrating how the ruling class quite consciously attempted to justify its repression of Communists by branding them as pro-black and, conversely, attempted to justify its continuing subjugation of blacks by playing upon fears of communist "subversion" in the

ranks of the movement for racial justice and equality.

Finally, Horne also astutely describes the process by which the government, during this postwar era of national liberation movements, gradually came to realize the necessity of remedying the more blatant features of Jim Crow if the U. S. were to have any credibility among the newly decolonized nations attracted to the Soviet Union.

As it slowly granted concessions to anti-racist activism, then, the ruling class took care to ob-

THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE

MARTIN BERNAL

Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots Of Classical Civilization. Volume I: The Fabrication Of Ancient Greece 1785-1985. Rutgers Univ. Press, 1987.

For two centuries Western imperialism has justified itself with the idea that Western European civilization is uniquely superior to other cultures — more rational, moral and scientific. Bernal reveals that the capitalist scholars of this era have covered up the fact that Ancient Greek culture, including philosophy and

science the leading role of the left-led CRC and to bestow the credit upon the virulently anti-communist NAACP. Even as the CRC was playing a leading role in setting the stage for the subsequent wave of Civil Rights activity, Horne points out, the ruling class was preparing to bury the historical link between anti-racism and communism. Hence the noxious myth that anti-racism is intrinsic to American "democracy," and that Martin Luther King is its most fitting exemplar and symbol.

By N.N.

science, were largely taken from Africa and the Near East.

Ancient Greek writers acknowledged this, as did the secular writers of the Renaissance and Enlightenment. But with the intensification of racism as ideological justification for 19th century imperialism this "Ancient Model" gave way to the "Aryan Model", which argued that Western civilization owed nothing to Africa. The "Broad Aryan Model" recognized some Middle Eastern influences; the "Extreme Aryan Model," dominant until the fall of the Nazis, allowed none.

With overt Naziism in disrepute, the "Broad Aryan Model" has reasserted itself in academic respectability, and this is Bernal's chief target. He proposes to replace it by the "Revised Ancient Model," basically a restatement of the acknowledgment of African/ Egyptian and Near Eastern influences in the light of the research of the past two centuries.

Bernal's book is very useful in showing how "knowledge" is shaped by politics. The whole field of Classical studies and the history of Western civilization are shown to be the product of racist and imperialist falsehoods.

Further, it is not mainly the "reactionaries," the overt racists and defenders of clerical authority, whom Bernal chiefly attacks, but the liberal mainstream. This aspect of Bernal's book is essential and fascinating. But it is not a communist analysis, and therefore is not and cannot be consistently anti-racist, anti-elitist, and anti-imperialist.

Bernal has no revolutionary perspective. Nor does he really have a class analysis. He opposes imperialism, but never examines the class or elitist basis for the ideas ("knowledge" or "wisdom")

taken by the Greeks from Egypt or the Middle East. He never discusses the class struggle as the motive force of history, whether in Ancient Egypt, in Europe, or today.

With the open abandonment of communism by the old communist movement, "radical" nationalism and "anti-imperialism" are all the rage in left-liberal academia. In the Introduction, Bernal reveals that he undertook this study as a result of a personal crisis brought on by the failure of the Cultural Revolution in China, of which he apparently was a supporter. His own life and research reflect a "retreat from revolution."

Bernal's book implicitly holds out the view that, by purging itself of "cultural biases", academia in the capitalist world could be "truthful," and not reflect any bias. Of anti-working class, i.e. elitist, ruling-class bias, he says nothing. In this way his book is very congenial to the liberal elitist movement to criticize ethnic and gender-based biases in research, and oppose them to class as the primary motive forces of history. Bernal's book is therefore, in a true sense, not "loosely" Marxist, as he claims, but anti-Marxist.

Bernal's book is congenial particularly to Black and Pan-African Nationalism. He associates himself with nationalist reactionaries like Jacob Carruthers, John G. Jackson, Sheikh Anta Diop, Ali Mazrui, Ben Jochanan, and G.G.M. James. All are Black African and American writers who advance, in strongly elitist and nationalist — even overtly racist — terms, the superiority of African culture as a reaction to the racist denigration of Africa in Western culture.

During the Stalin years scholarship was usually much sharper in class analysis than stuff written

TRASHING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

SIMON SCHAMA

Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution
Knopf, 1989

Simon Schama's *Citizens* has three main themes: the actions of individuals, not class conflicts, were the deciding factors that led to the revolution; revolutionary violence was immoral; the revolution was unnecessary because the ruling aristocratic class was already providing needed reforms. "More than any inequality in a society based on pri-

today, even though the discovery of more facts often leaves the demonstration of earlier works outdated.

For a class analysis of ancient Greek science and philosophy, there is still nothing to compare with Alban D. Winspear's 1940 work, *The Genesis of Plato's Thought*, and his shorter work (with Tom Silverberg) *Who Was Socrates?* (1940). Both expose how Greek thought emerged out of the class struggles of the Ancient World and reflected class oppression.

By D.E.

vilage...the revolution was occasioned by these decisions of state [to keep costly armies in Europe and America]."

Schama preposterously downplays the frustration of the rising bourgeoisie and the misery of the masses under the old order. This view of history as a random series of events, unaffected by class antagonisms, emerges often. "Nor does the Revolution seem any longer to conform to a grand historical design, preordained by inexorable forces of social change. Instead it seems a thing of con-

tingencies and unforeseen consequences..."

But Schama shows a class bias on the ethics of armed rebellion. "[Violence] was not merely a by-product of politics, or the disagreeable instrument by which other more virtuous ends were accomplished or vicious ones thwarted. In some depressingly unavoidable sense, violence was the revolution itself."

Recoiling at the violence of the progressive forces, Schama implicitly condones the far more deadly terror of the nobles.

In reality, revolutionary violence was beneficial and necessary. Eliminating the feudal landlords, for example, ended an economic system that starved thousands of people every year. And the Republicans faced extinction both from the nobles' 40,000-man army in the Vendee, and from foreign invasion; they prefigured the Bolsheviks, who after 1917 had to fight for survival against the White armies and the troops that the United States, Britain and twelve other countries sent in to crush the revolution.

No class takes power from another without struggle. Royalist

Schama, however, says the struggle in France was pointless: the bourgeoisie and the masses should have waited for the innovative nobles to improve things. "From the king downward, the elite were less obsessed with tradition than with novelty, and less preoccupied with feudalism than with science."

Clearly, Schama's goal is to discredit revolution as the chief means of social change, while workers everywhere face worsening conditions from decaying capitalism. *Citizens* appears as rulers from Washington to Moscow to Beijing intensify their attacks on Marxism. A Harvard professor with an Oxford pedigree and rave reviews in the *New York Times*, Schama speaks for today's bourgeois, who are every bit as moribund as the *ancien regime* and have no positive outlook to offer. Schama cynically defames the French Revolution just as scores of other "historians" repudiate the monumental social advances of the Stalin era. We need to reclaim the objective history of revolution.

By R.D.F.

PL's OPINION

Excerpts from recent CHALLENGE/DESAFIO Editorials

OOPS! LOVE'S LABOR LOST.

The recent gunning down of thousands of Beijing protestors is the logical result of the restoration of capitalism in China. Now the embarrassed U.S. imperialists and others have suddenly restored the "communist" label on the same Chinese leaders who, up until a few weeks ago, they happily referred to as capitalist roaders. U.S. rulers are using these recent events to whip up an orgy of anti-communism.

Obviously, most of the student protestors and others hitched their star to the Zhao pro-U.S. faction. To one extent or another, these students were used by the "liberal" faction to try to wrest state power from the Deng/Li faction. (June 14)

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Raising the idea that black workers and students are African-Americans is an attempt to "include" blacks into America. An America that offers black babies some of the highest infant mortality rates in the world, tops among imperialist countries. An America that forces black youth to join the Army, or face a 50% unemployment rate. An America that finds homicide as the leading cause for death among young black men. An America that disproportionally forces blacks into prison. An America that means lower wages for more work with less opportunity. An America that increasingly means unemployment, sickness, homelessness and poverty. An America that is drifting towards depression, fascism, and war. Jesse Jackson and the *New York Times* want black workers to be patriotic to that America.

PL'S OPINION

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The young black rebels who fought the police in Miami a few weeks ago aren't looking to change a label, they're looking to change their lives. Jackson is offering meaningless words to distract them and the millions more who are fed up with capitalism. He is cynically using this issue like he has used others in the past, in order to get the bosses to accept him as a politician who is one of them. Exploited black workers and oppressed black youth won't jump onto the name-change bandwagon. (Feb. 8)

LABOR "LEADERS" DESTROY OWN UNIONS

In the U.S. trade union membership has declined from 31% of the workforce in 1970 to 17% in 1985-86. Some say this loss of union membership occurred because the unions have been sharply attacked during the last 20 years. This is not the primary reason. The loss of members can mainly be attributed to the fact that most union leaders have either sold out to the bosses or have been passive in the face of the bosses' sharper attacks.

Why would you join a union when its leaders always sell you out to the bosses? The union grew when they were communist-led and more militant. Getting members credit cards or new and bigger bosses is not going to win new members. Only fighting unions with red leadership can win new members and put the rulers on the defensive. (April 12)

THE LOOMING WEST GERMAN-SOVIET AXIS

In the background a new "axis" is being formed. This is a reality that is most dangerous for U.S. imperialism. The powerful West German capitalist economy is trying to use Gorbachev's *perestroika* to rebuild the Soviet economy based on a capitalist alliance with Germany. This will make the German capitalists the most powerful rulers of all of Europe. And the billions in credits the West German bosses are giving to the Soviet bosses will help consolidate this axis. (May 17)

PACIFICISM CAN'T BEAT GUN-TOTERS

Civil disobedience and pacifism cannot defeat the violent coal barons. Civil disobedience can't beat armed scabs, gun-toting cops and troopers and helicopters. Only the miners' historic tradition of armed counter-attack has a chance of beating the bosses' assault. (July 12)

BUILD INTERNATIONAL STRIKE SOLIDARITY

Workers are not only fighting back in the poorer countries of the world, but also in the heart of the imperialist beasts (U.S, Britain and even the Soviet Union.) In recent months we have seen:

- General strikes in Ecuador, Spain, Italy, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Uruguay, Colombia, Chile, Portugal, Brazil, Peru, Sudan, etc.

- Mass strikes by teachers in Mexico, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Los Angeles,

- Militant strikes by miners in the U.S., the Soviet Union, Peru.

- The strike by Eastern airline employees in the U.S.

- Repeated one-day walkouts by London underground and bus workers and British Rail train workers. Also strikes by dockworkers in Britain and even "lightning walkouts" by BBC workers.

- One-day walkouts by hospital workers in New York City.

- The almost two-year old militant anti-racist rebellion (Intifada) by Palestinian workers and youth in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

- The continuous struggle against the fascist apartheid regime in South Africa.

It is up to workers and students to revive international solidarity. We in PLP and the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) are internationalists. We have always tried to support workers fighting back anywhere to the best of our abilities. We played the most militant role in the struggle in the U.S. against the war U.S. imperialism waged in Vietnam. We have also done quite a bit in support of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and against the U.S. intervention in Central America. (*August 9*)

BUSH'S "WAR" ON DRUGS

Did you ever ask yourself this question: if capitalism is so good—and communism is so bad and is dead as a political force in the world—why do tens of millions in the belly of the imperialist beast take all kinds of drugs to escape the misery and racism caused by the capitalist system?

Bush's war on drugs is really an attack on workers, especially young Black and Latin men and women. The war on drugs is racist to the core. It is going to be used by the bosses for more racist terror and to invade Latin America to protect the billions that the U.S. bosses have

invested in that region (80% of all U.S. investments in the world are in Canada and Latin America.)

The main domestic aspect of Bush's phony war against drugs is to build more prisons. Already the U.S. has more people in jail than any other country (except maybe South Africa.) The new jails will be used to hold more young Black, Latin and Native American men, and will be used as Nazi-like concentration camps against anyone who rebels against racist terror, or against any workers who fight for their interests (like the hundreds of Pittston miners who have been arrested in the last few months.) So instead of building more and better schools, low rent apartment buildings and hospitals, the bosses are building more death camps. (*August 20*)

CAPITALISM FAILS IN THE USA, USSR, CHINA

The constant daily headlines screaming about how communism is "dead again" defy logic. After all, people can only die once. Can systems die more than once? All the pronounced "deaths of communism," and the ones yet to come, make one wonder. Perhaps it isn't communism that is dead. The bosses "doth protest too much."

If communism is as dead as the rulers claim, why do they keep heralding its death and their victory? It is to hide the fact that capitalism, for over a quarter of a century, has been restored in Russia and China. It is Soviet and Chinese capitalism that has miserably failed. Soviet and Chinese nationalism, racism, selfishness, inflation, unemployment and alienation of the working class are but some of the contradictions of capitalism, not of communism.

The exalted "market system" has left Asia, Latin America, Central America and Africa in ruins. Mass starvation and early deaths are the "rewards" of capitalism in these continents. Has the heralded market system provided a good life for workers in the western world and for the so-called "prosperous" Japanese? The answer is a resounding NO! Drugs, especially among the youth, is one of the "great" fruits of capitalism, AIDS is another.

The capitalist tree of goodies is huge: millions are homeless in the "rich" U.S. Racism is rampant all over the western world. Mass unemployment and starvation are common. The medical system collapses all around us. War and fascism, however, are capitalism's greatest "rewards."

In the U.S. the workers are so happy that hundreds of thousands have pushed their union bosses, or pushed past their union bosses, and taken to the picket lines. Mass strikes have engulfed the air, coal, hospital, phone and other industries as workers are fed up with being screwed by the bosses, and their own union bosses. These strikes are hardly a ringing endorsement of capitalism. (*August 13*)

ONLY BOSSES BENEFIT FROM RACISM

Recent racist incidents from Bensonhurst to Virginia Beach show that racism is increasing. Racism and fascism will continue to grow as long as capitalism—the profit system—exists. The only way to destroy racism is to crush capitalism, and build a communist society.

As the profit system in the U.S. sinks into oblivion the bosses find it more and more necessary to pit one group of workers against the other. The rulers, who make huge profits from our labor, want us to blame one another for our plight. The bosses would much rather have us fight one another than to unite and fight them. Don't be a sucker for bosses' racism. (*August 13*)

WORKERS NEED COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

Workers have learned that giving in to the bosses' demands for cuts does not save jobs; does not prevent plant closings; and simply increases the profits of the bosses..

We need to put working class principles, guided by communist ideas, front and center, and organize to carry them out:

- No wage cuts or concessions of any kind; make the bosses take the losses for their degenerate system;
- No scabs allowed! Working class violence must be organized to defeat the bosses' cops' attacks on workers;
- Support strikes throughout the U.S. and the world. Organize InCAR Strike Support Committees wherever InCAR exists;
- Build multi-racial unity and expose and attack racism internationally; build the International Committee Against Racism.
- Spread communist ideas as the only ones capable of taking on the bosses' system, beating it and smashing it. (*August 27*)

FREEDOM AND DICTATORSHIP

Continued from page 8

Obviously, in these examples the dictatorship benefits the dictator or the small group, suppressing (and therefore oppressing) the vast majority. Human history is full of such examples, and it is what we usually think of when we think of "dictatorship."

But what happens if the worm turns, if the immense majority seize power from, and exercise absolute authority over this small group? This is no less a dictatorship. (Ask the formerly privileged.) Only now it is a dictatorship by and for the immense majority over and against the small group. Now the former oppressors are oppressed. For the majority the former agency of their oppression—dictatorship—becomes the vehicle to their freedom.

Can it be that in modern bourgeois democratic society a small group exercises dictatorship, monopolizes absolute authority for itself and maintains control over and against the immense majority? The inescapable answer is "yes." But the truth goes farther. The truth is that the more *democratic* a bourgeois soc-

iety is, the easier it is for its dictators to control that society.

THE BOURGEOIS

DICTATORSHIP:

FREEDOM ONLY

TO BE BOURGEOIS

To understand how, in the "Free World," and in all capitalist societies, a small group monopolizes absolute power over, and against, the immense majority of people, it is only necessary to think about the most common aspects of our daily life. The most basic experience, the experience common to everyone, is that we have to go to work. If we cannot get a job, we cannot live. We have to find a boss to hire us; workers do not hire bosses. In our society there are a lot of workers, or potential workers; there is a relative handful of bosses. The immense majority of the people must have a job.

This matter of "getting a job" is an example of what Marxism-Leninism terms a *social relation*. In this capitalist social relation bosses (a small group) hire workers (the huge majority) to produce, or to provide services, or to do whatever it is the boss wants

done. (The right to decide what is to be done belongs to the boss; that is another capitalist social relation.)

Getting a job means that one group, the workers, sell their ability to work to another group, the bourgeoisie, who buy it for a price, called a wage. That buying and selling relationship within the system of production defines each group as a *class*.

Now it happens that no matter what wage we agreed to work for, it is never enough. If yesterday it bought the bare minimum needed to live and raise a family, today it no longer does. Inflation wipes out its purchasing power, or new needs make themselves felt for which the old wage isn't enough. If the wage bought a tolerable standard of living yesterday, today we feel we have slipped somehow. We are living more poorly.

This relative impoverishment of the working class is a natural, inevitable consequence of capitalism. According to Congress, in the United States between 1979-87 (both peak economic growth years) the income gap between the richest 20% and the remaining 80% of the population grew on average by nearly 11.5%, (The gap between the richest 20% and the poorest 20% grew

by nearly 40%.) Even Congress concluded that the "rich got richer and the poor poorer." The poorest 40% of the people actually saw their income fall absolutely during those nine years by over 9%; for them impoverishment was both relative and absolute. In this same period the life expectancy of Black workers (always less than that of white workers) fell below the relatively low level it had been. Do you suppose the workers "democratically" exercised their "freedom" to get poorer and die sooner?

We need to earn more. We have to ask the boss for more money. (Of course, we can never earn as much as the boss does, that goes without saying. Inequality is an inseparable part of capitalism.) In fact, we cannot ask the boss for too much more or the boss will lose money. If he cannot make a profit he will close up shop and we will lose our jobs. No one thinks twice about this; it is just accepted.

What are we accepting? If we accept that the boss has a right "to make a profit" we really mean he has a right to keep, or *appropriate*, the profit we have created during production. So underlying the capitalist social relation of selling and buying the

ability to work is capitalism's most basic social relation: *workers agree to work to give the owners a profit; the boss hires us in order to appropriate a profit*. That is capitalism.

This capitalist social relationship is a reality, not an abstraction. *This reality is the dictatorship*, the absolute power exercised by the bourgeoisie over modern bourgeois society. This *right to appropriate*, this commonplace we never think twice about, is how they control society absolutely.

In capitalism a small group—the *capitalists*—has the right, the freedom, to own as its private property *all the means of production* which society as a whole needs in order to stay alive. (This right makes *productive labor* an attribute, a burden, solely of the working class.) This freedom, which is the foundation of the existence of the bourgeoisie, *transforms the means of producing life chiefly into a means of subordinating and enslaving labor*. Isn't this dictatorship? But for the bourgeoisie it means *freedom*.

The right, the freedom, of the bourgeoisie to appropriate and possess as its own private property the wealth that is produced socially, makes the labor of many the wealth of the few. Isn't this dictatorship? But it is what freedom means to the bourgeoisie.

These rights, together with the freedom of the appropriating class to decide what and how to produce (based solely on its own need to produce a profit) gives this small group, this capitalist class, absolute authority over society:

●They say: "Make us a profit or die!" and they can, and do enforce that, thereby subordinating all economic life, and the living conditions of whole nations, to benefit themselves.

●They say: "Don't steal our property!" and they can, and do enforce that, thereby setting the standards for what is legal and illegal, constitutional or unconstitutional, moral or immoral, defining the relations among nations and the conditions for peace or war, all for their own benefit.

●They say: "Perpetuate us, emulate us, serve us, glorify us, justify us, aspire to be us, or die!" and they can, and do, enforce that, thereby restricting the freedom of educational, scientific and cultural development to those narrow limits which can benefit the bourgeoisie, thus turning education, science and culture into mere tools for continued bourgeois domination.

Isn't this dictatorship? This is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is bourgeois freedom.

Lenin wrote that So long as classes are not abolished, all talk of liberty and equality is self-deception. So long as the question of the ownership of the means of production remains unsolved, there can be no possibility of any real liberty of human individuality, nor of a real equality of mankind, but only of a class freedom of the proprietors, of a hypocritical equality of the haves and have-nots, of the satisfied and the hungry, of the exploiter and the exploited. (Lenin, *Fallacies About Freedom*)

THE BOURGEOIS STATE

Rights that are not enforced do not exist. There are no rights without a mechanism for enforcing them. The capitalists must have enforceable rules codifying their social relationships; laws to regulate them; institutions to administer and enforce them. The capitalists need foremen, managers, lawyers, bureaucrats, policemen, teachers, soldiers, generals, jail house guards, politicians. They need schools to train both a docile labor force and managers to control them, and they need courts and jails. *In short, they need a State, their State: their public power which objectifies and enforces the production relations which allow them to exist as a class;*

FREEDOM AND DICTATORSHIP

which guarantees their reproduction; which suppresses all challenges to these social relations. This State is an historically specific development, the product of the class struggles that were needed to make the capitalist way of production socially dominant. This State is the mechanism for guaranteeing bourgeois freedom by oppressing the working class.

Every State must have a political system, a method for regulating the public power, which in the capitalist State was created to guarantee and perpetuate capitalist social relations. The capitalists have created two alternate political systems. The system they prefer is political democracy, or "Western-style" democracy, such as exists today in the U.S., Japan and Western Europe. The other, a "crisis management" system, is fascism. Fascism is turned to when capitalism's very existence is at risk because of threatened rebellion. Fascism is the market economy run without political democracy; with extreme, naked brutality, violence and nationalist fervor, such as we see in El Salvador, South Africa, Israel, and Eastern Europe and China.

Whether the democratic republic, or fascism, the essential aspect of the capitalist political system is that *it exists only to guar-*

FREEDOM AND DICTATORSHIP

antee and perpetuate the domination over society by private wealth; that it may not allow society to abolish the private ownership of the means of production, nor abolish production for profit, nor abolish the private appropriation of social production. The expropriators may not be expropriated. The means of production, capitalist property, and therefore the means for enslaving and exploiting labor, may not be converted into the tools for free and cooperative labor.

The distinctive feature of "Western-style" democracy, or capitalist democracy, and the source of its ideological strength, is that *the social inequality characteristic of capitalism occurs simultaneously with the fullest development of political and legal equality.* That is why capitalist exploitation and reproduction occur most efficiently in a bourgeois democracy.

HOW EQUALITY IN CAPITALISM IS THE BASIS OF INEQUALITY

We all understand that free commodity exchange is the exchange of equivalents: \$10 worth of something, say, oil, is sold for

\$10, and that \$10 of money can buy \$10 worth of anything else. That is the free market, free of all distortions. That is how the law of value works. But Karl Marx pointed to a necessary precondition which a free market needs to be able to exist: not only must the values of the commodities being exchanged be equal, *but this trade presupposes the traders who are party to the exchange, the contracting parties, also are equal.* Each trader agrees that the other has the right of a private owner; each possesses a property. Between themselves they establish a legal relation expressed in a contract, whether written or unwritten, whether part of a developed legal system or not.

Capitalism is no more than a way of life in which all important social relations become exchange relations, become buying and selling. This starts with production, and the capitalist social relations required if anything is to be produced. Capitalist production requires buying and selling labor power; it is not slavery. But this means that the worker is a holder of rights, of legal equality. He or she is a free person and is therefore able to enter into a contract, just as the buyer of labor power, the capitalist, is able to do. Both the buyer and the seller of labor power are legally

equal persons, because they are both private proprietors, both owners of commodities. As Marx wrote: "Wage labor on a national scale, and hence also the capitalist mode of production, is not possible unless the laborers are personally free. It is based on the personal freedom of the laborer."

But this relation of equality is actually purely formal, and therefore a total fiction; its existence is only a *legal* formality. This *legal equality* is an appearance that conceals the *real inequality* in the relation, which is its content. The *inequality* stems from the nature of the property that each party owns.

The "*property*" the worker owns is his or her ability to work. But this is property only in appearance. Actually it is the opposite. It is a state of need. The reason this is so, Marx points out, is that if his capacity for labor remains unsold the laborer derives no benefit from it, but rather he [or she] will feel it to be a cruel, nature-imposed necessity that this capacity has cost for its production a definite amount of the means of subsistence and that it will continue to do so for its reproduction.

In other words, "in the concept of the free laborer it is already implicit that he [or she] is a pauper, or virtually a pauper. Accord-

ing to his economic conditions he [or she] is pure living working capacity." This working capacity is saddled with the requirement of living. The worker in whom it is embodied has to stay alive if he or she is to be "pure living working capacity." But the worker is deprived of the means of staying alive. The worker owns none of the means of production except the ability to work. So in reality rather than legal appearance, his property is not property, but "indigence from all points of view."

On the one hand the worker is free, in the sense that he or she is "a free owner of his [/her] own working capacity and of his [/her] own person. On the other hand, he[/she] is free in the sense that he[/she] is expropriated from the means of production, that is, deprived of everything necessary for the realization of his[/her] labor-power."

The result of this formal equality of rights, in a situation where only one—the capitalist—is really a property owner, is the "law of the stronger:" "...production proceeds more smoothly with modern police than, for example, under club law...however...the law of the stronger, only in a different form, still sur-

vives in [the] constitutional state."

The exchange of equivalents, the original operation with which we started, has now become turned around in such a way that there is only an *apparent* exchange. This is owing to the fact, first, that the capital which is exchanged for labor power is itself but a portion of the *product of others' labor appropriated without an equivalent*; and secondly, that this capital must not only be replaced by its producer but replaced together with an *added surplus*...At first the rights of property seemed to be based on a man's [or a woman's] own labor. At least, some such assumption was necessary since only commodity owners with equal rights confronted each other, and the sole means by which a man [or a woman] could become possessed of the commodities of others was by alienating his[/her] own commodities; and these could be replaced by labor alone. Now, however, property turns out to be *the right* on the part of the capitalist to appropriate *the unpaid labor of others* or its product and to be the impossibility on the part of the laborer of appropriating his own product. *The separation of property from labor has become the necessary consequence of a law that apparently originated in their identity.* (Marx, *Capital*, Vol.I, Emphasis added.)

What is the political consequence of this separation of property from the working class? The most important is that *social inequality is the precondition for the appearance of bourgeois legal and*

constitutional principles; social inequality can never be eliminated within the bourgeois system of rights.

THE IRRELEVANCE OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" ACTIVISTS TO FREEDOM

Even the full realization of "human rights" could not dissolve social inequality. Just the reverse, bourgeois legal and constitutional principles strengthen and develop social inequality; social inequality is the precondition for the existence of bourgeois legal and constitutional principles.

There have always been those for whom socialism "ought to exist" because it is "more moral," because it produces "human rights." This "ethical socialism" is traditional Social Democratic ideology, the ideology which the communist movement rejected when it developed out of social democracy, and the ideology to which the vestiges of the old communist movement have now regressed. (The various European Labor parties, the Italian Communist party, both the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and a section of the Contras are all examples of Social Democrats.)

Such "socialists" believe capitalism is not a man-made historical phenomenon, but a natural phenomenon, maybe a consequence of human nature, but anyway not developing on the basis of a specific set of internal contradictions. They believe capitalism could be regulated into a "moral" and "just" society. Therefore, for them, the State has no historical specificity, no intrinsic, specific class-power content.

Marx said such people saw socialism "as the realization of the ideas of *bourgeois* society." Such socialists

...affirm that exchange, exchange value, etc. *originally* (in time) or in their *concept* (in their adequate form) are a system of liberty and equality for all, but have since been adulterated by money, capital, etc... The answer to them is that exchange value, or more precisely the monetary system, is in fact the system of equality and liberty, and that what seems to them to distort the subsequent development of the system is distortions immanent to that system itself, precisely the realization of the *equality* and freedom which reveal themselves as inequality and despotism... To want exchange value not to develop into capital, or the labor, which produces exchange value, not to become wage-labor, is as pious as it is stupid. What distinguishes these gentlemen from the

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bourgeois apologists is firstly, their awareness of the contradictions contained in the system; but secondly, the utopianism which prevents them from discerning the necessary distinction between the real and ideal forms of bourgeois society, and hence makes them want to undertake the vain task of trying to re-realize the ideal...(Marx, *Grundrisse*)

In bourgeois society, bourgeois class domination rests on real economic relations which start with equal rights. Reform legislation cannot transform the fundamentals of this system because:

No law obliges the proletariat to submit itself to the yoke of capitalism. Poverty, the lack of the means of production, obliges the proletariat to submit itself to capital... And no law in the world can give to the proletariat the means of production while it remains in the framework of bourgeois society, for no laws, but economic development, has torn the means of production from the producers... Neither is the exploitation *inside* the system of wage labor based on laws. The level of wages is not fixed by legislation but by economic factors. The phenomenon of capitalist exploitation does not rest on a legal disposition... In short, the fundamental relation of domination of the capitalist class cannot be transformed by means of legislative reforms, on the basis of capitalist society, because these relations have not been introduced by bourgeois laws, nor have they received the form of such laws... People who pro-

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nounce themselves in favor of the method of legislative reform *in place of and in contradistinction to* the conquest of political power and social revolution do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the *same goal*, but a *different goal*. *Instead of taking a stand for the establishment of a new society, they stand for surface modifications of the old society.* (Rosa Luxemburg, *Social Reform or Revolution?*)

But these liberals imagine that the basic social problem is that political democracy has to be extended to counter the growing concentration of economic power. Moved by this supposed "contradiction" between politics and economics, their "solution" is populism. The Social Democrats state: "Transfer democracy from the *political* sphere (where it is alive and kicking—or could be, if workers would only vote) to the *economic* sphere. Of course, no such transfer should be done subversively. No extremes, like undermining the right of private ownership of the means of production. Instead, elect a government that will regulate the corporations!"

So instead of organizing class struggles leading to a demand for a workers' dictatorship, you have populist leaders like Jesse Jackson, in the U.S., leading a movement to try to convince working people not to ignore the vote.

More tragically, in El Salvador (where the bourgeoisie has maintained its freedom by murdering 70,000 rebels in ten years—the equivalent of more than 3.5 million murders in the U.S.) Joaquin Villalobos, the leading rebel commander, now states that the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front proposes to betray the revolution by turning away from workers' and poor peasants' power in favor of a program to modernize [the bourgeoisie] and offer it new opportunities for development... to combine the private and public sectors for a more rapid development of Salvadorean society... [to guarantee all this with] electoral democracy [which] confers legitimacy [and] a reconstitution of the military... that will neither destroy the army (the oligarchy's fundamental support) nor disarm the FMLN. Ultimately it is not a question of sharing or not sharing power, but of forging a true democracy in El Salvador. (Villalobos, *A Democratic Revolution for El Salvador*, Foreign Policy magazine #74, Spring 1989, Wash., D.C.)

Certainly extending the vote diffuses *formal* political power into the hands of working people. Actually, that is the political history of the United States. When the U.S. was founded, only wealthy white male property owners could vote (about 10% of the population), and only certain

offices were directly elected even by them. Then the property requirement was lowered, then it was eliminated. Then non-white males were allowed to vote. Then more offices were open for direct election. Then Blacks were denied the vote. Then women were allowed to vote. Then young people could vote. Then Blacks again were allowed to vote. This took 200 years. Now the rule of wealth is more secure than ever.

The Jesse Jacksons (and Villaloboses) are *not* proposing to establish democracy on a new basis. The existing bourgeois basis for democracy is all that is possible. For them the problem is that capitalism has diverged from the equality they think is mandated by the Constitution. What can be their response to one of the greatest of the United States' founding fathers, who expressed the Constitution's framers intent with these words: "I love liberty. I hate equality."?

Only Marxism-Leninism subjects the constitutional order of modern bourgeois democracy itself to a class analysis which reveals the contradiction to be *within* capitalism and *within* the Constitution.

The comprehensive contradiction of this constitution, however, consists in the following: the classes whose

social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, it puts into possession of political power through universal suffrage. And from the class whose old social power it sanctions, the bourgeoisie, it withdraws the political guarantees of this power...From the ones it demands that they should not go forward from political to social emancipation; from the others that they should not go back from social to political restoration. (Marx, *The Class Struggles in France*)

To summarize:

- Freedom for the bourgeoisie is based on its private ownership of society's means of production.

- Freedom for the working class is based on abolishing this private ownership and returning the means of production to society. Working class freedom alone provides the basis for democratic self-government by and for the majority of the people.

- Freedom for the bourgeoisie grows from its right to buy the working class' ability to work.

- Freedom for the working class grows from abolishing the buying and selling of labor power. This ends the wage system. This abolishes the working class as a class, and *all the old class structures. Working class freedom alone provides the basis for egalitarianism*

and the development of human individuality.

- Freedom for the bourgeoisie develops from the bourgeoisie's power to keep for itself what the working class produces (especially the surplus value for which the bourgeoisie doesn't pay) and its power to decide what the working class can produce, (decisions made not on the basis of what is needed by the public, but based only on the bourgeoisie's need to produce what it can sell at a profit.)

- Freedom for the working class develops from suppressing production for the market. Workers' freedom requires that production be based on meeting the needs of society. This new system of production permits a new system of distribution.

These together are the basis for ending every type of oppression and for preventing the rise of new exploiting classes.

- This is what it means for the working class to go forward to its social emancipation. At the same time it moves itself and all humanity, to the realm of true freedom by creating a classless, egalitarian communist social order.

- **But to do this the working class must transform itself into a ruling class. To do this the working class must destroy the capitalist constitutional order, destroy the bourgeois state, destroy the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and impose instead its own absolute authority over society, its own dictatorship, its own State.**

By B. T.

AMPLIFICATION

THE WORLD BANK REVEALS SOME OF THE "BENEFITS" OF CHINESE COUNTER-REVOLUTION'S "REFORMS"

In a report just released...The World Bank offers the most revealing macro-economic portrait of China's reforming economy that has appeared to date...

...an array of...forces...have been unleashed by the reforms. These include the weakening of the social safety net, legalisation of inheritance, restoration of the dowry system, and new opportunities for investment in housing and small-scale businesses. "Carry on Mr. Li," in Far Eastern Economic Review, Nov. 2, 1989, pp 49-50

ON THE DUNG HEAP IN CHINA

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ought to retire to become a consultant in Beijing where he could recruit an entire crooked Park-ing Violations Bureau and Police Force without having to train them in graft.

U.S. BOSSES LOSE THEIR CHINA CARD

The U.S. ruling class enthusiastically welcomed Deng's accession. They had no illusions about his class identity. They knew he was irrevocably committed to capitalism. By mid-1989, six hundred U.S.-Chinese joint ventures, with a value of \$8 billion, were doing business in China.

To a certain extent, Deng wanted to encourage such investment. However, he and his cronies had no interest in letting it get out of hand: they didn't want China to become a U.S. neo-colony. They have their own long-range imperial designs.

However, Deng/Li's version of China, Inc. isn't strong enough to constitute an independent third force in the worldwide struggle between U.S. and Soviet imperialism. Geography, logic, recent political history and con-

temporary China's own internal economic contradictions all favor an alliance with Soviet imperialism. Soviet and Chinese rulers succeeded in negotiating away their primary differences, which included, among other disputes, the large Soviet military presence along the Chinese border, the Soviet war in Afghanistan and the military adventure of pro-Soviet Vietnamese forces in Cambodia.

Now that these differences have been at least temporarily resolved, the restoration of Soviet-Chinese ties is virtually complete. The new realignment culminated with Gorbachev's visit to Beijing at the height of the student demonstrations.

But the marriage of convenience between the state capitalists of the USSR and the Deng gangsters could be consummated only at the expense of weakened ties between China and the U.S. The faction headed by the now-deposed Zhao represented the small and medium-sized Chinese bosses, the newest of new money. This gang could not match the Deng/Li clique's economic base. Zhao & Co. therefore favored accelerating the development of private investment and the mar-

ket economy far beyond the rates envisioned by Deng/Li.

The Zhao model depended on the rapid expansion of economic ties with U.S. business. Deng/Li had greater foresight. Li studied in the USSR. He speaks Russian and is known for his love of large-scale Soviet-style capital investment projects. More significantly, the vast Soviet-Chinese border makes the two countries natural trade partners; and the long-range decline of the U.S. economy argues in favor of a Chinese capitalist tilt toward the emerging Soviet-German-Japanese axis.

Anyone who analyzes events objectively can see that the Tiananmen protesters and their allies had hitched their star to the pro-U.S. Zhao faction. The class content of the demonstrations was strictly profit-oriented. At no time did the students decry the return of capitalism or the betrayal of proletarian dictatorship. Never did they demand a return to the egalitarian principles of the revolutionary Red Guards. Not once did they express militant solidarity with the millions of workers and working class youth struggling in South Africa, Latin America, other parts of Asia, indeed the world over, against apartheid, imperialism, and all the racist indigni-

ties and brutalities of the worldwide profit system.

The leaders of the Tiananmen demonstrations were the same who five months earlier had organized or tolerated disgusting racist attacks against African students in major Chinese universities. Where were the zealots of freedom then? They didn't lift a finger to support the African students. In fact, only our party and the International Committee Against Racism organized small protest demonstrations at the time against Chinese consular offices in the U.S. In doing so, we were guided by the principle of working-class internationalism militantly expressed by the left Red Guards during the GPCR.

The final tip-off about the true nature of the Tiananmen protesters came when they unveiled their symbol—a lily-white "Goddess of Democracy," a crude imitation of the Statue of Liberty. This obvious curtsy to U.S. imperialism spat in the face of the millions in China who suffered savage colonial oppression at the hands of European and U.S. bosses for centuries before the revolution. One can easily imagine the C.I.A. supplying both the idea of the statue and the artistic masterpiece itself.

IMPERIALISM, LIES, AND VIDEOTAPE

The Deng/Li gang had to view the demonstrations as a serious threat to their state power. Such differences are rarely resolved amicably. Deng/Li called out the army. Despite wild pie-in-the-sky speculations in the pro-U.S. Western press about mutiny, the armed forces remained overwhelmingly loyal to the ruling faction. The repression spilled blood, both the demonstrators' and non-participants'. The death and injury toll was high, although probably not nearly as high as the U.S. press claimed. For weeks, the U.S. electronic media wallowed in maudlin anti-communist sentimentality over the "martyrs to democracy."

Of course, for racist terror against civilian populations, no one, with the possible exception of South African and Israeli bosses, can match the United States government over the last twenty-five years. In the original Statue of Liberty's homeland, police have been killing black youth like flies. The drug trade, abetted by U.S. government policy and corrupt law enforcement agencies, destroys millions of

young people—most of them black or Latin—annually. At current rates, nearly one in five black men will go to jail during his lifetime. In New York, where black prisoners outnumber white ten to one, the prison population is 150 per cent greater than South Africa's. School dropout rates in major U.S. cities hover around 50 percent.

The U.S. ruling class is as well qualified to shake the fist of outrage at Deng's butchery as Hitler was to upbraid the Brownshirts, his junior partners in crime. What government has slaughtered more working people around the world than the U.S., through military intervention and economic terrorism?

In the wake of the massacres, the Deng bunch went about strengthening their position. In typical fascist fashion, they executed a few opposition ring-leaders to show they meant business and to discourage further thoughts of revolt. They threw a large number of others in jail. Most significantly, in early August they cracked down sharply on China's 14.5 million individually owned businesses, when Deng launched a two-month tax-evasion "inspection" campaign aimed at squelching the new-money private bosses and re-asserting the hegemony

of the state-capitalist public sector and the Rong monopolists.

Two reactions accompanied these developments in the U.S. On the one hand, the politicians and media seized the occasion to spew the vilest anti-communism in the name of democratic principle. This campaign was both absurd and obscenely hypocritical. Absurd, because for nearly a decade, the U.S. ruling class had hailed Deng as "one of the greatest reformers in Chinese history" (*L.A. Times*, June 4). Hypocritical, because U.S. bosses, who can claim bragging rights to Pinochet, Marcos, Duvalier, Stroessner, Argentina's generals, a laundry list of Vietnamese Quislings, *et al.*, take a back seat to no one in the matter of aid and comfort to mass murderers.

On the other hand, the more lucid heads in the U.S. imperialist camp don't want to fall prey to their own rhetoric. They would have preferred a Zhao victory; nonetheless, they want desperately to continue dealing with Deng. Henry Kissinger, the Rockefeller agent who drew up the blueprints for Nixon's various genocidal "peace" plans during the Vietnam war, most clearly represents this viewpoint. His syndicated article published in late July underscores the importance of China to U.S. inter-

ests, calls on U.S. policymakers to avoid punitive sanctions, and re-asserts confidence in Deng as "the driving force behind Chinese reform." So far, the Bush White House seems to be heeding Kissinger's advice in the desperate hope that it can keep a slice of the pie it can no longer hope to eat whole.

The pre-Tienanmen U.S.-China economic courtship included a deal to give the U.S. military three listening posts in northwest China to spy on the latest Soviet missiles. The equipment used is U.S.-made. The technicians who operate it are Chinese. After Tienanmen, Gorbachev & Co. may well take advantage of their new strengthened position vis-a-vis China to demand that Deng & Co. hand over the goods. Bush-Kissinger are wetting their pants over this possibility. They can't do much more than cajole or threaten the Chinese rulers. For the time being, they recognize the impotence of their threats. The stakes for the U.S. military position in Asia are enormous. One U.S. "intelligence" source told columnists Evans and Novak: "It would be devastating if (the Soviets) got it all" (*New York Post*, June 8).

Despite the feeble maneuvers plotted by Bush, Kissinger, and other Washington bumbler, the

long term will bring sharpened contradictions between U.S. and Chinese capital. To be sure, the love affair between Beijing and Moscow will have its rocky moments. Each camp has its own interests. Nonetheless, collaboration is and for the foreseeable future will remain the main aspect of relations between the Chinese and Soviet rulers.

The U.S. bourgeoisie is going over Niagara Falls in a barrel. Their international maneuverability is dwindling. Increasingly isolated by the defections of their former allies and by the hostile realignment of the world's economic powers, the Washington/Wall Street tattered moneybags find themselves forced into the desperate inevitability of a hemispheric "Fortress America" bunker mentality. Soon they will have to send in the troops somewhere to protect the sinking ship. Latin America appears the likely target. However, regardless of the contingencies that may arise, recent events in China have clearly added fuel to an already inflammatory international situation. They have hastened the outbreak of the next world war.

SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING NEW

Inter-imperialist rivalry, the shifting sands of bosses' alliances, and profit wars are as old as capitalism. However, a new element has entered the picture. The Soviet and Chinese emperors still insist on calling themselves communists. Deng pointedly justified his crackdown as a necessary measure to squelch the counter-revolutionaries. He and Gorbachev fear the wrath of millions who remember what life was like in a socialist society whose leaders sincerely wanted to achieve communism. Therefore, like all craven opportunists, they still cling to the name or communism, just as Bush and the rest of the U.S. ruling class demagogically wrap themselves in the flag of democracy.

Thus, inter-imperialist competition has spawned a new stage of worldwide anti-communism. As the Deng clique has most recently proved, anti-communism, capitalism, and fascist brutality are absolutely interdependent.

In the face of these developments, should communists and militant workers abjectly capitulate? Absolutely not! We have a mountain to climb, but we

mustn't allow the task to daunt us.

As always, facts reveal themselves to be most stubborn things, and the facts show that the working class and humanity in general have strode forward only under communist leadership. An article in this issue or **THE COMMUNIST** describes the brilliant achievements of Soviet society under Stalin's leadership, despite many weaknesses and eventually fatal errors.

Similar developments took place during the Chinese revolution and the GPCR. The energies of workers and peasants strained for a chance to win an egalitarian life. The Chinese working class, like its Soviet predecessors, showed the miracles humanity can perform when guided, however imperfectly, by communist principles.

REVOLUTION WILL DUMP ALL BOSSES ON THE DENG HEAP

The recent struggle between the Deng/Li gang and the Zhao new money entrepreneurs was a heads-they-win-tails-we-lose

proposition for workers. Our class has nothing to gain by fostering illusions about "lesser-evil" plutocrats.

By the same token, in the factories, on the farms, in the cities, in the schools and on the campuses of their vast country, millions of Chinese workers and students must be comparing the greedy ruthlessness of their present rulers to the honesty and selflessness that characterized life when China was a proletarian dictatorship. The re-emergence of a real left in China, of a revolutionary communist party planning and organizing to win state power for the working class, is only a matter of time.

Communism is still a better idea. It always will be. Our Party wants to grab the red flag away from sleaze merchants like Deng and Gorbachev. We have full confidence that workers and their allies in China, the Soviet Union, and everywhere else will want to do the same. Our class and our movement have a long and glorious history. We will eventually win because workers are the majority and because only communism can meet our needs.

By A.T.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Continued from page 12

its success lay in the radical transformation of social relations.

Walter Reuther, who became a trusted anti-communist labor lieutenant of U.S. industry (the United Auto Workers president who, later, to protect his personal power, led the drive to sweep out of the union the very communists who placed him into leadership) in his youth was swept away by the promise of communism. He spent some time working in a Soviet auto factory. Writing to Detroit friends, Reuther compared labor's conditions under Soviet socialism and capitalism:

What you have written concerning the strikes and the general labor unrest in Detroit...makes us long for the moment to be back with you in the front lines of struggle. However, the daily inspiration that is ours as we work side by side with our Russian comrades in our factory, the thought that we will forever end the exploitation of man by man, the thought that what we are building will be for the benefit and enjoyment of the working class, not only of Russia, but of the entire world, is the compensation we receive for our temporary absence from the struggle in the United States. And let no one tell you that we are not on the road to socialism in the Soviet

Union. Let no one say that the workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are not on the road to security, enlightenment, and happiness...

Here are no bosses to drive fear into the workers. No one to drive them in mad speed-ups. Here the workers are in control. Even the shop superintendent had no more right in these meetings than any other worker. I have witnessed many times already when the superintendent spoke too long. The workers in the hall decided he had already consumed enough time and the floor was given to a lathe hand who told of his problems and offered suggestions. Imagine this at Ford or Briggs. This is what the outside world calls the "ruthless dictatorship in Russia." I tell you...in all countries we have thus far been in we have never found such genuine proletarian democracy...

We are witnessing and experiencing great things in the USSR. We are seeing the most backward nation in the world being rapidly transformed into the most modern and and scientific, with new concepts and ideals coming into force. We are watching, daily, socialism being taken down from the books on the shelves and put into actual application. Who would not be inspired by such events? (Bonosky, Phillip: *Brother Bill McKee: Building the Union at Ford*; New York; 1953; pp 135-6)

This "inspiration," which was nothing other than political com-

mitment to Bolshevism, led to economic achievements that in any other society could only have been folk tale and legend.

In 1929 (then the peak capitalist boom year), Soviet industry accounted for 3.8 percent of world production. By 1932, when the capitalist world had fallen into the deepest depression of its history, Soviet production was 11 percent of world production. By 1936, it had risen to 15.2 percent of world production. The third Five-Year Plan for socialist construction would have plausibly reached one-third of world output had the Second World War not disrupted the process. British economist J. Miller, who studied the Soviet economy between 1936 and 1937, wrote: "...it (is) not an unreasonable prediction that within the next generation the Soviet Union will be as powerful, industrially, as the rest of the world put together" (Hewlett Johnson, *The Soviet Power*, p. 93).

The capitalist world wallowed in the downside of its boom-bust "cycle." By 1937 its combined industry had increased a measly 3.5 percent over 1929. On the other hand, total Soviet industrial production grew by 371 percent, and modern large-scale industry alone reached 428 percent of the 1929 figure.

**Workers' Power
The Reason**

SOVIET WORKERS

PROSPERED

WHEN CAPITALISM

STARVED ITS

WORKERS

While tens of millions of workers starved, lost their homes, or desperately sought relief in the U.S., Britain, and France; while wages in Hitler's fascist "paradise" of 1937 declined by 21 percent relative to 1929; while youth in the "advanced" capitalist nations had little to do but hang around street corners, the workers' dictatorship of the U.S.S.R. improved the quality of life as measured by any conceivable yardstick.

Although we understand today that all types of wages inevitably reproduce capitalism, and that even socialist wages therefore cannot lead to communism, the structure of the wage system under Soviet socialism nonetheless dramatically improved the living standards of the working class. The average annual wage nearly doubled between 1929 and 1933 and nearly quadrupled between 1929 and 1937. During the same period, wages in the

depression-ravaged capitalist countries shrank absolutely.

The reality of improved Soviet living conditions flew in the face of imperialist lies about the "starving" Russian masses. *Not only did Stalin's government raise wages, but at the same time it consistently lowered the prices of staple goods.* Between 1934 and 1937 bread prices were lowered by more than half, butter the same; the price of eggs was cut by nearly three-quarters; prices for meat were slashed by 63 percent and for lump-sugar by 73 percent.

Social services boomed. Stalin's 1938 budget increased maternity benefits by 30 percent over 1937. The number of factory workers and office-workers accommodated in rest homes and of children admitted to "Pioneer" camps increased in equally dramatic fashion. State expenditures for workers' cultural needs, social insurance, education, health insurance, and aid to mothers of large families were scheduled to rise by two-thirds between 1937 and 1942. (The fascist invasion, of course, disrupted these plans.)

The population increased. Child mortality plummeted. The number of kids in day care centers and kindergartens soared. Industrial accidents fell

by almost half. Cotton production all but tripled. Grain production doubled.

All these developments took place while imperialist shells and scribblers shed buckets of crocodile tears over Stalin's supposed "reign of terror." Like Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth, they protested too much, revealing their own guilt: the real reign of terror against workers was occurring in the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. Hewlitt Johnson, one of the most important leaders of the Church of England aptly wrote, Fear haunts workers in a capitalist land. Fear of dismissal, fear that a thousand workless men stand outside the gate eager to get his job, breaks the spirit of a man and breeds servility. Fear of unemployment, fear of slump, fear of trade depression, fear of sickness, fear of impoverished old age lie with crushing weight on the mind of the worker. A few weeks' wages only lies between him and disaster. He lacks reserves. (*The Soviet Power*, p.187).

With all its imperfections, the Soviet proletarian state provided a life without the crushing burden of such fear. Everyone had the opportunity to work. Every child could go to school and learn. Decent, affordable housing was being built. Medical care was universally available. Sick-pay was guaranteed with no time-limit. Older workers could retire with pensions

that allowed them to keep their dignity.

BOLSHEVIKS GAVE YOUNG "EVERYTHING HUMANLY POSSIBLE"

Nothing characterizes a society so aptly as its treatment of youth. Capitalism deals with young people in one of three ways: as labor to be super-exploited, as cannon-fodder for profit wars or as useless burdens best drugged or terrorized into submission. In the U.S. today, drugs are claiming teenagers' lives in battlefield proportion. The national high school dropout rate exceeds one in four; in the major cities, one of two. Suicide, accidents and child abuse are the leading causes of premature death among those younger than twenty-five.

In stark contrast to this abysmal record, Soviet socialism in the 1930s treated the youth as its most precious asset, the legitimate heir to the revolution. Contemporary observers like the author Lion Feuchtwanger wrote: Everything is done for the young that is humanly possible. Every-

where one finds numerous and excellently appointed nurseries and kindergartens. A network of schools covers the whole of this huge state, and their numbers are increasing with incredible rapidity. There are children's playgrounds, children's movies, children's cafes, and excellent children's theaters. The older ones are taken care of by the universities, by innumerable courses in the various trades and in the collective economic system of the peasantry, and by the cultural centers of the Red Army. The physical conditions in which the Soviet youth grows up are more favorable than anywhere else in the world (*Moscow 1937*, p. 14).

In *Road to Revolution IV*, our Party's operating strategic document, we wrote: "Children will understand (the principle of collectivity) the moment their senses awaken." The giant laboratory of Soviet education proved they *could* learn to do so. From the earliest years, Soviet infants were taught to work with others. Soviet educational psychologists (unlike their modern racist U.S. counterparts, who are obsessed with proving the "genetic inferiority" of the most oppressed workers' children) devised tactics for getting toddlers to co-operate with each other. For example, the bricks or cubes used for play were often purposely too large for a single child to handle. The child would

call a companion, and *together* they would build their play house. Collectivity became instinctive.

As Paul Robeson sang it, the Soviet song said: "To our youth now every door is open:" open through the spread of literacy; through the availability of excellent, free schooling; through the many "Palaces of Youth," with their free classes in ballet, sculpture, history and geography, mechanical experimentation, aviation, short-wave transmission, and music; through the recreational facilities built next to every large factory and complex of small industries in the Union. No Soviet child languished in the city during summertime for lack of camp tuition. No child had to agonize over the future, to contemplate a choice among jail, fighting a rich man's war or the unemployment lines. *Within its economic limitations, Soviet socialism did more for youth than any society before or since.*

BOLSHEVIKS LED FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S FREEDOM, EQUALITY

More significant yet than the breathtaking economic achieve-

ments of Soviet rule was socialism's bold attempt to create new human relations within the working class. With a taste of communism on their lips, workers discovered that they could throw off the yoke of backwardness imposed on them by centuries of feudal and capitalist exploitation.

Nowhere did this breakthrough develop more spectacularly than in the revolutionary transformation of women's roles and status.

Few societies had oppressed women more savagely than the Czarist Empire. In the Christian West, women were systematically treated as chattels. The church encouraged flogging disobedient wives. In the Moslem East, bridegrooms received whips as wedding gifts. A wife slept on the bare floor while her husband enjoyed the comfort of rugs on a couch and then kicked her upon awakening. All women in Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan were made to wear a foul, hot veil of horsehair (the *paranja*) to hide their faces from the world.

The revolutionary movement that arose in 19th century Russia knew from the beginning that this hideous oppression could not continue if the fight for a new society were to succeed. Women revolutionaries organized and fought side by side with men.

Men and women Bolsheviks lived communally in Czarist exile, sharing money and food. Women on the outside helped prisoners escape. In and out of jail, women revolutionaries studied science, the classics and Marxist theory in a time when women were generally kept uneducated.. In 1905, on "Bloody Sunday," women demonstrators bled and died along with men in the brutal repression of the march on the Petrograd Winter Palace. When Kornilov's White Army attacked Petrograd at the height of the Civil War, 200,000 women marched to the front.

Women flung themselves with similar vigor and commitment into the task of building the new society. The socialist government moved to eliminate every trace of laws and practices relegating women to inferior status.

The Soviet Constitution of 1938, which summarized Soviet practice up to then, and which was known as the "Stalin Constitution," guaranteed women "equal rights with men in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life." This was not an idle promise.

Women were encouraged to become workers, a high status in the workers' state. In 1937, 41 per cent of all students in workers' faculties were women.

The Soviet Union had 100,000 women technicians and engineers by 1940. Educational facilities at all levels granted equal access to men and women. Maternity leave with full pay was made available both before and after confinement. New mothers had no worry about losing their jobs once they were ready to return to work. Nursing mothers who worked in factories could pause every three hours to feed their babies.

Soviet society provided an ample supply of kindergartens, day care centers, nurseries, milk-kitchens and playgrounds, as well as communal dining rooms at factories and elsewhere to allow women to work and abolish housekeeping as "women's work."

*Under these conditions, working-class women were able to exercise the freedom not only to help build the new society but also to help lead it. The victory over the veil (called the *paranja*) in Central Asia provides an inspiring example.*

Thousands of Bolshevik cadre, men and women, had moved east after the seizure of power to pave the way for socialism. Women communists played a decisive role in this process, entering the *yurta* (tents), sharing the horrible lives of Asian peasants, patiently winning them over to revolu-

tionary ideas. The *paranja* symbolized the most oppressive aspects of the old life. It had to go. Finally, with the political work done, the time came for action.

The Danish writer Fanina Halle describes the mass rejection of the *paranja* that the Communist Party organized on International Women's Day, March 8, 1928:

On that day...tens of thousands of women, huddled in paranjas and chachvans poured like a menacing avalanche through the narrow choked streets, squares and bazaars of the ancient Central Asian cities...the vast multitude, including a number of men and children, gathered around the Lenin monument...and the women waited breathlessly for what was to come...All the bands struck up the Internationale...(the paranjas) were flung aloft into the quivering air, timidly at first, but then with ever wilder and more frenzied speed, these symbols of slavery that the women cast off, paranjas, chachvans, and chadras. They were piled in rapidly growing heaps, drenched with paraffin, and soon the dark clouds of smoke from the burning common abjuration of a thousand year old convention, now become unbearable, flared up into the bright sky of the spring day...(Women in the Soviet East, cited in Johnson, p. 235)

By 1940, 189 women—virtually all of proletarian or peasant origin—sat on the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. No other par-

liamentary body in the world could then boast a similar proportion. In 1940, the President of Tashkent, the largest and most important city of Soviet Central Asia, was a woman who a few years before had been an illiterate servant girl hidden beneath a *paranja*.

So great were the strides made by millions of working class women under the Soviet proletarian dictatorship that Clare Booth Luce (the most articulate of the right-wing feminists) wrote: "...Communism preaches and, since the Revolution of 1917, has tried to practice the inherent equality of men and women" (*Life Magazine*, June 28, 1963).

Luce's husband, Henry Luce, owned *Life*, *Time*, and *Fortune* magazines, and was among the most fervent of the cold warriors. Her views on the life and death struggle between communism and capitalism mirrored his. If anything, she wished to minimize the accomplishments of socialism. But she acknowledged that between 1929 and 1961, the number of Soviet women earning wages and salaries increased from 3,118,000 to 31,609,000; that between 1917 and 1961, the number of women engineers increased from 600 to 379,000 (31% of all engineers in the

U.S.S.R.); that 26% of the Supreme Soviet were women, and 20,000 Soviet villages were headed by women in 1961; and finally, that in the same year women comprised 74% of all Soviet physicians and surgeons.

Proletarian dictatorship has been reversed for more than three decades in the Soviet Union. Much of the progress women's equality enabled the whole working class to make has dissipated. Divorce, promiscuity, alcoholism and other capitalist diseases now characterize Soviet society. The "new woman" of *perestroika* is a starlet who takes off her clothes for *Playboy* and anyone else with a camera and a few bucks. Yet beneath the surface of this travesty looms the collective memory of millions who recall how Bolshevism smashed the *paranja*. A new day will come once again

**COMMUNIST-LED
WORKERS' STATE
FIRST GOVERNMENT
IN HISTORY TO
MAKE RACISM
ILLEGAL**

Soviet socialism also conducted great struggles—at home

and abroad—against all forms of racism. Ultimately, these struggles failed, because of a flawed strategy. In the tradition established by Marx and Engels, the Bolsheviks thought that national oppression could be defeated by promoting nationalism among the oppressed. Lenin, Stalin, and others acknowledged that nationalism was in essence reactionary. They thought, however, that certain temporary concessions to it were necessary.

These concessions fell into the same logic as the line that wages and social stratification had to be preserved during socialism. Nationalism is the antithesis of communism: it subordinates class interests to "national" interests and therefore promotes all-class unity to serve one exploiter or another.

For example, the Jews whom the Soviets could not win to assimilate received the District of Birobijan in the Far East as a "homeland"—twenty years before the state of Israel was established. Birobijan was replicated in dozens of cases for other nationalities.

The idea must have sounded good at the time: why not allow each nationality to forge its own separate development as it built socialism? But the contradictions of socialism guaranteed

that the nationalist aspect became primary over the working-class aspect, not only in the individual "autonomous" republics but also throughout the U.S.S.R. as a whole. Thus, when the Soviets established these "autonomous" republics and regions they unwittingly set the stage for capitalist restoration, for resurgent Great Russian nationalism and for the current wave of ultrarightwing chauvinist "independence" movements behind local bosses in Armenia, Azerbidjian, Georgia, the Baltic states and elsewhere.

Despite nationalism the Bolsheviks during the Stalin period nonetheless broke new ground in attempting to liberate their society from the appalling human cost of racist division within the working class.

Czarist Russia had been a swamp of deliberately fostered racism. The weaker the Czar grew, the more his government promoted "divide and rule" tactics. In the Empire's eastern regions dark-skinned workers and peasants had to bear oppression and indignity in every way worthy of the U.S. slave states or South Africa. In the west, violent pogroms periodically terrorized and massacred Russian Jews.

In one bold stroke, under Lenin's leadership the Bolshevik

government declared all forms of racism to be illegal and then imposed severe penalties for violating this principle. Unlike the U.S. today, where the rulers hypocritically prattle about constitutional equality and then engage in the most vicious racist practices imaginable, the Soviet government under Stalin vigilantly enforced this strong anti-racist policy.

On several occasions in the 1930s and 1940s, the black American writer Langston Hughes traveled to the Soviet Union. Having extensively, and courageously, denounced Jim Crow in the U.S., he was curious to see if the workers' dictatorship could build a multi-racial society. He found overwhelming affirmative evidence. In 1934, Hughes rode a train to the Soviet East. He struck a conversation with a fellow passenger:

.....a man almost as brown as I am...Some Asiatic factory worker who has been to Moscow on a vacation, I think. We talk a little. He asks me what I do for a living, and I ask him what he does. I am a writer. He is the mayor of Bokhara, the Chairman of the City Soviet! I make a note in the back of my mind, "In the Soviet Union dark men are also the mayors of cities..." In the course of our conversation, I learned that there were many cities in Central Asia where dark men and women are

in control of the government. And I thought about Mississippi, where more than half the population is Negro, but one never hears of a colored person in the government... ("Going South in Russia," in *Portrait Against Background*, p. 77)

The laws against racial intolerance stemmed from the proletarian internationalism that had been a characteristic of Bolshevik theory and practice from the outset. Contrary to the lies and vilification still prevalent in the capitalist press that Lenin and Stalin were anti-Semites, under their leadership the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union provided leadership to the entire world in the fight to smash anti-Semitism. In 1913, Lenin had written:

The school, the press, the Parliamentary Tribune—everything and anything is being utilized in order to sow ignorant, evil and savage hatred against the Jews. In this blackguardly business there engage not only the scum of the Black Hundreds, but also reactionary professors, scientists, journalists, deputies, etc. Millions, even milliards of rubles are spent in order to poison the mind of the people (cited in *The Soviet Power*, p. 289).

Stalin seconded this view. "Communists," he stated, "as consistent internationalists, cannot fail to be irreconcilable and sworn enemies of anti-Semitism" (*ibid.*, p. 289). Soviet socialism de-

stroyed the ghettos that had imprisoned Jewish workers since the Middle Ages. The new society made vigorous efforts to become multi-racial and multi-national. Its military arm especially achieved great success in this regard. The Red Army that went forth to destroy Nazism was ...an international army. Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Mongols, Jews, Georgians, and so on, men [and women] of scores of races, are found among its high officers. Racial barriers are not permitted to block individual advancement. As this principle also applies in Soviet society, the conscripts are highly literate and intelligent. (Edgar Snow, *People on Our Side*, p. 214)

At the height of World War II, in the midst of the most barbarous racist slaughters in history, Stalin took pains to underscore the political character of the struggle against the Hitlerites:

...the strength of the Red Army lies...in the fact that it does not and cannot feel racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people; that it has been trained to recognize the equality of all peoples and races, and to respect the rights of other peoples (*ibid.*, p. 189).

One should not romanticize the accomplishments of Soviet anti-racism. With the wisdom of hindsight, the futility of attempting to build internationalism on a base of supposedly "progress-

sive" nationalism appears obvious. Supposedly tactical concessions to nationalism were in fact routs.

The Soviets fought World War II ultimately on a nationalist basis. "Mother Russia" became the rallying cry over international proletarian revolution. The national-chauvinist policies of the contemporary Soviet bosses have deep roots in the seemingly innocent nationalism of socialism's earlier period. The widespread revival of fanatical, Czarist-style anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union today is no accident. Nationalism begets racism. There even is an organization, the Pamyat. This Klan clone calls for expelling Jews from the country, demands the listing of Jewish bureaucrats, bewails the demise of Russian "racial purity," and proposes violent, Nazi-style solutions to the "problem." All this is part of *glasnost*.

The communist movement has digested the error of nationalism and today can conduct anti-racist struggle on more solid ideological ground than the Soviets did under Stalin's leadership. The fight against racism no longer need turn into its opposite. By the same token, while our Party recognizes the deadly consequences of nationalism in all its

forms and while we refuse to sentimentalize Soviet socialism's achievements or minimize its weaknesses, facts are facts. *Within the framework of its severe limitations, the U.S.S.R. in the Stalin period advanced anti-racist consciousness and the principle of multi-racial unity to levels hitherto undreamt in human history.* No other society could have withstood and then destroyed the Nazis' genocidal onslaughts. In the Soviet experience of anti-racist struggle, there is much to criticize—and also much to emulate.

THE RED ARMY

With all its political shortcomings, inevitably reflecting those of socialism itself, the Red Army must be ranked among the Soviet Union's most stunning achievements. Its virtually single-handed defeat of the Nazi armies during World War II assumes added luster when one takes into account the true relationship of forces at the moment of the Nazi invasion.

The standard myth popularized by U.S. and British imperialist apologists attributes the Soviet victory to the availability of limitless human hordes used as cannon-fodder, and vast stocks of U.S. donated arms. This ex-

hausted the enemy. Russian winters also get a big play in these fairy tales—as if the weather had been warmer for the communists than for Nazis.

The opposite of the racist "horde" lie is in fact the case. The Nazi invasion represented far more than an onslaught of an "outnumbered" seventy million Germans against one hundred ninety million Russians. In reality, almost all of Europe assaulted the USSR in June 1941, a total of 310 million people. The Germans had been on a war footing for a full year and a half, and had overrun the rest of Europe before turning on the Soviet Union. Hitler had at his disposal one hundred eighty million Germans and active German allies and one hundred thirty million conquered people whose labor power, albeit unwillingly, aided the fascist war effort. With his vast labor reserves, Hitler could mobilize an army numbering between fifteen and eighteen million troops.

The Soviets could mobilize about ten million troops. A million of these were needed in the Soviet Far East and on the Afghan, Iranian, and Turkish borders, more than offsetting the Nazis' need for troops to occupy western Europe. Nazi manpower *superiority* at the time of the invas-

ion can therefore be reckoned as three to two.

The quality of Soviet *materiel* was second to none. As far back as 1935 Nazi General Guderian noted the superiority of Soviet tanks and tractors. Nazi Colonel von Bulow praised the high technical level of Soviet war planes and cited the USSR's capacity to continue military production indefinitely for a protracted war. Nonetheless, Germany invaded the Soviet Union enjoying a 5:2 *quantitative superiority* in the hardware of warfare, thanks to Hitler's previous victories. The Nazis had inherited the rest of Europe's arsenal practically intact and controlled Europe's entire war industry.

Within the first month of the invasion, however, the Nazi blitzkrieg was stalled. The Red Army suffered massive losses but couldn't be knocked out in the first round. On the contrary: it gave better than it got. At its fastest, the blitzkrieg never exceeded fifty percent of the Nazis' rate of advance in conquering western Europe. By the end of the war's third month, the Hitlerites had lost one-third of their original invading force and equipment. By the fourth month the Red Army stopped the Wehrmacht at Smolensk for an entire month. By the fifth month

the Nazis had been slowed to one-sixth of their initial rate. The war's essential course had been determined before the end of 1941. Although the turning point was to come months later during the heroic battle of Stalin-grad, and although the Soviet working class needed a Herculean collective effort to win, the beginning of the end had already appeared.

The Nazis lost because the Soviets, though tainted with nationalism and other capitalist poisons, fought to uphold communism as they understood it. The fascist army that invaded the USSR was deeply committed to Hitler's genocidal ideology. This commitment had sustained it during the days of easy victory over capitalist opponents. But the Wehrmacht bit the dust largely because the Soviet Union's forces enjoyed overwhelming ideological superiority.

Hitler's troops fought to conquer "living space" for the "master race." The Soviet troops, though enveloped in a nationalist cloud, fought for the glimpse of communism that a generation of socialist life had given them: Men, officers, and generals alike, understand that any conqueror will rob them of their collectively owned factories, farms, schools, theaters,

museums, will halt further improvement and progress and strip them of their freedom and of other values that make their life worth living. This is thoroughly understood from the top-ranking marshal down to the company cook. This consciousness is part of the Red Army morale, which is part and parcel of the morale of the whole nation (Sergei N. Kourashoff, *Russia's Fighting Forces*, p. 107

Edgar Snow echoes this sentiment, when he cites Solomon Lozovsky, assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, during an interview given in 1942:

Why do the Russians fight so hard and how can they go on fighting today, that is what Americans want to know, is it so? Listen, Americans did not understand us in the past. Some were influenced by lies about us; they would not believe the truth. That is why they judged wrong about us. Now they see how our people fight and they realize there is something here is Russia which keeps them going. Do you want to know what that is? *The answer is that the revolution has created here a new social consciousness and that men and women in this country have something to fight for, to die or to live for, as the case may be, but to fight for!* (Edgar Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 70, emphasis ours)

Armed with a vision, however murky, of a communist future, and with a feeling of national solidarity, the Red Army troops had little anxiety about the welfare of their families in the rear or the

intensity of effort being put forth to aid the war on the home front. Venereal disease, a scourge in the imperialist armies, was almost totally unknown. "Battle fatigue" (war neurosis), epidemic in the western military, was minimal in the Red Army. (Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 136).

As the men went off to the front, women replaced them in every conceivable job. Women engineers constructed the defense works; women became police, locomotive drivers, miners, and steel workers. Youth rapidly matured under these conditions, and most sixteen year olds could perform any task. Children between the ages of twelve and fifteen did one-third an adult's work share. Other than the infirm and very old, non-producers were unknown during the war.

Women and children participated in the fighting, on the front, as well as among the partisans in the occupied territories. Even craven imperialist shills like Harrison Salisbury had to marvel at the skill and commitment with which thirteen-year old Soviet Jewish boys became guerrillas, taking up the gun to kill Nazis (*Russia on the Way*, Pp. 233 ff.). Edgar Snow tells the moving story of three young women guerrillas, Panya, Liza, and Kenya, who had seen

...crimes committed by the Nazis in their neighborhood...murders and hangings, rape as a daily occurrence, torture and all the rest of it. Many of the victims were their own friends (*op. cit.*, pp.175-6).

When asked by Snow if she had ever killed a man, Panya replied simply, "Not a man, exactly. I've killed some Nazis...I was proud that I could bring vengeance on them (*op. cit.*, p.175)." Yet her hatred and that of her comrades was in some sense a class hatred. Liza pointed out: "*We are fighting only Hitlerites, and we don't want to exterminate the good Germans. Our best machine gunner is a German and we like and trust him. He is a fine man*" (*op. cit.*, p. 175). Only someone influenced by communist ideas could make such a statement.

BOLSHEVIKS NOT AFRAID TO ARM THE PEOPLE

The Soviet concept of anti-fascist struggle was "unusually simple and staggeringly grandiose" (Kourashoff, *op. cit.*, p. 207). Basically, it regarded the entire country as the theater of war and every Soviet citizen as a soldier. Non-combatants worked feverishly to guarantee production. The fighting forces themselves

were divided into three distinct but complementary groups: the Red Army, fighting in the front zone; the guerrilla army, spreading havoc throughout the Nazi rear; and the armed population, denying the fascists access to the Soviet rear. The concept of the Soviet people in arms is not well-known in the West and merits mention. The magnitude of the Soviet war effort cannot be comprehended otherwise.

Stalin had figured since the 1919 War of Intervention that the imperialists would not give up their dreams of reconquering Russia and smashing socialism. The only issue in doubt was whether the second invasion would involve as much inter-capitalist unity as the first, and Soviet diplomacy was devoted to splitting the Soviet camp. In any event, the Soviet Union had to prepare. Contrary to the rehashed lies of vulgar western anti-communists who pretend that the Soviet people mysteriously rose up all of a sudden in 1941 despite their leaders, history shows that these leaders had meticulously planned for war since the 1930s. They tried to avoid war, but they also prepared to fight to win if war was imposed on them.

Production for war formed a key element of the plan. Defense

appropriations rose from 395 million rubles in 1924 to 34 billion in 1938. The Red Army's motor component (the number of mechanical horsepower per soldier) rose from 2.6 in 1929 to 13.8 by the end of 1938. Soviet tractor plants were constructed to be easily convertible into tank plants. Starting from scratch, by 1935-6, the U.S.S.R. already boasted seventy-four aircraft factories, of which the most important group was situated well beyond the reach of enemy bombers. Therefore, Soviet tank and aircraft production had been guaranteed six years before the invasion.

The most impressive aspect of socialist preparations for war, however, remained the human side. Right after the invasion, Soviet ability to wage guerrilla operations in the Nazi rear proved decisive. How was such activity possible? "How is it," asked military historian Sergei Kourashoff, "that plain peasants, working men, clerks, teachers, and such can pit their strength against the mighty Wehrmacht? Where did they learn the use of modern arms?" (*op. cit.*, p. 204).

The answer is simple. For years beforehand the Soviet government had armed, trained, and organized the entire population for total war in the future.

The main government organization carrying out this task was the Osoaviakhim ("Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Air Force and Chemical Defense"). Its membership numbered fifteen million. It carried out military training among all sections of the Soviet population, particularly among youth. Instruction was provided by army reserve officers and included marksmanship, horse cavalry skills, aviation, parachuting, skiing, and other military sports. In 1938, six million adults and millions more youth had won riflery badges. The skills of Soviet partisans in all aspects of guerrilla warfare were due in large part to this training.

This brings up an important point. Anti-communists have spilled gallons of ink bemoaning the "terror" to which the Soviet people were subjected in the Stalin period. But facts are facts, and as Stalin often pointed out, their own logic has infinitely greater coherence than the logic of mere words.

Either the Osoaviakhim existed or it didn't. Either it trained millions of civilians in the arts of war or it didn't. Either it transformed collective farms and factories into miniature military bases in peacetime or it didn't.

The Osoaviakhim existed. It did all these things and more, and no objective historian denies these facts. The conclusion is inescapable. *The Soviet government was not afraid to arm its people. It was not afraid to teach its people military science. It welcomed these developments and considered them necessary. It had full confidence in the majority of the population, and this attitude was reciprocated. Such a relationship between government and people is absolutely inconsistent with the absurd premise that Stalin ruled like a "despot" and that his power emanated from the intimidation of the masses.*

OUR TERRORISM

"OK," SAY THE CAPITALISTS

The question of terror cannot be avoided in assessing the accomplishments and shortcomings of Soviet socialism during the Stalin period. Cold warriors and other capitalist skills wring their hands and write elegies lamenting the millions of lives allegedly snuffed out by Stalinist brutality or wasted in Stalinist slave labor camps. Entire generations of children in the U.S. and western Europe have been taught since the end of World

War II to believe that Stalin committed more murders than any dictator in world history, even more than Hitler. Imperialism has created a Stalin devil-cult more fanatical than most religions.

The supposed reasons for the alleged terror were the resistance to the various stages of agricultural collectivization and the internal battle fought in the Soviet Communist Party during the period known as the "purge trials."

An exhaustive analysis of these events lies beyond the scope of the present article. However, certain general conclusions are inescapable. The Soviet Union during this period was indeed a dictatorship, a dictatorship of the proletariat, the first in history to hold power and organize society. As the foregoing pages have demonstrated, never before had workers anywhere enjoyed such broad democracy or stood at the threshold of such vast material and cultural power.

The U.S.S.R. was a revolutionary state, and revolution, as Mao Zedong succinctly pointed out, is not a tea party. It is a protracted, violent struggle during the course of which one class wrests power from another and then attempts to rule society in its own interests. The displaced exploit-

ers inevitably act with the savagery of cornered rats as the desperation of their predicament increases.

At first, as we have already pointed out, the Czarist forces joined with fourteen capitalist nations to snuff out the socialist revolution in its infancy. It bears repeating that *seven million* Soviet men, women, and children died from violence, starvation, or disease directly attributable to the 1919-21 War of Intervention. Yet the CIA's anti-communist chorus led by Brzezinski, Sidney Hook (before his recent death) and Robert Conquest sing no laments over *these* massacres

The fledgling Soviet Union was by far the most backward of the world's powers. The backbone of the old society had been the peasantry, which toiled under conditions not much different from the Middle Ages. Socialism required modern, *collective* agricultural production. Within the limitations of their line, the Bolsheviks attempted to win the peasantry politically to this perspective. But a stratum of the peasantry had class interests contradictory to the new approach. These were the so-called "rich" peasants, the "kulaks," who owned some land and means

of production and who therefore had a stake in capitalism.

The question resolved itself through force of arms. The dictatorship of the proletariat fought the recalcitrant kulaks. There was bloodshed. Some kulaks died. The government imprisoned and exiled others. Exact numbers are impossible to obtain. Some anti-communist minstrels wail about the many millions who languished in slave labor camps. Other died-in-the-wool right wingers with a passion for professional "objectivity," have disproved these fantasies. For example, in May, 1948, Professor N.S. Timasheff of the Jesuit Fordham University (not exactly a haven for the Left, much less for admirers of Stalin) attempted to reckon the 1938 Soviet prison population by calculating the discrepancy between the number of voters and the number of disenfranchised persons. ("The Postwar Population of the Soviet Union." in *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 54, 1948)

Timasheff calculated the difference between all those older than eighteen, and those who voted, as being two percent of the population, or 3.3 million people. This was the number of "disenfranchised persons." He further estimated about a million

of these to be insane persons and persons deprived by the courts for non-political reasons of their electoral rights. "The rest," he writes, "about two million, must be slave labor [Timasheff's term] in other words, inmates of prison camps" (p. 150). Timasheff also estimated that the number of prisoners in labor camps had hardly increased ten years later, in 1948.

Using similar methodology thirty years later, another scholar, S.G. Wheatcroft, confirmed Timasheff's figures. Wheatcroft further demonstrated that the number of persons in Soviet labor camps during that period could not, even in the most outlandish of scenarios, exceed "four or five million." ("On Assessing the Size of Forced Concentration Camp Labor in the Soviet Union, 1929-56," *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, April 1981, p. 286).

Considering the stakes and the growing imperialist threat Wheatcroft's speculative figure of four or five million (an admitted outermost extreme) appears modest.

By comparison, one should look at the "democratic" racist U.S.A., which had the greatest adult prison population of any country in the world at the end of 1985, 2.9 million (*New York Times*,

January 2, 1987). Today it stands at well over 3.5 million, and is expected to increase by more than 100 percent over the next decade.

How many workers and peasants would have starved to death, how many would have fallen prey to disease and all the ravages of the old system had the Five Year Plans (for which collectivization was key) not been implemented? How many millions more would have fallen victim to Hitler's genocide had the Soviet Union failed to organize both its industry and its agriculture for the coming war? The issue can be judged only from this perspective:

The Russian peasant who saw disadvantage to himself and his family in joining the collective farms, who distrusted his neighbors, either their integrity, their intelligence or their willingness to work, who habitually and by years of hard labor had learned to rely on his own efforts and to take for himself what he could lay hands upon, fought hard and lost. The peasant who caught the vision of a new political economy and a new society, who recognized the individual weakness of himself and his neighbors, who decided that one might better trust one's neighbors than the unkind Russian elements, fought equally hard; and with the fervor of a new faith, he won. (Susan M. Kingsbury and Mildred Fairchild: *Factory, Family, and*

Woman in the Soviet Union, Putnam, 1935, p. 129).

The greatest weakness in the collectivizations was not the amount of state violence directed against the right-wingers. The main error lay within the collectivization process itself: socialism, by definition, perpetuated wages, material incentives, and therefore capitalist class relations. But large sections of the peasantry had shown their readiness to act upon the communist concept of equality and upon political incentives. Once again, the very limitations of the line, of the party, and of socialism itself, inevitably fostered new capitalist forms from within. These, and not the justifiable, necessary violence of the proletarian dictatorship against its class enemies, was the new society's Achilles heel.

DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION IS "UNCIVILIZED TERROR" SAY THE CAPITALISTS

The second article of faith on which the anti-Stalin demonology rests is the supposed "reign of terror" that the Soviet Com-

munist Party launched to "trample democratic opposition" during the so-called "Purge Trials" of 1936-8. According to this legend, those whom Stalin executed or imprisoned during the course of these trials were lambs led to the slaughter by a bloodthirsty, paranoid megalomaniac unwilling to tolerate legitimate dissent.

The bourgeois scholar J. Arch Getty has shown that although the trials were extraordinary events, the *chistka*, or purge, (meaning literally a "cleaning") was a standard routine of the Communist Party:

The term "purge"...only applied to the periodic membership screenings of the ranks of the party. These membership operations were designed to weed the party of hangers-on, non-participants, drunken officials, and people with false identification papers, as well as ideological "enemies" or "aliens." In the majority of purges, political crimes or deviations pertained to a minority of those expelled (*The Origins of the Great Purges*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1988, p. 38).

Getty goes on to show that at the height of the "Ezhovshchina" (so-called "Great Terror"), relatively few party members were expelled: 100,000 in 1937 (five percent) and 70,000 in 1938 (two percent). He makes the obligatory lament about the "savagery"

of the repression but in the same breath proves that for a variety of reasons, very few people lost their lives relative to the number demoted or expelled.

So far as the purge trials themselves are concerned, the present author believes that, in reality, the defendants (Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Radek, *et. al.*) were guilty of serious right-wing deviations, of violating democratic centralism and of acting consciously to undermine or sabotage Soviet socialism. Historians can debate the accuracy of specific charges. Stalin and the CPSU leadership organized the trials in response to an anti-Soviet threat—both internal and external—that they perceived as urgent.

In any event, the anti-communists are not concerned with making communism work. Whether the trials were fair or unfair is not the real issue for them. "Fairness" is a smokescreen behind which they attack the right of the proletarian dictatorship to defend itself. This is the real point, which must be posed in class terms. Does capitalism alone have the "right" to bring the full might of the state apparatus to bear against its enemies? When workers seize power, are they wrong to repress capitalists and capitalist-roaders

or deal ruthlessly with fascists who want to restore the most brutal forms of exploitation? The answer is as old as the hills: whose side are you on?

If our own party held power, we would face a similar choice. In a vacuum, one can hope to minimize violence against recalcitrant class forces. One can promise to maximize political struggle. Of course, given our line, we would try to win as many non-workers as possible to egalitarian communist principles. But communists are materialists. We try to understand reality. Reality in the U.S. today includes the Donald Trumps, the yuppies, the fancy lawyers, the Mercedes-driving doctors, the advertising executives, and assorted other parasites, as well as the ruling class and the died-in-the-wool loyalists of its state apparatus. These people number in the millions. Depending upon circumstances, some may be winnable to communism. Most are not. Some can be neutralized. Others will resist. The party and the working class will have to deal with them. Failure to do so with the vigor and ruthlessness required by circumstances would be tantamount to surrender. From a class standpoint, it would be criminal. Machine guns and jails are not the only tools work-

ers need to destroy capitalism, but they are indispensable.

Soviet history proves that proletarian democracy depends greatly upon the denial of democracy to the proletariat's enemies. As the "Purge Trials" got under way, the most democratic constitution in world history was proposed, debated, and adopted. The so-called "Stalin Constitution," drafted at the end of 1936 and ratified by an extraordinary Congress in 1938, between the Zinoviev and Radek trials, guaranteed each citizen the right to work, the right to rest, the right to education, the right to material security in old age and sickness. It granted women absolute legal and economic parity with men. It brought democracy to the workplace, by establishing the right and duty of workers to criticize supervisors and managers. It made all forms of racial oppression and hatred punishable by law.

True, this was socialist rather than communist democracy, fraught with socialism's basic contradiction, and therefore not fully realizable. Nonetheless, it was more sweeping and truer to the proletariat than any democracy that had preceded it. It brought millions of ordinary people into significant political activity. Above all, it was forged

in the crucible of a life and death struggle against the internal and external enemies of the working class state.

'CIVILIZATION'

TURNED

TOPSY-TURVY:

WORKERS RULE

EX-BOSSES WORK.

Soviet socialism demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that workers could hold power and administer society. From the dawn of history, rulers had always jealously guarded the secrets of scientific and political knowledge. The priests of ancient Chaldea could predict eclipses five thousand years ago and used this knowledge to rule rather than serve: "The secret lore of the temple had become a tyranny, as must all knowledge when it ceases to become the common property of mankind" (Lancelot Hogben, *Mathematics for the Million*, Norton, New York, 1951, p. 44). The feudal kings ruled by "divine right" and made the acquisition of knowledge outside their church a capital crime. Bourgeois society invented pseudo-scientific racism, the fable of the biological

"superiority" of the wealthy, to vindicate capitalist dictatorship. All previous societies based on exploitation drew an absolute line between mental and manual labor, denying even the possibility that toilers could also lead.

Bolshevism rejected this obsolete fallacy and proved not only that workers could rule but that they could rule better than anyone. The Nazi "supermen" rolled over the Europe of plutocrats. The communists who defeated Hitler found their leadership among men and women of overwhelmingly proletarian and peasant origin. Stalin, whom George Bernard Shaw had called "the ablest statesman in Europe" as early as 1931 (cited in Kourasheff, *op. cit.*, p. 172) was the son of a Georgian cobbler. Klimenti Voroshilov, Marshal of the Soviet Union, whose bravery and resourcefulness helped turn the tide at a crucial moment of the Civil War, was the son of a Ukrainian railroad watchman and a charwoman. He began working in the coal mines at the age of seven and taught himself to read when he was twelve. He became a metal worker at fifteen and a communist shortly thereafter.

Another Marshal, Semyon Timoshenko, was born to Bessarabian peasants. As a child,

he had to hire himself out to a wealthy landowner. He was drafted into the Russian Imperial Army. He beat up an abusive officer and was imprisoned. He joined the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution and distinguished himself rapidly in the Civil War, becoming a member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee.

A third Marshal, Budyonny, came from a class background similar to Timoshenko's. He had worked as a farmhand, was conscripted into the Czar's army, and served in the cavalry. He had been illiterate before entering the army. He joined the Bolsheviks in February, 1917 and formed guerrilla bands after October. Budyonny organized the Red Army's first cavalry troops. The original band had six riders. It grew into an army and was known by World War II as the finest cavalry in the world. Budyonny had never seen the inside of a school until he enrolled at the age of forty-six in a course at the Moscow Military Academy.

These stories typified those of millions of Soviet men and women at all levels of military and civilian life. The children of illiterate workers or peasants, youngsters with little or no formal education, became revolutionaries and learned to lead

whatever had to be led, industry, farming, study, or fighting—sometimes simultaneously. The Soviet Union broke once and for all with the myth of workers' intellectual inferiority. We have already described the "Palaces of Culture" that enabled factory workers to become thinkers and leaders. The Red Army that smashed the Nazis had the highest political and cultural level of any army in the world. In 1930, it boasted eight thousand alcoves for study and recreation, eight hundred clubs with even better facilities, and ninety-seven Red Army houses lavishly provided with theaters, movie rooms, lecture halls, auditoriums, libraries, exhibit halls, and game rooms. This was only a beginning. By 1939, the alcoves (known as "Lenin Corners") had grown to 27,435, the clubs to 1,900, and the "palatial" Red Army Houses to 276 (Kourasheff, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1).

However, the basic contradiction of socialism affected the development of proletarian leadership as well as of everything else. To oppose communism, anti-communists have seized upon the "cult of the personality" and deliberately misinterpreted it. In this chapter of their demonology, the power-mad Stalin lusted for and de-

manded self-glorification. That the Soviet leadership fostered this personality cult is beyond doubt. Our Party criticized it publicly twenty years ago, in *Road to Revolution III*.

The cult, however, did not emanate from Stalin's wish to be venerated. By all first-hand accounts, he was a rather modest man whom lavish praise embarrassed or even disgusted. The cult grew out of a political decision inseparable from the capitalist aspects of socialism. Socialist theory reasoned that since the masses were too backward for advanced communist ideas, concessions to capitalist ideology and organization therefore became necessary. The preservation of wages, unity with the "better" bosses, and nationalism represented the major concessions. If the masses were too backward to reject these ideas, the judgment that their leaders had to think for them was therefore inescapable. The element of faith, a throwback to religion, thus entered the relationship between the Soviet working class and its leadership. Like socialism itself, the Stalin personality cult was deemed a necessary transitional phase that would eventually render itself superfluous.

If today we understand the error of such cults, our knowl-

edge is to a great extent based upon the practical experience of millions who built and defended Soviet socialism. This experience proved that no concept is too advanced for the working class to grasp and apply, that workers need no half-way house on the road to revolution, and that communist leaders do not have to disguise themselves as gurus.

The charlatans and cheerleaders of international capital point to the contemporary Soviet Union and China as proof that society cannot advance beyond capitalist relations. Gorbachev and Deng continue to call themselves communists and thereby promote widespread cynicism about the possibility of achieving revolutionary social equality. Genuine communists, who identify their interests with those of the working class, who see history objectively, who fear no truth, and who strive to analyze all phenomena scientifically, have a different view.

Soviet socialism during the Stalin period in many ways resembled the old Roman god Janus. Janus had two heads: one looked back toward the past; the other, forward toward the future. Socialism's backwardness eventually became primary and led to the post-revisionist Soviet Union whose rulers now seek world

domination for a new form of capitalism. On the other hand, socialism's revolutionary practice proved that communist workers can indeed, win and lead the world.

The Bolsheviks have two sets of descendants. On the right stand the Khrushchevs, the Brezhnevs and the Gorbachevs, as well as the entire motley crew who head up the contemporary

"China, Inc." On the left stand all those who believe that no amount of oppression or betrayal can ultimately prevent the day when

The international working class

Shall be the human race.

Our Party stands on the left. Join us.

By A.T.

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PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

All Workers Must Support Pittston Strikers' Miners Fight Scabs

DEATH West Virginia Nov. 3—Today more than 400 striking miners, their wives, friends, and supporters, gathered in the eighth month of the Pittston coal strike, which a 100-day motorcade to the Detroit Tupper Mine were held to reopen it as a pack of low-life scabs were hired to reopen it. Mike Hubbrook, who proudly calls himself "SCAB-1," in the first Hubbrook and his gang arrogantly threatened and attacked miners and their wives. Hubbrook and his gang killed four women and leaders in the blue line. In a prelude more than 1000 ALP "warrior poets" were distributed in Hubbrook and were piled up on picket sheds, trees, telephone poles, store windows, and all around

winch behind. The shattered windshield and a big piece of broken plywood used to protect scab vehicle windows, started in the picket check line during the triplets, ready to be mounted on the walls.

These hold screws are in self-defense by the miners who have faced months of arrests, shootings, and injuries. On October 26, two scores of strikers militant leaders of the DeWitt Bridge Watch Committee had a good reason for their actions. The scab is from a mine of Star Fork last summer. Trucking and local crew who worked for Mate Trucking and local union in Matthews, Mate Trucking is a notorious scab outfit owned by Rocky Star, which scabbed during the last strike against A.T. Massey, Jan Massey, Stan Reed to (Continuation page 1)

The motorcade pulled up to the tipple and the scabbers got out of their cars and marched on the gate. Eight hundred hands gripped the fence and started shaking it. "We're coming in, we're coming in," shouted the strikers. "We wanted to reach this place," said one Pittston striker.

The confrontation was the latest in the escalating war between the miners and the scabs in the escalating. Yesterday, a Ford Bronco carrying scabs had its windshield almost tipped over when it was struck but the terrified driver, fearing for his life, was able to get away, leaving the car back on its wheels and speed.

All workers around the world, towards miners and those fighting Boeing and Pittston.

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